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# A STUDY OF THE PARTICLE YEN

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## A. ITS MEANING

ACCORDING to most dictionaries of Chinese, of which Couvreur may be cited as an example, two different words are represented by the ideograph 焉. The first is *yen*<sup>1</sup>, in the first tone of modern Pekingese, with the meanings "how? why? where?" The second is *yen*<sup>2</sup>, in the second tone, defined by Couvreur as "a termination for adverbs, a final particle, or an expletive particle."<sup>1</sup> It is with the second of these that this paper is primarily concerned, the purpose being to inquire whether or not it is possible to give it a more specific definition than does Couvreur. The widespread use of the particle in classic Chinese literature of all periods is an indication of the importance with which it must be regarded, but our understanding of its function must be admitted to be still in a very imperfect state.

We begin by listing some of the definitions that have been published in English. These are arranged in chronological order and numbered serially for convenience of reference.

1861 Legge, in the vocabulary to his translation of Mencius, *Chinese Classics*, Vol. II, p. 454:

- 1 A final particle.
- 2 At the end of sentences, giving a liveliness to the style, especially where the closing member is brief.
- 3 Correlative clauses are often terminated by *yen*.
- 4 It is common at the end of clauses to which we expect a sequel.
- 5 Seems to be used for *hu* 乎. (only one occurrence)
- 6 Often follows adjectives instead of *jan* 然 . . . and it certainly partakes of the meaning of that character, and equals a lively affirmative so!

1871 Legge, in the vocabulary to his translation of the She-king, *Chinese Classics*, Vol. IV, Pt. II, p. 737:

- 7 A final particle at the end of lines.
- 8 Sometimes an interrogative precedes.

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<sup>1</sup> S. Couvreur, *Dictionnaire Classique de la Langue Chinoise* (3rd ed., alphabetic), p. 230.



- 9 Another particle may follow.
  - 10 (In one ode) *yen* equals *jan*.
  - 11 In the middle of lines, Wang Yin-che exp'ains it by *shih* 是, to be.
- 1874 Williams, *Syllabic Dictionary*, pp. 1082-3:
- 12 A final affirmative particle.
  - 13 After an adjective this word often forms the comparative.
  - 14 After adjectives, makes them adverbs.
  - 15 An elegant euphonic particle adding emphasis to the previous word.
  - 16 Thereupon, after that.
- 1912 Giles, *Chinese-English Dictionary*, 2nd edition, No. 13042:
- 17 A final particle.
  - 18 A particle marking the end of the protasis or subject.
  - 19 A particle of euphony.
  - 20 Used as a personal pronoun (3rd person) instead of *yü shih* 於是, denoting some thing, *yü chih* 於之, some person, and *yü tzu* 於此, some place.
  - 21 Also, as a comparative.
  - 22 Also equals *chih* 之 as a pronoun.
- 1915? Fraser, *Index to the Tso Chuan*, published in 1930, p. 228--
- 23 A final particle.
- 1923 Karlgren, *Analytic Dictionary*, p. 96:
- 24 Adverbial suffix.
  - 25 Final particle with descriptive function.
- 1929 Brandt, *Wenli Particles*, pp. 158-61:
- 26 A final particle. As such it is less frequently used than 也 or 矣.
  - 27 (Note on p. 159): Is often found at the end of correlated clauses.
  - 28 Also after individual words, giving emphasis to them.
- 1931 Mathews, *Chinese-English Dictionary*, p. 1096:
- 29 A final particle.
  - 30 It is often used at the end of correlated clauses.
  - 31 Used like *yü* 於, indicating a place, etc.
  - 32 Is.
  - 33 A pronoun denoting some person.
- 1937 Ware, *Vocabularies to the Intermediate Texts used at Harvard*, p. 140:
- 34 Equals *chih* 之 (object).
  - 35 There (about equal to French *y*).
- 1938 Creel, *Literary Chinese*, Vol. I, p. 128:
- 36 An affirmative or



37 interrogative final particle.

38 An expletive.

39 A particle equivalent to *yü shih* 於是, *yü chih* 於之.

The thirty-nine definitions quoted cover a considerable range of variation, although certain features seem to be regularly insisted on. The uniformity is unfortunately greatest in definitions of a type that are of little help to the grammarian. The oft-repeated remark that *yen* is a final particle is not a statement of its function, but a statement about its position. It so happens that such statements are very useful for the student of Chinese. In tackling a classic text, the first task always is to find the phrasing, that is, to supply the punctuation, and particles that can be depended on to occur at the beginning or at the end of phrases are eagerly seized on as aids in punctuating. But one must be continually on guard against the too easy mistake of concluding that they are there just for that purpose. If the ancient Chinese had had the foresight to write for English readers, they would undoubtedly have used the proper punctuation, and not have been reduced to coining meaningless words instead.

This point is perhaps important enough to develop a little further. Chinese does have particles which may properly be defined as "final interrogative particles." Questions in classic Chinese are expressed in one of two ways,—by the use of interrogative words like *what?* or *how?*, or by addition of final elements that change statements into questions. In the latter case the whole difference between the affirmative and interrogative form is made by the particle, and students commonly call such particles "question marks." This does no harm as long as one is clear about the following distinction. The English sentences "He is." and "He is?" differ on paper in punctuation only, but if one goes to the spoken form behind them, one will find that the choice was already made by intonation differences long before the question mark was reached. The mark is a typographical convenience whose speech equivalent is something totally unlike it. In Chinese sentences ending with an interrogative particle there was, if we may judge by modern parallels, no audible difference between the statement and the question until the particle was added. In other words, the Chinese spoke their question mark, and because they spoke it they also wrote it.

But it is much less likely that the Chinese spoke a period. The end of a sentence may be conveniently indicated by the fact that



the talking stops. As a matter of fact, the majority of the sentences met with in classic Chinese literature simply stop, and no one has been particularly bothered over it. If then a sentence is found to terminate in a particle, one must conclude that something more than a period is involved. The writer makes no pretense of knowing half the time what that extra something is, but he is confident that it is there. For this reason definitions of *yen* that describe it merely as a final particle cannot be considered to add to our knowledge of its function, and we may eliminate from our collection those numbered 1, 7, 17, 23, 26, and 29.

In somewhat similar case are definitions based on euphony. Chinese, especially as written, is abundantly rhythmic, and often gives the impression of being artificially so cast. But real rhythm is a rhythm of real words, and it is difficult to imagine any people taking enjoyment in an imperfect melody patched up with noises. In writing the last sentence, which the author modestly considers euphonious, he hesitated between *actual* and *real* for the eighth word, weighed *hard* against *difficult*, and tried *enjoying* instead of *taking enjoyment in*. In each case the choice was made according to his personal conception of rhythm and style, but the alternatives were always living. We have no stock of thumps in English whereby a sentence can be pounded into rhythmic form, and unless there are strong reasons to the contrary we should not assume such accessories in Chinese. There are, in fact, no strong reasons, nor can there be, for the simple reason that we can never start with an *a priori* knowledge of what the author considered euphony.

What it really amounts to is that the function of many words in Chinese,—and the more archaic the texts, the greater their number,—is not clearly understood. That being the case, we should all be better off if such words were labelled “particle, of uncertain meaning.” In the first place, no confession would be thereby made that is not already made by dubbing them expletives or particles of euphony. And in the second place, allowing the possibility of a meaning to such a word might eventually encourage someone to find it. We shall now further reduce our list of definitions by eliminating Nos. 2, 15, 19, and 38.

On the opposite end from these semi-mystical descriptions of *yen* lies No. 20, which is a model of concreteness. It was added by Giles to the second edition of his dictionary, and derives undoubtedly



from Ma Chien-chung, the great Chinese grammarian, whose work had appeared in the interim.<sup>2</sup> There is some inconsistency in Giles' formulation of it, however, since the expressions with which he equates *yen* are not simple pronouns, but combinations of the preposition *yü* with 3rd person pronouns. It would therefore be more accurate to describe *yen* as equivalent to a prepositional phrase made up of *yü* plus a 3rd person pronoun. Thus modified, the definition is what this writer takes to be the correct interpretation of the particle *yen*, and the remainder of this paper is devoted to an attempt to bring most of the other statements in line with it. Two are in agreement from the start, namely, No. 35 (French *y* is equivalent to a preposition plus object), and No. 39.

### *Characteristics of the Chinese Verb*

Generally speaking, a verb in classic Chinese is a word occupying the second primary position in the sentence. The first primary position is occupied by its subject, if expressed, and the third by its object, if any. In the sense in which we use these terms, the last sentence is reversible. That is to say, any word in primary position before a verb is its subject, and any word in primary position after it is its object, regardless of "logical" principles or the exigencies of English translation. This simple rule of position leads to another simple rule of interpretation. If a verb stands between two other words that are principals in the sentence, then it is transitive, in the sense that the activity which it represents is transferred to, or affects, the second principal. If there is no word in the third primary position, expressed or clearly implied, then the verb is intransitive, in the sense that all the activity or state of being represented by it relates to the first principal. Thus the difference between a transitive and an intransitive verb is made solely by position. It is of course to be expected that certain verbs, such as *eat*, *kill*, will usually appear followed by an object, that is, in "transitive position," whereas other verbs, such as *come*, *be happy*, will appear commonly without an object, that is, in "intransitive position." When, therefore, grammarians classify Chinese verbs as transitives or intransitives, as is frequently done, they are basing

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<sup>2</sup> *Ma Shih Wen-t'ung* 馬氏文通, by Ma Chien-chung 馬建忠, first published in 1898. I refer to the edition of the Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1933.



this on the preponderant tendency for a particular verb to be associated with one position rather than the other. This classification has its conveniences, and we find it useful to speak of a verb as "normally transitive" or "normally intransitive."

The principles above stated lead to some interesting results. In the first place, the distinction between active and passive becomes also a function of position. For if a normally transitive verb, such as *forget*, is found without a following object expressed or implied, then all of its activity must revert to the subject, and its meaning is *be forgotten*.<sup>3</sup>

前王不忘 "The former kings are not forgotten."

(*Chinese Classics* I. 228)

In the second place, a causative meaning for the verb may be produced by position. For if a normally intransitive verb, such as *come*, is found with an object following, then its activity passes to that object, and the meaning is *summon, attract, cause to come*.<sup>4</sup>

既來之 "When they have been so attracted . . ."

(*Chinese Classics* I. 173)

In the latter case we must make an important subdivision. The activity of the verb passes to the second principal either in fact or in imagination.<sup>5</sup> Two illustrations may be taken from Mencius:

匠人斲而小之 "Should the workmen hew them so as to make them too small . . ."

(*Chinese Classics* II. 44)

孔子登東山而小魯 "Confucius ascended the eastern hill, and Loo appeared to him small." (339)

<sup>3</sup> Cf. F. Lessing, *Vergleich der wichtigsten Formwörter der chinesischen Umgangssprache und der Schriftsprache*, in MSOS XXVIII (1925), p. 61 ff. He refers to S. Julien, *Syntaxe nouvelle de la langue chinoise*, Paris, 1869, pp. 50-2, and to G. v. d. Gabelentz, *Chinesische Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1881, § 320 (138), as well as to Ma, *op. cit.*, 2. 79-80.

<sup>4</sup> Julien, 44-5, 55-6, with badly chosen examples, however; Gabelentz, § 329 (142); Ma, 2. 89-90. A large number of examples are given in *Kao-teng Kuo-wen-fa* 高等國文法, by Yang Shu-ta 楊樹達, Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1930 (reissued in 1934), pp. 129-39.

<sup>5</sup> The distinction is well made and well illustrated by Ma, *ibid.*



There is no positional difference and consequently no syntactic difference between the uses of the verb *small* in the two sentences. In both we have a normally intransitive verb appearing in transitive position, with the result that it becomes a causative. In the first sentence, however, the verb means "make small in fact," "reduce the actual size"; in the second sentence it means "consider small," "make small in the mind." The terms "factitive" and "putative" have been suggested to describe this distinction, which is known to other languages. For Chinese it is important to note that the choice depends wholly on the context, and that both are produced through the same operation of position.

We may then summarize the effect of position on meaning as follows:

	by normal position	by abnormal position	by context
VERB	<div> <div>Transitive</div> <div>Intransitive</div> </div>	<div> <div>Passive</div> <div>Causative</div> </div>	<div> <div>Factitive</div> <div>Putative</div> </div>

#### *Oblique Objects*

In the development of more complex verbal patterns than those described, one of the most important places is held by the preposition *yü*. Like all so-called "prepositions" in Chinese it is by origin a verb. The majority of prepositions are indeed found to possess concurrent functions as verbs, as may be seen in the modern *tsai* "at," and *tui* "to," which are at the same time the verbs "be present" and "face towards." In the case of *yü* the verbal use apparently became obsolete at a rather early date, though clear traces of it remain.

聖人之於民 "the sages among mankind"

(Chinese Classics II. 72)

This is literally "the sage's having relationship to the people," that is, "the relationship that the sage bears to the people."

人之過也, 各於其黨 "The faults of men are characteristic of the class to which they belong."

(Chinese Classics I. 31)

Here the word *yü* is the only verb in the sentence, and the literal rendering would be "As for men's faults, each is in relation to the particular individual's class."



This very general meaning of *yü* as verb is paralleled by its very general application as preposition. A conscientious dictionary like Mathews' must list "in, on, at, by, from," and this series can be extended with "to, for," (Brandt 194) and "of, towards, about" (Fraser 184). It might be safe to say that all English prepositions will sometimes appear as translation equivalents for *yü*, the reason for this being that *yü* merely indicates an oblique relationship without specifying it. It will be readily seen that the scope for such a particle is enormous. Combined with the simple verbal patterns described in the preceding section it produces two important new constructions.

勞心者治人; "Those who labour with their minds govern  
 勞力者治於人 others; those who labour with their strength  
 are governed by others." (II. 125-6)

The difference between "govern others" and "are governed by others" consists only in the presence of *yü* in the latter, hence it may be described as introducing the agent with a passive verb. But in broader terms the construction is better described by the statement that *yü* shows an oblique relationship between *govern* and *others*. In the first part of the sentence we find subject, verb, and direct object. The verb is by position transitive. In the second part of the sentence we find subject, verb, but no direct object. The verb is by position passive, and the sentence might end there with "are governed." But we may add an "oblique object" with the meaning "in respect to others," and thus express what in other languages is called the agent. This oblique object consists of *yü* plus a noun.

季氏富於周公 "The head of the Ke family was richer than the  
 duke of Chow." (I. 106)

The verb *be rich* is normally intransitive, and the first three syllables of the text gives us a complete sentence, "The head of the Ke family was rich." If to this there is added a direct object, such as *the duke of Chow*, the verb moves automatically into transitive position and becomes, by the principles already enunciated, a causative. The sentence will then mean "The head of the Ke family enriched the duke of Chow," or "considered the duke of Chow a rich man." But if there is added an oblique object, the



verb remains in intransitive position, and the meaning is "rich in respect to the duke of Chow." that is, "richer than he." This oblique object consists of *yü* plus a noun.<sup>6</sup>

From the point of view of a philosophy of Chinese grammar it is interesting as well as important to note that the two above constructions are formally identical. The expression of a comparison may just as well be interpreted as a passive with agent. Thus the second sentence becomes "The head of the Ke family would be thought rich by the duke of Chow." The clear separation of these, as is so often the case with the study of Chinese, belongs to the English translation, and not to the original language. If we proceed from thought to expression we shall find that Chinese has other ways of saying the same things in sharply differentiated constructions, but the construction with *yü* is general enough to include both.

We may now consider the effect of replacing the nouns in the patterns under discussion by pronouns. Starting from the form "are governed by others," how would one express "are governed by them"? Apparently by substituting a 3rd person pronoun, such as *chih* 之, for the noun *others*. But here we come upon a very surprising fact. Although *yü* is unquestionably the most common preposition in classical Chinese, and although *chih* is many times more common than any other pronoun object, we have it on the authority of Ma Chien-chung that no occurrence can be found of *yü* with *chih* as its object. Wherever such a form might be expected, says Ma, its place is taken by *yen*! If this is so,—and we have no reason to doubt the thoroughness of Ma's researches,—then the passive with a pronoun agent will be expressed by a normally transitive verb followed by *yen*. Such an interpretation of *yen* has not appeared at all in the list of 39 definitions quoted. One may suspect that *yen* in such a situation would be very likely to find its classification as an expletive or particle of euphony, since its content could be easily overlooked. The object of a verb is so frequently left to implication that the simple passive verb *are governed* would, in the proper context, imply the additional *by them*. (We are here speaking of the pronoun *them* as it would be when unstressed in English). And this is perhaps partly the reason why clear cases of *yen* with this function are hard to find. The expression of a pronoun agent with

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<sup>6</sup> Cf. Gabelentz, § 736 (290), 743 (292).



passive verbs was either elided or put into the construction typified by 爲其所治. There are cases in the Kung-yang commentary that might be cited, but it is impossible to prove that *yen* represents the agent, since its absence would leave the meaning unaffected. On the other hand its presence can always be explained as that of an adverb *there*.

With the verb in the comparative, however, the situation is quite otherwise. If we start from the form "richer than the duke of Chow," we should reach "richer than he" by substituting the pronoun *chih* for *the duke of Chow*. This combination never occurs, but its place is taken by *yen*. For this we have abundant examples, such as

莫大於天 There is nothing greater than heaven.

莫大焉 There is nothing greater (than it).

One may note that the elision of *yen* in such a construction would bring us back to "There is nothing great" rather than "greater." As in the case of the passive with agent, the comparison is sometimes left to implication, but the function of *yen*, when it is found, is quite clear, and is covered by two of our original definitions, Nos. 13 and 21. These may be reduced to the statement that *yen* represents an oblique pronoun object, in other words, that it is equivalent to *yü* plus a 3rd person pronoun.

#### *Indirect transition*

The preposition *yü* enters into a construction with verbs that is very similar to those already discussed, but that requires, as will appear, a somewhat different treatment. We may begin by a consideration of Julien's views on the subject.<sup>7</sup> If one may judge by the amount of space devoted to it in his grammar, he took especial pride in the discovery, which one may concede to him, that certain prepositions, among them *yü*, were employed "simply as marks of the accusative." He was flattered by the adoption of this view in Endlicher's grammar,<sup>8</sup> and piqued because Williams, in his dictionary, stole the idea (that is Julien's implication) without giving

<sup>7</sup> Julien, 15-27, especially 15 and the second half of 20.

<sup>8</sup> S. Endlicher, *Anfangsgründe der chinesischen Grammatik*, Vienna, 1845, p. 206.



credit due. We shall probably all agree that Williams would have done better to leave the idea alone. The accusative is "marked" in Chinese by the rule that the object follows the verb, as Julien frequently stated. The occurrence of additional marks is highly suspicious unless the original rule can be shown to have broken down. No such evidence is given by any of the proponents of the theory.

The argument can be illustrated by Julien's citation of two passages from Mencius:<sup>9</sup>

- 問於孟子 a) "interrogare Mencium"  
 敢問夫子 b) "j'ose interroger le maître"

The verb *to ask* is the same in both, and is followed in each case by what appears to be in meaning a direct object. Julien offers proof for this in the fact that in the Manchu translation of Mencius the particle *be*, which marks the accusative in Manchu, is attached to the word Mencius as well as to the word for "le maître." Since then the particle *yü* occurs in (a) it must be a mark of the accusative.

This argument deserves to rank in sinological literature as a classic example of confused reasoning. Applied to English it would produce a train of thought such as the following. We have the expression "He entered the city." Curiously enough, we discover in a passage from the Bible the expression "He entered into the city." Hastily consulting a Manchu version we find the latter translated *hoton be dosiha*, *be* being a sign of the accusative. We therefore conclude that in English the word *into* is sometimes used simply as a mark of the accusative. However grotesque this may seem, it is precisely the method of analysis through which Julien reached his important discovery for Chinese.

Quite a different line of reasoning can be taken. We find "interroger le maître" expressed in Chinese by a verb followed by a direct object, the direct object being so recognizable because it follows the verb. Then "interrogare Mencium" might be expressed by the same verb followed by the word *Mencius*, and this is frequently found to be the case. Then if we come upon a case in which *yü* intervenes, we have precisely something different. We have "demander à Mencius" and not "interroger Mencius," and the

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<sup>9</sup> Op. cit., p. 17.



fact that these are translated into the same thing in Manchu or Icelandic has no bearing on the matter.

The principle behind these phenomena is that the relationship of many verbs to their objects may vary between direct and indirect transition according to idiom or subtle changes of emphasis. This is particularly noticeable in the case of verbs taking two objects. Compare "I gave a prize to the boy" with "I presented the boy with a prize." Either of the objects may appear in direct position. Another group of verbs in which the variation is common comprises verbs of motion or occupancy. This has led Yang Shu-ta to propose setting up a special class for what he terms "intransitive verbs of relationship."<sup>10</sup> The criterion on which he does this is that such verbs require the preposition *yü* to introduce the object. But for most of the verbs that he lists he cites examples as well in which the *yü* is lacking. He calls the form with *yü* the correct one, and the form without *yü* the exception. Surprisingly enough, he goes on to remark that in ancient literature the exceptions far outnumber the correct forms, and quotes Ma's opinion that the form with *yü* should be considered the exception. This opinion Yang rejects as not in accord with "grammatical principles."

It seems clear that some classification of these verbs is called for. The Chinese expression given above for "interrogare Mencium" contains a verb that we must consider normally transitive. Since it is not followed by a direct object, we should interpret it as a passive. Then the oblique object *Mencius*, introduced by *yü*, should represent the agent, and the whole should yield the meaning "was asked by Mencius." There is nothing formal to prevent such an interpretation, the fact being simply that this particular verb is not so used. When it comes, however, to distinguishing between the correct form and the exception, neither Ma nor Yang appears to be on safe ground. The evidence shows only that certain verbs have *yü* sometimes before an object, and at other times do not have it. We may suspect a variation in dialect or a subtle change in meaning, but there is nothing to show that both forms are not equally current.

We are now prepared to consider the definition of *yen* as a pronoun object. Examples of this are not profusely provided, but one which is cited by Yang, Giles, and Mathews may be taken as a type.

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<sup>10</sup> Op. cit., p. 125.



衆惡之，必察焉；“When the multitude hate a man, it is necessary to examine into the case. When the  
衆好之，必察焉.”

(Chinese Classics I. 166)

Yang remarks that *yen* and *chih* are here interchangeable, and at first sight they do appear so. If we replace *yen* by *chih* we may not be conscious of any difference, though a meticulous person might then welcome the correction that Mathews has made of Legge's translation. He writes "it is necessary to examine *him*." If we look for other occurrences of the verb *examine*, we shall find it quite regularly followed by a direct object. Of the 7 occurrences in Mencius, for example, 2 show it followed by a noun, and 3 followed by the pronoun *chih*. But in the 6th case there is a preposition *yü* between it and the noun object. Not only so, but the context suggests a slight difference in meaning. Whereas in the other cases we have had "examine something," the more appropriate equivalent in this case is "look into something." Finally, as the 7th occurrence we find the verb *examine* followed by *yen*, with the same shade of meaning as the 6th.

Although this is not a large mass of material, one will perhaps find it difficult to escape the proportion

noun object (2 cases) : pronoun object *chih* (3 cases) ::  
*yü* plus noun object (1 case) : *yen* (1 case)

and the consequent conclusion, in view of all the other evidence, that *yen* is equivalent to *yü chih*, which is never found to occur. It is interesting to note how Legge, though he never gave such a definition to *yen*, nevertheless instinctively felt its force. His "examine into the case" is a perfect reflection of *yen*, and Mathews' honest attempt to bring his translation into line with the theory that *yen* is a simple pronoun has missed fire. Confucius was not advising that the man be examined, but that the matter be looked into. This requires not a direct pronoun object, but an indirect pronoun object, that is, a combination of *yü* plus pronoun, such as we consider *yen* to be. On this basis we feel justified in eliminating from the list of definitions those numbered 22, 33, and 34.

Just as the definition of *yen* as pronoun overlooks the preposition in it, so the definition of *yen* as preposition overlooks the pronoun



in it. Mathews equates *yen* with *yü*, but the 3 examples cited prove just the opposite. In no case could *yü* be substituted for *yen* and make any sense. A preposition as the final term of an expression is simply a contradiction in terms. So far as we have been able to discover, there is only one case where *yen* appears to be a preposition, and that is the case referred to by Legge under definition No. 5. However this passage is to be interpreted, it does not give sufficient ground for setting up a separate description of *yen*, and we may eliminate No. 5 as well as No. 31.

### Resuming Pronouns

We have now dealt with most of the definitions of *yen* that ascribe to the word a more or less concrete meaning. One of the most surprising of them, however, still remains. This is the English word "is" found in Mathews' dictionary and traceable to Legge's translation of the Shih Ching. If this is correct, then we have for *yen* a function quite different from any hitherto considered, namely, that of a verb. A study of the history of this definition leads us into an interesting bypath. Legge attributes it to Wang Yin-chih, and the latter did make the statement that *yen* was sometimes equivalent to *shih* 是, at the same time citing 6 examples, two of which were from the Shih Ching.<sup>11</sup> Legge took *shih* in the sense "be," and applied this interpretation to 5 passages in his translation.

Now it seems quite clear that by *shih* Wang meant a demonstrative pronoun *this*, and not a verb *be*. We must, therefore, first inquire into the reasons that led the great English sinologue into making a blunder of this sort. It may well be that there are cases in which the line between the demonstrative *shih* and the copula *shih* is not easily drawn.

知之爲知之, 不知 爲不知, 是知也. "When you know a thing, to hold that you know it; and when you do not know a thing, to allow that you do not know it;—this is knowledge."

(Chinese Classics I. 15)

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<sup>11</sup> *Ching Chuan shih tz'ü* 經傳釋詞, by Wang Yin-chih 王引之, first published in 1798. A convenient edition is that of the Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1932. Cf. in this II. 18-19.



The *shih* in the above passage is cited by Yang<sup>12</sup> as an example of a copula. Legge's translation of it would, however, indicate that he interpreted it as a demonstrative. His vocabulary includes the following definition, which appears to be entirely correct and entirely applicable to the passage in question. "This, these. It often resumes a previous clause, and often contains the copula, being equal to 'this is.'"<sup>13</sup>

When he came to the translation of the Shih Ching, however, Legge had somehow acquired a very peculiar view of the function of *shih* in certain cases. His vocabulary gives the following account of the word as it appears in that text: "More than 90 times. (1) This, these. (2) To be,—generally before verbs and adjectives, making them participial or gerundial."<sup>14</sup> By the latter statement Legge meant to say that *shih* was sometimes the exact counterpart of English *is* in such sentences as "He is sitting" or "He is beaten." Such a use is so foreign to the genius of the Chinese language from earliest records down to the present, that it would be most surprising to find it in the Shih Ching. Two examples should make the important truth quite clear:

正是四國 "And thus he rectifies the four quarters  
of the State."

(Chinese Classics IV. 1. 223)

周公東征, 四國是皇 "The object of the duke of Chow, in  
marching to the east, was to put the  
four states to rights." (238)

In the first case Legge's vocabulary defines *shih* as a demonstrative, but in the second case he defines it as the verb *to be*.

A comparison of these two is especially interesting, since both express almost the same idea. The literal reading of the first is "rectify . these (*shih*) . four . state" and of the latter part of the second "four . state . ? (*shih*) . put-to-rights." One cannot quarrel with the interpretation of the first *shih* as a demonstrative, but one must remain in doubt as to how the verbal nature of the second

<sup>12</sup> Op. cit., 116, line 5.

<sup>13</sup> Chinese Classics IV. 2. 724. I. 342.

<sup>14</sup> Id. IV. 2. 724.



*shih* was conceived. It appears that Legge must have been thinking of something like "the four states *were* put to rights," but if so the translation does not show it. We have noted that the elements in our two examples are almost identical, and that the meaning of both is the same, to all intents and purposes. What then is the difference? Only one item—a difference in word order. In the first example the expression *four states* follows the verb as object; in the second, it precedes the verb. Now we have stated the rule that a noun in the first primary position before a verb is its subject, and if we were faced with the expression "four . states . put-to-rights," we should have no alternative but to translate "the four states were put to rights," with *states* as subject. It is easy to see how the English idiom would tempt the unwary into identifying *shih* with a copula. But it is just because of *shih* that the translation is different and that *states* is still the object and not the subject.

The function of *shih* may be described here as that of a resuming pronoun. We have the rule that noun objects may not precede the verb, but we have also the rule that pronoun objects may, and often do, precede the verb. When, therefore, it appears desirable to express an object of any description before the verb, it may be placed in what we call the "exposed" or "absolute" position, and then resumed in a pronoun. Hence the literal reading of the second example above is "When the duke of Chou marched to the east, the four states—*these* (he) put to rights."

This principle is here formulated, we believe, in its entirety for the first time, but both Gabelentz and Julien touched on it in references that ought to be cited. Gabelentz stated in § 256 the second basic principle of Chinese word order to be that the object of a verb follows it, adding that the law suffered certain exceptions. Returning to the subject in § 339, he quoted Julien on "anteposition," that is, the occurrence of the object before the verb, and noted that the anteposed object was always a pronoun. On p. 147 he gave four examples in which the demonstrative pronoun *shih* is anteposed. But when in § 487 he came to consider an example of the type we have been discussing, he fell back on the following confused statement: "Copulative *shih*, particularly in the older language, often comes between the logical object and the verb. One may then choose whether one will recognize, with Julien, an inversion, or whether it is not preferable to see a peculiar use of the



passive. In any case, a definite logical subject (agent) is meant."<sup>15</sup> For Gabelentz, apparently, the *shih*, which he first called a copula, played simultaneously the role of subject to the verb following it. This means that he would have preferred in the case under consideration such an interpretation as "the four states—these were put to rights." No formal objection can be raised to this from a study of *shih* alone, but the parallel behavior of *yen*, as we shall see, shows clearly which alternative is correct.

Julien devoted a special section of his grammar to the matter of anteposition. On pp. 147-9 he gave a brief and very inadequate list of pronouns which could precede the verb as objects. The pronoun *shih* was not included. On the contrary, when on p. 28 he dealt with 8 examples of our construction, he described the function of *shih* in the following terms: "This sign . . . has appeared to me, in certain cases, to be a sort of mark of the accusative, or rather a sign which, placed before a final verb, authorizes us to consider the word or words which precede it as objects of this verb." More than 25 illustrations of such a construction are to be found in Yang's grammar, pp. 168-70, where he adds an illuminating note: "I find that whenever a verb is inverted, an intermediate particle occurs for the purpose of helping out this verb." His view is that the verb has been displaced, but if we rephrase his note in accordance with the view that the object has been displaced, which is certainly more natural, it will read: "Whenever a noun object is anteposed, a particle will be found between it and the verb." As we have seen, this particle is regularly a pronoun, and the separate statements of Gabelentz, Julien, and Yang all point to only one possible conclusion, namely, that the pronoun resumes the noun object.

We are now ready to deal with Wang Yin-chih's original statement that *yen* sometimes equals *shih*. His clearest example is taken from the Tso Chuan:

我周之東遷, 晉鄭焉依 "Our Chow's removal to the east was  
all through the help of Tsin and  
Ch'ing."

(Chinese Classics V. 1. 21)

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<sup>15</sup> "Copulatives *šé* tritt, namentlich wohl in der älteren Sprache, oft zwischen das logische Object und das Verbum. Man hat dann die Wahl, ob man mit JULIEN eine Inversion oder nicht lieber einen eigenthümlichen Gebrauch des Passivums annehmen will. Jedenfalls ist ein bestimmtes logisches Subject (Urheber) gemeint."



Legge's translation does not, of course, bring out the literal form, which would read "When our Chou removed to the east, Chin, Ch'eng—? relied on." The striking similarity between this and the last example cited is evident. Wang Yin-chih now notes that the same passage is to be found in the *Kuo-yü*, with only one change,—the substitution of *shih* for *yen*. Therefore, he concludes, *yen* and *shih* are interchangeable.

In view of the discussion that has preceded, we should be quite ready to see *shih* in such a case as a resuming pronoun. The *Kuo-yü* form of the text then reads literally "... Chin, Ch'eng—these (he) relied on." Now if *yen* may be substituted for *shih*, then it too may play the part of a resuming pronoun. But since it differs from *shih*, by our hypothesis, in containing also a preposition *yü*, it will resume a different kind of object. The solution of this is not hard to guess. In contrast with a direct object anteposed, *yen* may very appropriately resume an indirect or oblique object. We should then have "... Chin, Ch'eng—ON these (he) relied."

The question that immediately arises is this: how does the verb *rely* actually behave in cases where its relation to the object is clear? The Harvard-Yenching concordance to the Tso Chuan shows 9 occurrences of the word in that text. Of these, three do not help us toward an answer, since they involve factors that may be still controversial. In the remaining 6 the verb *rely* is twice followed directly by a noun object, and twice followed by a noun object introduced by *yü*. Once it is preceded by *shih* as what we have recognized to be a resuming pronoun. The sixth case is the one with which we started, where *yen* appears to take the place of *shih*. We have here again no overwhelming mass of material, but we may find it not too difficult to accept the proportion

direct object (2 cases) : *yü* plus object (2 cases) ::  
*shih* as resuming pronoun (1 case) : *yen* (1 case)

and the consequent conclusion that *yen* is equivalent to *yü* plus a pronoun. We may then consider that we have disposed of the definitions numbered 11 and 32.

### *Final particles*

In all the preceding discussion the functions found for *yen* have been intimately connected with the functions of the verb, and these



functions are syntactically the most important. But any student of Chinese who has followed the argument thus far will immediately object that when all is said and done the still unexplained function of *yen* at the end of a sentence is, quantitatively at least, much the most important. Before proceeding to an examination of this subject, we may dispose of an intermediate case. If *yen* consists of a preposition plus a pronoun, then as it is detached from the immediate surroundings of the verb we may still expect to see it performing functions to which a prepositional phrase is appropriate. One such function, frequently seen in *yü shih*, is that of a temporal connective "thereupon, after that." It is therefore not surprising that definition No. 16 attributes the same meaning to *yen*, and we may take this simply as additional evidence of its true nature.

A recurring definition is that of *yen* as adverbial suffix. Here it parallels *jan* 然, and does appear to be interchangeable with it. The explanation of this lies behind a great deal of phonological investigation into which we cannot enter here. The word *jan* is, in the writer's opinion, also a composite form consisting of a verb (or "preposition") plus a pronoun. The interchange between this, which was Anc. *ñziän*, and *yen*, Anc. *ïän* or *jiän*, depends on the final of the preceding word and on accentuation, that is, it is a matter of sandhi. For the purposes of this paper we shall frankly dodge the subject, thus leaving untouched the definitions numbered 6, 10, 14, and 24.

We have already chosen to disregard descriptions of *yen* that do no more than call attention to its location, but we have noted in the list some that attempt to characterize it as a special kind of final particle. These are of three varieties, the first and most specific of which defines *yen* as an interrogative particle. The importance of such particles has already been mentioned. Six examples of this use are cited by Yang on p. 494 of his grammar, but not a single one of them proves the point. In every case the sentence contains another interrogative word, so that the only conclusion to be drawn is that when *yen* is an "interrogative final particle" the preceding sentence must be a question. This leaves us about where we started.

A typical case cited by Yang is

既庶矣, 又何加焉 "Since they are thus numerous, what more shall be done for them?"

(Chinese Classics I. 130-1)



The second part is literally "What shall be added to them?" and consists of a conjunction, an interrogative pronoun, a verb, and *yen*. The pronoun and the verb make up the expression "what shall be added?" and no apparent need remains for an interrogative particle. On the other hand, if Legge's translation is correct, an expression involving *yü* and a pronoun may well be expected. Something should correspond to "to them," and something does, namely, *yen*, which represents an indirect object, being the equivalent of *yü chih*. Unless better examples can be cited, we must consider this definition among the most absurd, and we have no hesitation in eliminating No. 37.

The second variety treats *yen* as a subordinating or coordinating particle. This is on the face of it suspicious, as it is difficult to see how *yen* could do either of these things successfully, if it tries to do both. One example of correlation is furnished in Mathews' dictionary and one is referred to by Legge in his translation of Mencius. The fact that *yen* occurs at the end of successive clauses is undeniable, but any argument from this would have to be rather circular. We may start with the assumption that *yen* serves to show coordination; we find two clauses ending in *yen*; therefore the clauses are coordinate. But we shall meet this coming back around the corner if we start differently. Coordinate clauses in Chinese are recognizable from the fact that they are constructed on parallel lines, for example, "Roses are red, violets are blue." Clause number one ends in *yen*; clause number two parallels it; therefore clause number two also ends in *yen*. This seems to be all that is meant by definitions numbered 3, 27, and 30.

As we have indicated, quite a different function would be involved if *yen* "marks the end of the protasis," thereby indicating a subordinate clause. This opinion is shared by Yang Shu-ta, who cites the following on p. 492:

民之服焉, 不亦宜乎 "Is it not right that the people should submit in this case?"

(*Chinese Classics* V. 2. 739, line 14)

Legge's translation may be rearranged to bring out the construction. "If the people submit, is it not right?" There seems to be no question but that Legge, whose instinct kept him on the alert even when his analysis lagged, intended "in this case" as the equivalent



of *yen*. This would be quite in accord with the composition of the latter as preposition plus pronoun, but there is no reason why *yen* should not be taken in a still more specific sense. If we examine the text immediately preceding, we shall find the statement on which our question was a commentary.

季氏出其君, 而民服焉 “Ke-she expelled his ruler, and the people submitted to him.”  
(line 12)

Legge has here taken *yen* as a pronoun in the position of indirect object, and it is quite obvious that the later occurrence is identical. “If the people submit *to him*, is it not right?” If *yen* ends a protasis, it is entirely accidental.

This conclusion can again be corroborated by examining the general behavior of the verb *submit*. It is frequently found in the Tso Chuan as follows: with a direct object, meaning *subdue*; with *yü* plus object, meaning *submit to*. It is therefore clear why *yen* is not only appropriate in this case, but necessary. If the verb were left without object, it should mean *were subdued*, and while this may have been nearer to the historical fact, the point of the whole passage is to suggest that the people submitted voluntarily. Cases such as this one have probably generated the notion of *yen* as a particle of euphony. Eliminate Nos. 4 and 18.

The third variety describes *yen* as an affirmative particle. This is the weakest definition of the three, and the one for which the largest number of examples is generally cited. If by it is meant that *yen* is found at the end of affirmative sentences, then it becomes nothing more than a remark on its position, since nothing is needed to make sentences affirmative. No. 25 speaks of its “descriptive function,” which is not very illuminating.

As a final particle at its weakest the force of *yen* may be illustrated perhaps by a sentimental English passage:

I saw you standing on the corner *there*. Your eyes reflected the starlight *in them*. I spoke to you *then*, but you made no reply. So I left you standing on the corner *there*.

The italicized words are by no means essential to a scientific statement on the melancholy event, but neither are they mere expletives or particles of euphony. They have a definite meaning, and they



convey a definite impression. In Chinese each might be expressed by *yen*, and one can well understand how such definitions as "with descriptive function" or "giving a liveliness to the style" may have arisen. But the reason why *yen* is their equivalent is that they are adverbs or adverbial phrases. *Yen*, being compounded of a preposition and a pronoun, may function in a variety of ways as the oblique object for a verb. Detached from immediate connection with a verb, it is a prepositional phrase, especially an adverbial expression of time or place. Pushed to the end of the sentence, its force is weakened further, until it may merely echo a prepositional phrase that went before.

Every occurrence of *yen* in the literature should be subjected to the test of equating it with *yü chih*. One would be rash to promise that no residue of doubt would then remain. But one may hope that the residue would be much smaller than is left by the comfortless view of *yen* as "just another particle."





# THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF ISLAMIC RELIGIOUS POETRY<sup>1</sup>

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LIKE CHRISTENDOM, Islam did not inspire at the outset any religious poetry. This is remarkable because Islam had from the beginning a firm grip on every province of Arabic culture. Moreover, while Christianity found itself involved for centuries in a struggle for its very existence, Islam, after a decade of comparatively mild persecution, got the better of its adversaries and was free to develop according to its tendencies.

Modern investigation if interested at all in the literary aspect of Early Islam, has been prevented from recognizing this deficiency because of the considerable number of political poems of which the wording obscures the non-religious sentiment.<sup>2</sup> The point is that political manifestos, polemics, and apologetics involve by their very nature the technical terms of the group whose aims are proclaimed or contested. If these slogans happen to be religiously colored, their use does not become a symptom of the growth of religious poetry; and this is equally true of the praise conferred on the prophet, enumerating his spiritual attributes and his temporal achievements, if it is done in the same mechanical way in which more worldly epithets were used when the poet was confronted with his ordinary task of hailing a generous grandseigneur.

On the other hand, it is evident that about 180 years later, Islam had laid the foundations of a religious poetry which remained productive for several centuries, often attaining a high degree of beauty. Since we are concerned on this occasion with establishing the historical data of the process, it suffices to touch upon the gradual spiritualization of Islam during its first 200 years, and upon

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<sup>1</sup>This preliminary survey is based on a paper read at the 151st meeting of the American Oriental Society at Baltimore, Md., April 1939.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. the views held by Omar A. Farrukh, *Das Bild des Frühislam in der arabischen Dichtung von der Hǧra bis zum Tode des Kalifen 'Umar* (1937), and by M. Rahatullah Khan, *Vom Einfluss des Qur'ans auf die arabische Dichtung* (1938). See also the reviews of the writer, *WZKM* 45. 292 ff, and *Orientalia* 9. 179 ff.



the ever stronger hold that it obtained on the souls of its adherents. The noted hostility, however, that Muḥammad exhibited towards poets and poetry in general can not be accounted a decisive cause in this respect, since there is no doubt that he sponsored poetry whenever it seemed to further his plans.<sup>3</sup>

It is true that during Muḥammad's lifetime we can trace some stray verses, mostly Rajaz, of which the genesis is due to a purely religious emotion;<sup>4</sup> but they were not accepted as models by the community. Arabic literary theory never has included religious elements among the recognized motives, although most of the outstanding critics were acquainted with at least three eminent divisions of religious poetry: the panegyric of the Prophet as represented by the so-called *Burda-Qaṣīdas* from Ka'b b. Zuhair to al-Būṣīrī; the lyrics of the mystics; and the *Zuhdiyyāt*, the expression of an ascetic and pessimistic sentiment. By the end of the eighth century A.D., however, religious thinking and feeling had pervaded the mind of the average Muslim to such an extent that it found its way into poetry without being considered an innovation. When, in 786, Hārūn ar-Rashīd ascends the throne, the change becomes visible for the first time. Suddenly historical statements imply theological aspects, religious emotion is noticeable throughout, and Islamic phraseology invades poetry much more effectively than it had done before.<sup>5</sup> All poets of any standing are dominated by this movement as was any dilettante when trying his hand at a casual poem.

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<sup>3</sup> The chief argument that Muḥammad adopted against the poets, the contradiction between their words and their deeds (Sūra 26. 226), implies the same confusion between aesthetic creation and reality as is shown, for instance, in the famous judgment which Umm Jundub, one century before the prophet, is said to have pronounced on the value of some verses of Imru'ulqais and 'Alqama. She awarded the prize to the latter because the horse which he had described was the better one, and not on account of any alleged artistic superiority. (E. g. *Aghānī* 7. 128 and 21. 173 f. De Slane, *Le Diwan d'Amro'lkaïs* (1837), 79 f., in his detailed account of the poetical competition fails to consider the asthetical point involved.) We must not blame Muḥammad for the inadequacy of his ideas since even Greek criticism in the late 5th century B. C. was either unwilling or unable to distinguish between a poet's personal opinions and those held by his characters. For details cf. E. E. Sikes, *The Greek View of Poetry* (1931), especially pp. 32 and 52.

<sup>4</sup> E. g. Ṭabarī 1 1477 and, slightly altered, 1478. The lines are frequently quoted.

<sup>5</sup> See e. g., Ṭabarī 3. 605 ff. and some of the verses of Abu Nuwās in praise



The task of identifying the antecedents of this movement presupposes the solution of the preliminary problem of estimating the available sources. There are three classes of sources to be taken into consideration. The *dīwāns* of the strictly literary poets may reflect the deep cultural change in the minds of their audience. The second group can not be separated entirely from the first, as many poems of the first category originated in much the same way as did the songs occasioned by political events in the hearts of non-professional minstrels, who acted at the same time as journalists, diplomats, demagogues, or government speakers. The verses of this class are the more symptomatic as they are mostly spontaneous creations, only vaguely dependent upon the rigorous tradition of classical poetry.

This is even more true of the third group of sources. Ever since there has been an elaborate literary style through which certain aesthetic views materialized into the standard poetry of the day, there has existed also a more popular type of writing; it was influenced, of course, by the high tradition, but remained outside it, meeting the needs of the man in the street which canonized literature fails to fulfill. This does not mean folksongs but rather the numerous products that for some reason or other do not attain completely the level of literature. In Arabic, examples of this type are usually ascribed to apocryphal authors with high-sounding names, including every popular hero from Adam himself to the Caliph 'Alī. Occidental research has until now been content to establish the obvious fact of their spuriousness, and has overlooked their significance, dismissing them without an attempt to utilize them for literary history. Naturally, it would be sheer waste of time if anybody should endeavor to draw their exact genealogical lineage; on the other hand, it is indispensable to establish as closely as possible the time of their origin, since these undercurrents not only help to explain some of the phenomena which regular literature exhibits, but constitute an important part of cultural history.<sup>6</sup>

In spite of our still defective knowledge of the sources, two fundamental facts can already be established: first, there is internal

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of Hārūn, such as p. 59 l. 3; 60. 6; 62. 5, 6; 63, 3 of the edition Cairo, 1898.

<sup>6</sup> For representatives of the type see, e. g., Mas'ūdī, *Murūj* 1. 65 ff.; 3. 104, 114; al-Iṣbahānī, *Dalā'il an-nubuwwa* 22, 210.



evidence for the existence of this kind of poems, mostly narrative, which seem to gratify the desire for epic descriptions of Arabic prehistory and early Islamic history, about 100 A.H., to adopt cautiously the latest possible term. The second result is a principle valid for any literature: the new poetry rose rather slowly from the third to the second, and from the second to the first class of poetical documents, reflecting the increasing resistance against innovations of those poetical forms which were solidified by tradition. It takes the historical improvisation about twenty years to allow the same infiltration with religious sentiment that is perceptible, for instance, in the verses recited by a demoniacal voice to announce his death to the Caliph al-Manṣūr in 775.<sup>7</sup> Whereas the panegyrics and comments on the events after the inauguration of the Caliph al-Hādī, in 785, are imbued with religious spirit,<sup>8</sup> it takes standard literature another dozen years to produce its first outstanding work of an exclusively religious trend, the *Zuhdiyyāt* of Abū 'l-'Atāhiya.

After the preliminary survey of the sources the outlines of the development may be sketched as follows: the decline of poetical religious utterances—as opposed to prose apophthegms which enjoyed constant growth—after the dirges for the Prophet had stopped,<sup>9</sup> is proof enough of the weakness of the poetic impetus in Muḥammad's lifetime. The next generation abstained from expressing in poetry its religious feeling, and the curious silence in this respect is broken only by some attempts at versifying the creed, and declaring personal allegiance to the community of believers. The situation changes as a result of the Civil Wars which brought about the secession of the Hārijites and the murder of 'Alī. Whereas the puritans and ascetics of the preceding generation, including the extremist wing of the *bukḥā'*,<sup>10</sup> never dreamt of literary manifestations of this kind, some of their spiritual successors, the Hārijites, felt no inhibition against presenting their conviction as well as their religious and moral sentiments in poetical form.<sup>11</sup> Their tendency

<sup>7</sup> Ṭabarī 3. 450.

<sup>8</sup> For specimens of the style cf. e.g., *Aghānī* 12. 105; Ṭabarī 3. 549 and Mas'ūdī 6. 283.

<sup>9</sup> Even Rahatullah, whose outlook is quite different notes the fact, loc. cit. 23 f.

<sup>10</sup> On their position see the writer's remarks *WZKM* 44. 47 f.

<sup>11</sup> Cf., e.g., the poems Ṭabarī 2. 19 and 2. 36 (the latter particularly beautiful), the verses Mas'ūdī 4. 435, Nöldeke, *Delectus* 88 ff., and the



was followed by a few enthusiasts, nearly all of whom were suspect as to the orthodoxy of their views. Most of them showed Shi'ite leanings, like Ibn Qais ar-Ruqayyāt, Kutayyir 'Azza, and al-Kumait.

In addition to statements of political rather than religious import, the verses in question are characterized by allusions to Islamic customs, by the coining of adages in the Prophet's spirit, and by quotations from, or hints at, Qur'anic revelations.<sup>12</sup> At the same time another current becomes visible, and this is especially evident in the work of the semi-hārijite poet at-Ṭirimmāḥ:<sup>13</sup> an antiquarian interest in heathen Arabia, expressed by the introduction into his Qaṣīdas of obsolete ideas that do not belong to the traditional stock of motives, such as idols and sacrificial stones.<sup>14</sup> Sometimes we even encounter an inclination to put into verse memorable facts of the earliest history of Islam, generally in connection with praise conferred on people claiming spiritual leadership whose ancestors had taken part in the events mentioned.<sup>15</sup>

The most interesting fact about this literary epoch is, however, that these same poets introduce religious phraseology and religious images into the amatory ode:<sup>16</sup> the coy girl is threatened with the divine punishment for the murder she commits;<sup>17</sup> the beloved one represents paradise on earth;<sup>18</sup> she even incites the poet to the

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respective part of al-Mubarrad's *Kāmil*. For anti-hārijitic utterances see, e. g., Ibn Qais ar-Ruqayyāt (ed. Rhodokanakis) 66.3 and Ṭabarī 2.1021.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Krenkow p. XXII of the introduction to his edition of at-Ṭirimmāḥ's poems.

<sup>13</sup> Qur'anic legends, e. g., Ibn Qais ar-Ruqayyāt App. 21, 1-3; al-Quṭāmī (ed. Barth) 23. 24-27 and 29. 38 ff. The influence of Qur'anic wording is traceable, e. g., Ṭabarī 1. 30117, 3062, 3142<sup>14</sup>; 2. 149<sup>5.6</sup> (and passim), Ibn Qais ar-Ruqayyāt 15.14; 39.26; 61.19; al-Quṭāmī 29.21; 33.46, 50; Kutayyir 'Azza (ed. Pérès) 4. 5; 81. 5; Abū 'l-Aswad ad-Du'alī *ZDMG* 18. 235, 236 and 238; 'Umar b. abī Rabī'a (ed. Schwarz) 22. 8. The *Fihrist*, p. 70, mentions a *Kitāb sariqāt al-Kumait min al-Qur'ān*, to which Horowitz, *Hāsimijjāt*, Einleitung XIX, refers.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. at-Ṭirimmāḥ 4. 36; 5. 54; 47. 36; 49. 1-3 and Ṭabarī 2. 485<sup>15</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> Ṭabarī 2. 664 (Badr), 1226 (Quraiza and Naḍīr), Mas'ūdī 4. 188 (Sajāḥ), at-Ṭirimmāḥ 11. 1-3 Sajāḥ-Musailima); Ibn Qais ar-Ruqayyāt 39. 36-39 (Suhail b. 'Amr).

<sup>16</sup> For 'Umar b. abī Rabī'a (and two of his contemporaries), whose verses exhibit the same phenomenon, Paul Schwarz, *Der Diwan des 'Umar b. abi Rebi'a*, 4. Heft (1909) 28 ff. has collected part of the evidence. 'Umar can not be classed, however, with the afore mentioned poets.

<sup>17</sup> Ibn Qais ar-Ruqayyāt 52. 4.

<sup>18</sup> Kutayyir 'Azza 8. 7, 8.



blasphemous statement that he would join her apostasy whenever she decided to turn to idolatry.<sup>19</sup> The technical language of the erotic poems is definitely enriched and even changed by the new style.<sup>20</sup> This style is not to be taken too seriously, but it would be misunderstood if interpreted as sheer playfulness. The usual setting of love-making is sometimes left for a meeting during the pilgrimage, and some of these passages display much grace.<sup>21</sup> In this way love poetry proved its vigor by incorporating adaptable elements into its inherited form, helped, it is true, to a degree by the independent development of the *Qit'a*, the so-called fragment, that took place in this epoch. Again it is significant that religious poetry proper did not avail itself of this easy scheme for its own ends.<sup>22</sup>

It is strange to see that the first decades of the 'Abbāsīd empire were practically empty of even casual religious poetry, much more so than the last years of the régime that the 'Abbāsīds supplanted. We may infer, however, from Abu Dulāma's frivolities,<sup>23</sup> and the philosophical and anti-Islamic statements of outspoken heretics such as Bashshār b. Burd or Muṭī' b. Iyās and his circle<sup>24</sup> that the habit of poetical expression of religious tenets and feelings had spread widely.

And then, all of a sudden, coinciding with the maturity of the first generation which had been brought up under the officially pious

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Ibn Qais 55. 7 and 'Umar 76. 10 (and Schwarz, loc. cit. 30).

<sup>20</sup> Cf., e. g., the idea of (amorous) sin: *itm* or *danb* Kutayyir 4. 3; 'Umar 96. 3; 104. 12, 14 and passim.

<sup>21</sup> Cf., e. g., Ibn Qais 34. 2; Kutayyir 4. 6, 7; 9. 5; 25. 7-9; note especially al-Quḥaif al-'Uqailī (ed. Krenkow) 20. 1-6 (*JRAS* 1913, pp. 363 f.).

<sup>22</sup> Tradition records a few *Qit'as* of mystical inspiration that belong to the eighth century A. D. Cf., e. g., the couplets of Rābi'a (717-801) in Margaret Smith, *Rābi'a the Mystic* (1928) 98 and 102 f., and the verses quoted by ash-Shādilī (E. J. Jurji, *Illumination in Islamic Mysticism* (1938), 49 and 62, and assigned by Margaret Smith, *The Moslem World* 29 (1939) 190 to early authors.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. poems 20, 21, 34, 35, 49. 3-5 and 50 in Mohammed ben Cheneb's edition, Alger, 1922. The editor has some good examples for the development of that poetical attitude on pp. 111 ff. See also Muslim b. al-Walīd (ed. de Goeje) 3. 22.

<sup>24</sup> See Georges Vajda, "Les zindīqs en pays d'Islam au début de la période abbaside," *RSO* 17. 173 ff. This paper contains some interesting information on Abū 'l-'Atāhiya as well.



‘Abbāsid government, the verses accompanying and glossing historical events are imbued with a thoroughly theological view of history. The will of God is incessantly discovered in every turn of affairs, the door to prayer is thrown open, and religion not only interferes deeply with all worldly matters, but is expressly acknowledged to do so by the poetical commentators on contemporary events.

Inspired by the same views and guided by the more austere aspect of Islamic morals, Abū ‘l-‘Atāhiya finally gives religion its due place within his work. He had had forerunners in his stern and quiet pessimism,<sup>25</sup> but no one had attained his perfection; what is still more important, no one had made religion the center of his poetical endeavors. That is why he deserves to be mentioned, for he marks a point of transition. Since the stream of religious poetry never again dried up, he may justly be considered an anticipation of the future as well.




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<sup>25</sup> See, e. g., Brockelmann, *GAL*, Supplement 1. 99 on Sābiq ar-Raqqī.



## PROBLEMS OF KETHIB-QERE \*

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WITH THE exception of Kahle and his school, studies in masoretic problems have been so rare in recent years that one interested in the historical study of the Bible is inclined to greet with more than usual anticipation the appearance of a book on such an important phase of the Masorah as the Kethib-Qere. But a careful examination of Gordis's book on the Kethib-Qere<sup>1</sup> proved to be a disillusioning experience. Not only does it fail to advance our knowledge of the subject, but it may even mislead the average student of the Bible concerning the historical origin and nature of the K-Q.

1. After giving in Chapters I and II a summary and critique of the previous discussions of the subject (on which see § 7 below), the author advances in Chap. III what he believes to be an original explanation of how the K-Q system came into existence: (a) "The Q was a direction to the Reader, to guard against blasphemy and obscenity . . ." (p. 31); (b) ". . . the Q . . . was soon utilized as a protection against ignorance, or, more precisely, as a *means of fixing pronunciation before the invention of the vocalic system*" (ibid.; italics in original).

This explanation is not new. In his *Canon and Text of the Old Testament* (1892) 100 ff., Buhl expressed the opinion that the אֲדָנִי/יְהוָה (= G.'s List 1, p. 85) and שָׁגַל/שָׁכַב (= G.'s List 2, p. 86) types of K-Q were the basis of the K-Q system.<sup>2</sup> And our author himself informs us (p. 36, n. 24; p. 170, n. 75. Both

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\* *The Biblical Text in the Making: A Study of the Kethib-Qere*. By Robert Gordis. Philadelphia: The Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning (Doctoral Dissertation). 1937. 219 pages.

<sup>1</sup> The title, "The Biblical Text in the Making . . ." is misleading. Students of the Bible usually associate the concept with the origin, growth, and composite structure of the Old Testament. Gordis's book deals essentially with the Kethib-Qere phase of the masoretic text in the making.

<sup>2</sup> "A trace of this *quid pro quo* [viz., K-Q] can clearly be traced back to the time before Christ . . . the substitution of יְהוָה for אֲדָנִי . . . This somewhat remarkable phenomenon [viz., the K-Q system] . . . is explained very simply from one part of the Qarjan . . . Thus אֲדָנִי was read in place



references to be found in Brown-Driver-Briggs, Hebrew Lexicon, s. עני, p. 776b), "That the Q עני was intended to ensure the ׀, ending was already seen by Dillmann (on Nu. 12:3) and Koenig: Lehrgebaude [sic!] II, I, 76" (= G.'s List 3, pp. 86 ff., "Guide Against Erroneous Reading"). Nevertheless, it is the merit of the author that he has attempted to build into a system what was to be found only sporadically elsewhere.

However, this theory in itself is neither likely *a priori* nor can it withstand critical analysis.

a. In the case of the Tetragrammaton there is septuagintal, mishnic, and other evidence that *YHWH* was read not as it was written. Since the Tetragrammaton is one of the most frequently used words in the Bible (usually listed as 6823 times according to the Masorah; though cf. Eb. Nestle, *ZAW*, 33 [1913] 73 f.), we may be quite confident that the earliest readers in the Temple and synagogues, as well as the readers of today, automatically read *Adonai* (or *Elohim*) every time they found *YHWH* in the text. They needed no warning and no guide.

b. In his List 3a (pp. 86 ff.), "Guide Against Erroneous Reading," the author has collected "examples of nouns in the plural with third person masculine singular suffix, written defectiva. To prevent the misreading as a singular, the reader is cautioned by the Q on the margin to read the plural."

What determines pronunciation in unvocalized text is the context, and even here the absence of vowels is liable to create confusion and ambiguity. Yet it is sufficient to glance through some 135 cases of K ׀- Q י׃- listed by the author to realize that there is hardly a single case where the context and Hebrew idiom permit anything but the plural! Or else, one may go through the author's notes 6-72 (pp. 167-170) to find generally: "Only plural," "Cf. other plurals in verse," "Plural," "Cf. שתי ידיו (or חקיו, or אחיו, or רשעים, etc., etc.)," "Cf. the plural verb," "the K can be only plural because of its form," "The plural is normal," "... necessarily plural . . .," "Certainly plural," "Only the plural occurs," etc., etc. Surely, no guides were needed where context and usage precluded anything but a plural.

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of the unpronounceable יהוה . . . שכב instead of the unlucky שגל . . . and upon this hypothesis are really most easily explained such double forms of text as are absolutely equal in value . . ."



c. On the contrary, if a guide were really needed for the unpointed text, it would be the *hapaxlegomena*, unusual forms, tri-consonantal words like קִדָּשׁ that may be pointed in many different ways, "lists in the Ochla ve'Ochla [which] were really guides . . . to the pronunciation of words . . . liable to be mistaken for one another" (p. 34), and the like, that would surely have had a guide in the form of the Qere; not forms like יָדַי that could not possibly be read as *yādō* and had to be read *yādāw* (*scriptio defectiva*!) because the verb of which it is the subject is in the plural (*tirpēnāh*, Job 5:18), or because its adjective is the dual *šētē* (Lev. 16:21), or because, as noted most recently by the author himself (p. 167, n. 10), (*wayyiššā' 'ahārōn 'et-*) יָדַי (Lev. 9:22) must be the "Plural, both hands used in blessing . . ." Yet how many of the four categories mentioned above find representatives in the K-Q system?

d. Moreover, in his List 61 (on which see below) the author has placed 48 K-Q, the vast majority of which, according to the author himself, fit into the context equally well. Thus, in Jud. 13:17, both K דְּבַרִּיךְ and Q דְּבַרְךָ suit the context. And yet, curiously enough, it is precisely those cases of K-Q where the context precluded the possibility of the K and demanded the Q, that the author placed in his List 3a as requiring "Guides Against Erroneous Reading," whereas in the Judges passage, where the context permitted either the K or the Q, and where an erroneous reading was as probable as the correct reading, and, consequently, where a guide (if in use) would be most essential—precisely here there was no guide! And the K-Q is listed under the colorless "Variations in Singular and Plural."

e. According to the author, the K-Q system antedates Akiba and Aquila. "Rabbi Akiba could then speak of the Masorah as a fence about the Torah, while the version of Aquila, which is in large measure due to him, is the most reliable witness we possess to the condition of the Akiban text" (pp. 33 f.).

Apart from the extremely hazardous attempt to connect Akiba's מַסְרַת סִיג לַתּוֹרָה with the masoretic text, this statement vitiates the author's attempt to impose the task of guide on the Q of his List 3a. If the masoretic text and system had existed in the days of Akiba and Aquila, these scholars would surely have followed the "masoretic guide." So much so, that if evidence could be



produced that they ignored this "guide," it would demonstrate beyond all serious argument that in reality they knew of no "guide" because none was in existence. That evidence is readily at hand. In Ezek. 43:26 (a case not listed by the author, though noted, e. g., by Reider, *Prolegomena to a Greek-Hebrew and Hebrew-Greek Index to Aquila*, § 43), Aquila (apud Jerome, *manum eius*) reads K קִי as against the Q, and 'guide,' קִי.<sup>3</sup> And in Deut. 28:30, Jer. 3:2, and Psa. 45(44):10, Aquila has reproduced the obscene שגל (K), disregarding the "guide against obscenity," the Q שכב, in the author's List 2 (p. 86).

f. In his List 4 (pp. 92 ff.) the author has assembled "nouns with the older masculine singular ending Holem He. To avert the possibility of their being read Kames He, i. e., as feminine suffixes, the Q writes the later and clearer form, with Vav, on the margin, as a guide to the reader in the absence of vocalization" (p. 92). Yet he contradicts himself, and correctly so, when he writes (p. 170, n. 77), "In practically all these cases, the context makes anything but a masculine suffix an impossibility." In other words, there was no possibility of these אלהים (Gen. 9:21) and המונה (Ezek. 31:18) forms being read other than ה- ("his . . ."), as opposed to ה-, ("her . . ."), when the former referred to Noah and the latter to Pharaoh. Why, then, the need of a guide?

Space forbids further discussion of this, the author's major thesis. But I believe enough argument, apart from the author's own contradictions, has been advanced to prove that neither *a priori* nor in the light of the character and variety of the evidence adduced is this theory in any way probable or demonstrable.

2. As the author himself tells us (p. 29), "In every department of inquiry, the nineteenth century substituted for the famous query [sic!] of Ranke 'Wie es eigentlich gewesen' the question 'Wie es eigentlich geworden'." It is precisely here that our author has failed to advance our knowledge of the historical development of the K-Q system, and basically has presented us with a study of the Masorah along the old-fashioned and obsolete lines.

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<sup>3</sup> The author has listed (3a, pp. 90 ff.) Psa. 147:19 and Job 37:12 as instances of Aquila coinciding with the K as against the "guide" Q. These would provide additional evidence against the author's thesis (unnoted by him) but for the fact that the two passages have not been handled properly, and if anything are probably to be included in the Q column.



a. From the manner in which the author has arranged his 1350 cases of K-Q it is obvious that his approach has been essentially empirical and descriptive. Thus, the 1350 K-Q are distributed among no less than 85(!) Lists (pp. 85-158). One could never get so many lists from a historical approach to the problem.

b. The overwhelming majority of the K-Q are listed by the author according to purely external and superficial form. The author himself knew that this is fatal methodologically, as is evident from his criticisms of the Masorah, Levita, and Hiller: "It is true that the Masorah likewise lists the K-Q according to merely superficial resemblances . . . Thus to Hiller חוֹקֶה Ps. 74:11 and יִכְסוּמוֹ Ps. 140:10 belong to the same classification . . . Levita's classification . . . is also based purely on external resemblances" (p. 10). Yet who can doubt that within the empirical, purely descriptive framework of the K-Q, both Levita and Hiller have shown more method; for whereas Hiller coupled together forms like (ח)ו(קך) and (יכס)ו(מו), the author (see his n. 13, *ibid.*) places the former in his List 46 (p. 128) under "Similar [!] Nouns" together with forms like K לֹש Q לִישׁ, K וְסוּם Q וְסוּם, with the totally inapplicable note (255, p. 182), "Q, the normal form, yet the Arabic cognates are all ו"ע forms: 'ring' *hawak*[!]; 'width,' *hawak*[!]," and the latter was placed in his List 62 (p. 138), together with but one other entry (K אֶשְׁתֵּנִי Q אֶשְׁתֵּנִי), under the heading "Variations in Number where a construct Relation governs a Verb." And Levita at least distributed his 848 K-Q among but seven groups.

c. In his List 37, "Gentilic Nouns" (p. 120), the author has placed 13 cases of K-Q, of which 12 are the K כְּתִיִּים [pointed incorrectly כְּתִיִּים by our author] Q כְּתִיִּים type, both the K and the Q being equally acceptable to him. In the thirteenth case, K בְּצִתְתִּים Q בְּצִתְתִּים (Neh. 4:7), our author finds the Q only acceptable ("The K is almost certainly an error"). But aside from this, what connection has a word like *ṣāḥṭāh*, usually rendered "shining, glaring surface," with words like *kittīm*, *kaśdīm*, *yēhūdīm*, and *pēlišṭīm*? The author informs us (n. 175, p. 177), "We have included it here because of its superficial resemblance to the other members of this group." There are many other "superficial resemblances" throughout the 85 Lists which need not be cited here.



d. Were it not for the Index of K-Q passages provided on pp. 207-215 it would be virtually impossible, even after becoming familiar with the author's manner of listing, to locate a K-Q in his Lists. Thus, e. g., K *darkō* Q *darkī* (II Sam. 22:33) is coupled together with forms like K *tiśmehī* Q *tiśmehū* (Jer. 50:11), K *hiššigānū* Q *hiššigānī* (Jer. 51:34; pointed incorrectly *-ānnī* by our author), and the like, in his List 67 (pp. 140 ff.) under "Variations in Person, Number and Gender, mainly *Rhetorical*," whereas a form like K *benō* Q *benī* (I Ch. 22:7) is grouped with forms like K *weyāšēb* Q *weyāšēm* (Dan. 11:18) and K *במלכן* Q *במלִּין* (II Sam. 12:31) in his List 81 (pp. 150 ff.) under the purely subjective and unhistorical heading, "Q Equal in Value to K." And in view of the fact that the author has distributed hundreds of cases where in his opinion the "K = Q" throughout his 85 Lists, one may justly wonder why a case like *במלכן/במלִּין* was not put into his List 71 (pp. 143 ff.) under "Interchange between Beth, Kaph, and Mem," especially since 11 of the 12 K-Q listed in the latter are cases of "K = Q" in the opinion of the author. Or again, K *ʿabdō* Q *ʿabdekā* (II Sam. 14:22) and K *ʿšātō* Q *ʿšātī* (Isa. 46:11) are grouped together to form the sole occupants of List 66 (p. 140) under "Variations in Person because of different Agreements," while K *yitrō* Q *yitrī* (Job 30:11), which too have "different Agreements," are placed in § H (pp. 148 ff.) among the "Unclassified KQ" (where "the variations are not susceptible to classification"), in List 82 "Q preferable to K." Surely *yitrī/yitrō* is as classifiable as *ʿšātī/ʿšātō*! <sup>4</sup> It might have been awarded a List all to itself, as could any single K-Q in Lists 80-85, being no less worthy than the other cases of K-Q that either have Lists to themselves (e. g., 14, 23, 29, 44) or else share them with but one additional occupant (e. g., 5, 19, 21, 53, 62, 66, 75).

e. In his List 13 (p. 101) the author has assembled 5 cases of K *תס* Q *תִּסִּי*, with the comment, "The He supplied by the Q is in reality a means of preserving the word against a misreading as *תִּסִּי*." Why then were these 5 cases of K-Q not included among his Lists 3-8, as "Guides Against Erroneous Reading"? Moreover,

<sup>4</sup> On K *yitrō* Q *yitrī* the author, while leaning in favor of the Q ("תִּי"), states (p. 202, n. 565), "See Ibn Ezra, Rashi, and BDB for plausible interpretations of the K." But the two medieval commentators discuss the Q only, as is to be expected.



why were three other cases of  $\text{נא(ו)} [= \text{נא(ו)}]$  (cited by the author, *ibid.*) left without "guides" ?<sup>5</sup>

f. In a historical approach to the problem of the origin and classification of the K-Q, one cannot limit oneself to accepting the K in preference to the Q, or vice versa. What is basic here is, Which is the original reading? The original reading may very well be inferior to its mate in the K-Q, but it is nevertheless the former that is original, with the better reading being the later (and perhaps even corrupt!) variant. Accordingly, it is methodologically erroneous and useless for the author to have catalogued over 180 cases of K-Q (in Lists 80-83) on the sole basis of "their relative value." I shall cite but one case in point. In II Ki. 20:4 we find K  $\text{hā-}^{\text{r}}$  Q  $\text{hāšēr}$ , which the author has placed in his List 81 (pp. 150 ff.) under "Q equal in Value to K," with the note (539, p. 201), " $\text{עיר}$  and  $\text{חצר}$  are parallel in Isa 42:11." As I have attempted to demonstrate in "The Kings-Isaiah Recensions of the Hezekiah Story" (*JQR* 30 [1939-40] 33 ff.) the K  $\text{hā-}^{\text{r}}$  not only is completely impossible in the context but can be proved historically to be a corruption of the original  $(b\epsilon\text{-})\text{hāšēr}$ , and in "*Hāšēr in the Old Testament*," (*JAOS* 59 [1939] 22 ff.) I have attempted to demonstrate the character of the  $\text{hšr}$  in Isa. 42:11, at best but parallel and not interchangeable with  $^{\text{r}}$ , as entirely different in root, meaning, and gender from the  $\text{hšr}$  of II Ki. 20:4.

g. Elsewhere (in a paper read before the Society of Biblical Literature, December 1937) I have attempted to demonstrate the common historical origin of 4 such cases of K-Q, all in Job, as K  $\text{והיתי}$  Q  $\text{והנתי}$  (6:21), K  $\text{במו}$  Q  $\text{במי}$  (9:30), K  $\text{יבלו}$  Q  $\text{יבלו}$  (21:13), K  $\text{יתרו}$  Q  $\text{יתרי}$  (30:11), in paleographic corruption of  $\text{ו/י}$  and  $\text{כ/ב}$  in the post-Septuagint square script. Gordis, on the other hand, has listed  $\text{והיתי והותי}$  as the sole representative of his List 29 (p. 113) under "K-Yod, Q-Vav between Vowels,"  $bemō/\text{bemē}$  in his List 80 (p. 150) under "K preferable to Q,"  $yehallū/\text{yekallū}$  in his List 41 (p. 124) under "Synonyms" [!], and  $yitrī/\text{yitrō}$  in his List 82 (p. 154) under "Q preferable to K."

It is unnecessary to go into more detail concerning the manner

<sup>5</sup> Note that in one of these three (Ezek. 28:14) the Masoretic text in Kittel's BH<sup>2</sup>, based essentially on Jacob ben Chayyim's edition (1524-25), actually does point  $\text{נא}$ .



in which the author went about classifying the K-Q. There is a complete lack of method, of objective, historical criteria.

3. The author has made use of statistics to prove or disprove various points. Figures, particularly those, as in our case, running into two and three and even four digits, may look very impressive on the surface, but a careful analysis of the method employed in arriving at them and in relating them to things which are strictly comparable only too often reveals their lack of value as compiled and applied. I shall limit myself here to but four observations.

a. We have seen above that the character of the K or the Q as the superior or inferior or equally good reading does not at all necessarily prove the character of the K or Q as the historically original reading. Even more, in many cases which the author has listed under "K preferable to Q," "Q preferable to K," "K equal in value to Q," "Synonyms," and the like, it can be demonstrated historically that the 'superior' K is later than the original (although "inferior") Q, that the "inferior" K is the original reading as opposed to the later (even if "better") Q, that the K is the earlier reading as against the "equally good" Q, etc. Accordingly, when the author has divided up his K-Q into categories like "better," "equally satisfactory," "preferable," etc., and has used them statistically for or against an argument, these statistics are without value.

b. But even in his application of these statistics the author has committed serious errors. For example, in arguing against the Correction Theory he states (p. 3), "... the Q cannot be a correction of the K. Indeed, a study of all the KQ . . . shows that only in 18% of the entire number is the Q a better reading than the K, while in 12% the K is to be preferred to the Q, and in 62% [sic! Note 66% below, and on pp. 23, 82] the K and the Q are equally satisfactory." Now contrast the following (on pp. 48 and 49), "... *our written text, including the Kethib, is substantially the text of the archetype, while the Q is a selection of worth-while readings from the other non-archetypal manuscripts* [italics in the original] . . . (Lists No. 9-84) . . . The large percentage of cases where the Q is preferable to the K (18%), and where the Q is as satisfactory as the K (66%), is also natural. Where the archetype was markedly superior . . ."



In other words, in attempting to refute the Correction Theory, the 18% Q is made to appear pretty insignificant ("only in 18%"), while the 12% K is elevated in importance, alongside the 66% where  $K = Q$ . But in attempting to prove his own point, the "only in 18%" Q has become transferred into "the large percentage" and it is now appended to the 66%  $K = Q$ , with the 12% K completely ignored!

c. Nor is this all. In Appendix A (p. 82) the author gives "The Detailed Results of the Analysis," whereby he arrived at the 12%, 18%, etc. Even a cursory glance at the chart is sufficient to condemn it as valueless statistically. Thus we are given 132 cases where, according to the author, the Q is definitely superior to the K, with 68 additional cases marked as "doubtful." In category 3, where the author prefers the K to the Q, there are 108 cases "definite" and 25 "doubtful." The author then proceeds to add up  $132 + 68 = 200$  cases of "Q Superior to K" and  $108 + 25 = 133$  cases of "K Superior to Q," dividing them into the "Grand Total 1077" (i.e., 1350 K-Q minus the 273 K-Q distributed among Lists 2-8 [correct the author's 1-8, since his List 1 (p. 85), the Tetragrammaton, has fully 6823 K-Q unto itself], his "Guides"), to arrive at 18.57% of the former to 12.34% of the latter.

But this is scarcely permissible. Whereas the 68 "doubtful" cases form more than 50% of the 132 "definite" cases in "Q Superior to K," the 25 "doubtful" cases form less than 25% of the 108 "definite" cases in "K Superior to Q." So that remembering the relatively small difference between the author's 18% Q and the 12% K, how can one take it upon himself to operate with the 93 "doubtful" cases? And even accepting, for the sake of argument, the author's 132 and 108 "definite" K-Q, his 3:2 advantage (18%:12%) for the Q dwindles down to but 3:2.5, not such a decisive difference after all. Unfortunately, as we saw above, even these totals of the author have no value.

d. The author has used statistics extensively to adduce proof for his thesis from the versions, especially the Septuagint and (to give them their chronological, rather than their hexaplaric order) Theodotion, Aquila, and Symmachus. I shall discuss briefly in the following section on the versions how the author's own (but unreliable) statistics help prove his thesis wrong.



4. Since I hope to publish separately the evidence that I have been able to adduce from the Septuagint and the Minor Versions concerning the origin and character of the K-Q, I shall limit myself here merely to a summary analysis of the author's method of using the versions.

a. On p. 66 the author gives us a chart of statistics representing "The Reaction of the Versions to the KQ." Here again the method of compilation and application is faulty.

As regards the Septuagint (see his Table One, p. 65), the author adduces evidence therefrom for 622 cases of K-Q. Yet it is sufficient to check up on a few of these to realize that the entire work must be done over. Thus, e. g., in his List 80 (pp. 148 ff.) the Q *w<sup>e</sup>rob* (Job 33:19) and the K *lō'* (41:4), and in his List 67 (pp. 140 ff.) the two cases of K in Job 33:28, *napšī* and *w<sup>e</sup>hayyātī*, all four are attributed to the Septuagint *Vorlage*, and the first three (why not the fourth too?) to Theodotion also. Actually all four are part of the approximately one-sixth of the current Greek text of Job that Origen inserted into his hexaplaric edition of the Septuagint from Theodotion, and do not belong to the Septuagint at all (apparently the author misunderstood the import of "G . . . = θ" in Beer's *Hiob*). Or again, in his List 82 (pp. 152 ff.) the author has attributed the Q *yitrī* (Job 30:11) to the Septuagint, when the latter actually read the K *yitrō* (φapέτρav αὐτοῦ). In Job 33:21 the text is much too difficult for one to explain Sept. ἀποδείξη (if it does represent  $\sqrt{\text{שפה}}$  in this stich) with certainty by Q *w<sup>e</sup>šuppū* (so Gordis, following Beer, et al., in his List 58, p. 135). The author's Septuagint = Q should at the very least be transferred from the "certain" to the "doubtful" class. In his List 72 (p. 144), under "Asyndeton," the author placed K *'ad* Q *w<sup>e</sup>'ad* of Job 2:7 without any reference to the Septuagint ἕως = K *'ad*. And the same is true of K והייתי Q *w<sup>e</sup>hawwātī* of Job 6:2, where both the inner Hebrew and the Greek demand the form preserved as the Q. Here too the author was unaware of the value of the Septuagint.

Without going into any more detail, the evidence presented here may be summed up as follows: out of the 19 cases of K-Q in Job considered by the author in relation to the Septuagint, 5 are certainly wrong, one is extremely doubtful, and one K and one Q should be added.



b. Not only are the author's figures for the K-Q-Septuagint unreliable in themselves but even the conclusions that he draws from his own statistics hardly deserve the decisive character that he attributes to them, viz., "The marked preference shown for the Q by the LXX . . ." (p. 60) and " . . . the predilection for the Q " (p. 61, n. 14). After all, 320 Q to 213 K (see p. 66) is not so great a predilection as to base such positive conclusions thereon. For if the author permits himself to do this in the case of a proportion of but 3:2 out of 533 "certain" cases of K-Q, then his statistics for Aquila disprove his conclusions from the Septuagint at once, for, even allowing for the relative meagerness of the data, Aquila (according to the author; but see § 1 e above and n. 3, for the incorrect nature of the statistics) has but 23 "certain" Q to fully 21 K.

c. In his chart on p. 66 the author lists 450 cases of "certain" K-Q in relation to the Peshitta, and 454 in relation to the Vulgate. He deduces therefrom that (p. 64) "Even Vulgate with a ratio of three to one and Peshitta with a ratio of two and a half to one, bear witness to the widespread character of the tendency, which later became law, of preferring the Q to the K." The fact is, however, that neither the Vulgate nor the Peshitta can be made to serve any pertinent purpose here until it can be demonstrated which K-Q in these two versions are due directly to their Hebrew *Vorlage* and which to the influence of the Septuagint or the Minor Versions. Thus, e. g., the Psalter in the Vulgate is in reality St. Jerome's revision of the Old Latin in accordance with a Septuagint manuscript, and the Old Latin itself had had its origin in another manuscript of the Septuagint centuries earlier. And according to C. Peters (in the Kahle Festschrift, 1935, p. 30), ". . . die Pešittha . . . für deren Grundschrift ich wenigstens im Pentateuch die Herkunft aus einem westaramäischen Targum erweisen konnte . . ."

Moreover, the respective totals of K-Q in the various versions are comparable to each other, and the relatively meager data in the Minor Versions can be made to serve a statistical purpose alongside the Septuagint, Peshitta, Vulgate, only when a K-Q in one version is compared directly to the corresponding reading in the other versions. Thus we could see at a glance exactly how readings later called K-Q fared in successive periods at the hands of translators and interpreters, and how and when, if that were



really the case within the period covered by the versions, the reading known later as the K came to give way to the reading called by the Masoretes Q.

5. On the question of the exact number of K-Q the author justifiably leaves to others the task of making "a complete manuscript collation" (pp. 85 ff.). Yet it would not have been too much to expect a complete list of the extant Babylonian K-Q, since all the published material is to be found in relatively few works. Accordingly, it is a pity that his Index (pp. 214 ff.) is inadequate. Thus, e. g., in the book of Job there are listed 12 Babylonian K-Q, whereas Baer's edition of Job (1886), and now Kahle's (BH<sup>3</sup>, 1932), give us 15 (add 23:8, 24:4, 31:7). [See now Kahle's review on this phase, in *OLZ* 42 (1939), 25-29.]

6. The book under review suffers from misquotations, non-sequiturs, sweeping statements that are not borne out by the facts, and the like. I note here but five cases in point.

a. On p. 13 the author refers to Wellhausen's inability to accept the Variation Theory, among other things on account of "der stete Dualismus des Geschriebenen und Gelesenen," and this typically acute observation of Wellhausen is used by the author later on (p. 17) to help refute the "*theory of manuscript variations*," thus, "Wellhausen's objection . . . it may well be questioned why there are always two in number, never three or four, as one would expect from any extensive collation of manuscripts." The author himself, in dealing with "The Later Groups of KQ" (Chap. IV, pp. 40 ff.), identifies his K as found in a "standard codex," or "archetype," decided upon by the Masoretes ("in line with the best traditions of the Masorah . . . quietly and unobtrusively," p. 47) "long before Akiba . . . [with] . . . the destruction of the Temple (70 C. E.) as the terminus ad quem" (ibid.). "*Thus our written text, including the Kethib, is substantially the text of the archetype, while the Q is a selection of worth-while readings from the other non-archetypal manuscripts.* These variants, we believe, make up the bulk of the KQ variations as we know them today (Lists No. 9-84)" (p. 84, italics in original).

But surely Wellhausen's stricture was still very much in order against the author's own hypothesis. Whereupon we read on the following page (p. 49), "That this collation should always have



yielded two, and never more, variants, is also intelligible to us now, for we have, on the one hand, the archetype (K), and, ranged on the other, several non-archetypal codices, A, B, C, etc., all contributing their best readings to the Q. Yet the number of manuscripts utilized in the collation was not large, and hence variations were never more than two." It is useless to speculate as to why "several" manuscripts should have been so inhospitable to the upholders of the Variation Theory as to have more than two variants, and thus help to put their theory to rout, but on the other hand should have been so accommodating to our author, who also upholds the Variation Theory (Lists 9-84), as never to have provided more than one variant. Moreover it should be noted how "the *extensive* collation of manuscripts" attributed by our author to the upholders of the Variation Theory is transformed in the case of his own Variation Theory into "*several* non-archetypal codices," which in turn is reduced to "the number of manuscripts *was not large . . .*," with the result that "*never . . . more than one variant*" (all italics ours). This sort of "argument" requires no comment.

b. On pp. 50 ff. the author adduces from the Mishnah what he believes to be evidence for his statement that "Long before the redaction of the Mishnah, this corpus of [K-Q] variants was complete. Indeed R. Joshua b. Hyrcanus seems to make use of a KQ variation in Job (Sotah 5, 5 [then follows the quotation]) . . . Here the Mishnah is unable to decide between  $\aleph$  and  $\text{v}$ , apparently because both occur in the passage, the first as a K and the second as a Q." And in n. 27 we are informed that in "the Gemara on this passage, Sotah 31a, the question is asked: 'Let us see whether *Lo* is written with an Aleph or a Vav.'" Actually, however, neither the Mishnah nor the Gemara thereon makes any mention whatever of a K or a Q. In other words, they knew them as textual variants, but not as part of a K-Q system.

c. On p. 15, n. 3, the author relates an incident involving one who insisted on reading the K in preference to the Q, for which act he was compelled to vacate the Reader's platform. From this he deduces (p. 16), "It would seem that in this rule of the Synagogue, there must be preserved some ancient memory as to the origin and nature of the KQ." And on p. 31, "In the case of the Tetra-



grammaton and the euphemisms, it is easy to understand how the terms Kethib and Qere originated . . . The Q was a direction to the Reader . . . and the Reader who insisted on reading the K was therefore removed from his post."

But this sort of reasoning is hardly acceptable. The incident referred to took place in the last years of the fifteenth[!] century A. D., in Spain. How could this prove anything for the origin of the K-Q system, especially when the Qimhis and the Profiat Durans and the Abrabanel and the Jacob ben Chayyim (the last two contemporaries of the Aboab and the Valancy involved in the incident) had all been groping in the dark, and in entirely different directions, for the origin and nature of the K-Q system? The incident has value, and should be studied in and for itself, within space and time. It has no value for those who seek to get to the historical roots of the system.

d. In his Introduction (p. 1), the author makes mention of the "Vast progress . . . in the fields of grammar . . ." on the part of the Masoretes (whose activities he would place through the mishnic and talmudic periods, but about which the Mishna and Talmud curiously, and significantly, tell us nothing!). But surely it is sufficient to go through critically the works, e. g., of Berliner, Bacher, and most recently, S. Rosenblatt's *The Interpretation of the Bible in the Mishnah* (Baltimore, 1935), to realize how little knowledge of grammar they really possessed.

e. Or again, "The entire Greek Joshua is an extreme example of contraction of the Hebrew original; see Prof. Margolis' critical edition of the LXX of Joshua" (p. 58, n. 6).<sup>6</sup> When one is aware

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<sup>6</sup> The author more than once makes a statement with reference to unpublished material of the late Prof. Margolis as alleged support. This is hardly fair to the memory of this most careful scholar. Thus, e. g., Margolis's *The Book of Joshua in Greek* (of which part 5 and the all-important Introduction have yet to appear) does not bear out Gordis's reference thereto as confirming his characterization of the Septuagint translator of Joshua as guilty of "extreme" contraction (cf. Margolis, "Specimen of a New Edition of the Greek Joshua," in *Jewish Studies in Memory of Israel Abrahams*, New York, 1927, p. 318, § 16). Or again, in his reply to Prof. Albright's strictures (*JBL*, 57 [1938] 223 f.) Gordis attributes to Margolis the following (p. 330), "It may not be amiss to state that the late Professor Max L. Margolis was convinced that Akiba's Bible text, as attested by Aquila, coincided almost completely with our present Mas-



of the fact that about one-sixth of the masoretic Job and one-eighth of the masoretic Jeremiah are not represented in the Septuagint, whether through contraction in the Greek translation or through addition in the post-Septuagint Hebrew has yet to be determined satisfactorily, it is more than rash to talk of the relatively few minuses in the Greek of Joshua as "extreme." And all the more so when it has yet to be demonstrated that they are really "minuses" in the Greek rather than "pluses" in the Hebrew.

7. It is a pity indeed that even where the author's study might have had some redeeming value, namely, in his brief summary of the history of the discussions of the K-Q problem, actually his Chapters I and II so frequently attribute to scholars statements that they never made that his summary is misleading. One may compare, for example, what our author attributes to Strack and Ginsburg (p. 13) with what these scholars actually did write (respectively *Proleg. Crit.* [pp. 80 ff.] and *Introduction*, etc. [p. 184]). Or one may read what is written about Buhl (p. 12) in the light of what Buhl himself wrote (p. 257 of his *Canon and Text of the O.T.*). Moreover, the earlier studies of the K-Q problem are not interrelated sufficiently in point of time and influence.

8. As my final criticism here I had intended to bring evidence to demonstrate the non-existence of the K-Q system prior to about the sixth-seventh century A. D. I had done so briefly in a paper read before the Society of Biblical Literature, Dec. 1937, in opposition to the contention of our author that the system was complete before the days of "the destruction of the Temple (70 C. E.)" (p. 47), and this included "a long and obscure period that may be termed the *pre-history of vocalization*" (p. 34; italics in original).

It was a surprise, therefore, when without any warning, without any indication whatever of a change of opinion, let alone reasons

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oretic text." In the absence of a reference to a published statement by Margolis the author should either have refrained from attributing to Margolis such an ambiguous phrase as "coincided almost completely" or, best of all, should have made use of the excellent treatment of Aquila by Prof. Reider (which is a Doctoral Dissertation written a quarter of a century ago under Prof. Margolis), where one may note the differences between what is left of Aquila's translation and the corresponding masoretic text.



for the change, the author, in replying to Professor Albright's review of his book (*JBL*, 57 [1938] 223 f.), throws overboard his entire chronology, all the proof that he had found in the Mishnah, Gemara, Versions, etc., and pushes forward the beginnings of the K-Q system by over five hundred years "to the fifth or sixth centuries," and his mysterious "long and obscure period that may be termed the *pre-history of vocalization*" has turned out to be nothing more startling than the period between the fifth-sixth and seventh centuries A. D. Any comment would be superfluous.





## THE SUN-KISS

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THE SUN is the Life or Spiritual-essence (*ātman*) of all things, mobile or immobile (RV. I. 115. 1):<sup>1</sup> all participate in this Immortal Light, those to whom the most is given by Savitr, the Quickener, living longest, and those to whom the least is given dying soonest (ŚB. X. 2. 6. 8).<sup>2</sup> In other words, "The Spirit of the Gods (*ātmā devānām*), that moveth as it will, now sterile, now progenitive" (RV. X. 168. 4) "is the progenitor of children"<sup>3</sup> (*ātmā devānām janitā prajānām*, CU. IV. 3. 7), and therefore invoked, as Prajāpati, in the marriage verse, "May Prajāpati generate children for ye twain" (*ā vām prajā janayatu*, AV. XIV. 2. 40), he being the Gale of the Spirit (*Vāyu*), the Winnower (*pavamāna*, AB. IV. 26), who is the Begetter of everything here (ŚB. X. 5. 3. 1), the Father *ex quo omnis paternitas in coelis et terra nominatur* (Ephes. III. 14), the Spirit *qui vivificat* (John VI. 63). As the Sun he connects all things to himself by means of a thread (*sūtra*, i. e. the *sūtrātman*, "thread-spirit"),<sup>4</sup> and this "thread" is the aforesaid "Gale" (*vāyu*, ŚB. VIII. 7. 3. 10),<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Abbreviations: RV., *Rg Veda Samhitā*; TS., *Taittirīya Samhitā*; AV., *Atharva Veda Samhitā*; VS., *Vājasaneyi Samhitā*; AB., *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*; PB., *Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa*; JB., *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*; JUB., *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa*; AA., *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*; BU., *Bṛhad-āraṇyaka Upaniṣad*; CU., *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*; KU., *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*; MU., *Maitri Upaniṣad*; BG., *Bhagavad Gītā*; A., *Anguttara Nikāya*.

<sup>2</sup> The uncreated Light, in other words, is a total presence, in which all things participate according to their natural capacity. *Prima substantiarum est lux. Ex quo sequitur naturam lucis participare alia . . . Unumquodque quantum habet de luce, tantum retinet esse divini. Unaquaeque substantia habens magis de luce quam alia dicitur nobilior ipsa* (Witelo, *Lib. de Intelligentiis*, VI. VIII).

<sup>3</sup> *Prajā* is etymologically "progeny," or "children" in the sense of the Biblical "children of God," "children of Israel," "children of men."

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Etudes Traditionelles*, 44, p. 290. To quote only one of many concordant texts, "All this is strung on Me like rows of gems upon a thread" (BG. VII. 7).

<sup>5</sup> Hence one speaks of the "cutting of the wind-cords" (*vraścanam vātarajjūnām*, MU. I. 4) at the end of the cycle and, microcosmically of the deceased individual that "his members are unstrung" (*vyasraṇṣiṣatāsyāñ-*



“the far-flung warp (*sūtra*) on which these children are cross-woven” (*otā prajā imā*, AV. X. 8. 38). This pneumatic thread is at the same time a ray of light (*raśmi*); for “Light is the progenitive power” (TS. VIII. 1. 1. 1, ŚB. VIII. 7. 1. 16), and “The Sun’s many rays are his sons” (JUB. II. 9. 10). And at the same time the “foot” (*pada*), the “one foot” of the Sun, Sūrya Ekapādā, with which he takes up his stand in the heart<sup>6</sup> and thence looks out through our senses, enjoying their objects (MU. II. 6); or with which, in other words, he “proceeds,” as single spirit, multifariously born (*ekam ātmānam . . . carati bahudhā jāyamānaḥ*, Muṇḍ. Up. II. 2. 5-6). But he, the Breath of Life, is also Death, whose feet are planted in the heart, and when he leaves we die (ŚB. X. 5. 2. 13); our Father, Prajāpati, who both “killeth and maketh alive” (AV. XIII. 3. 3; cf. I Sam. II. 6 and I Kings V. 7); the Year, who “unifies some things and separates others” (AA. III. 2. 3); Death, who devours his children as well as generates them (*mṛtyuḥ prajā atti ca prajānayatī*, PB. XXI. 2. 1); “The One-to-be-known, the all-devourer and all producer” (*taj-jñeyam grasiṣṇu prabhaviṣṇu ca*, BG. XIII. 6).

What has been said above will suffice to explain the text of ŚB. VII. 3. 2. 12 where it is because the Sun, Prajāpati, “kisses” (*abhi-jighrati*, i. e. breathes down upon) his children that each can say “I am”:<sup>7</sup> in the ritual, the sacrificial horse is the Sun in a likeness, is made to snuffle at the Self-perforates of the Fire-altar, which represent these children (all beings) and the worlds,<sup>8</sup> “and

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*gāni*, BU. III. 7. 2) the converse of AA. I. 4. 1 where “with the Breath he puts together their joints” (*prāṇena parvāṇi saṁdadhāti*). Archetypally it is Prajāpati, when he proceeds from unity to multiplicity, that is “unstrung” (*vyasraṁsata*), and as Agni that, together with the Sacrificer, that he is reintegrated (*saṁskurute*) or built up again (*cīyate*) so as to be whole (*krtsna*), ŚB., PB., etc., passim. The “cutting off the wind-cords” is the same thing as the “cutting off” in ŚB. X. 5. 2. 4: the “life-string” (Eggeling’s phrase) that is severed being also the same as that which is spun by the Greek Fates and the Norse Norns.

<sup>6</sup> Prajāpati’s “heart” is the Sun (ŚB. IX. 2. 1. 40): analogically, the heart in man is the seat of the Person (ŚB. X. 6. 3. 2), “the Golden Person in the Sun is even he who indwells the lotus of the heart, consuming food” (MU. VI. 1), i. e. assuming a “body.”

<sup>7</sup> “Acquiring a self” (*labdhātmaka*) is Sāyaṇa’s comment.

<sup>8</sup> The “children” being connected to the Sun by his “many” or “thousand” rays, the “worlds” (the “seven worlds of the Gods,” the realms of the six quarters and their common centre) by his “seven rays,” as to which see *Etudes Traditionnelles*, 43, pp. 447 f.



just as he, the Priest, makes it snuffle at these bricks, so yonder Sun strings to himself these worlds upon a thread": or as in TS. V. 2. 8. 1; 3. 2. 2 and 3. 7. 4, "he makes the horse to snuffle at them, and so bestows the Breath indeed upon them" (*aśvam upa-ghrāpayati, prāṇam evāsyām dadhāti*). For, as PB. XX. 4. 5 tells us, "Prajāpati expressed<sup>9</sup> his children; they did not procreate themselves; he became the horse, and sniffed at (*abhyajighrat*) them; they procreated themselves," while in VII. 10. 16 "these children that had been expressed by Prajāpati languished: he sniffed at (*abhyajighrat*, 'kissed') them . . . whereupon they throve" (*samedhanta*). In TS. VI. 4. 11. 3 it is the Adhvaryu that utters *hiñ*, and "in that he thus utters *hiñ*, verily thus Prajāpati sniffs at his children; therewith the cow sniffs at her calf at birth." In RV. I. 185, 5 Heaven and Earth, the Universal Parents, are said to "kiss" (*abhiijighrantī*) the Navel of the Universe.

"And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life: and man became a living soul"<sup>10</sup> (Gen. II. 7): "It is the breath of life in the nostrils to behold thy rays" (Egyptian hymn to the Sun; Breasted, *Dawn of Conscience in Egypt*, p. 291). It is, assuredly, with a "sunkiss" that the solar Prince awakens the Sleeping Beauty in our fairy-tales. But now that we have understood the archetypal significance of the "Sunkiss" we shall be concerned, for the most

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<sup>9</sup> For *asrjata* we say "expressed" rather than "emanated," using the idea of "expression" in the manner of Bonaventura, *Ipsa divina veritas est lux, et ipsius expressiones respectu rerum sunt quasi luminosae irradiationes, licet intrinsicae, qua determinate ducunt et dirigunt in id quod exprimitur* (*De scientia Christi*, q. 3, c.).

<sup>10</sup> Thus "raises the dust," like Indra in RV. I. 56. 4 (*iyarti reṇum*), IV. 42. 5, or Vāyu, Vāta in VII. 87. 2, etc., the Gale, the Winnower (*vāyu, pavamāna*) "that generates (*janayati*) everything here" (ŚB. X. 5. 3. 1): and as in Völuspá 18, "Odin gave the breath of life" (*önd gaf Óþinn*).

We take this occasion to urge the regular rendering of *pavamāna* by "Winnower," to "winnow" being in any case a recognized meaning of *pū*. "Winnower" is to be preferred to "Purifier" because (1) at the same time that it contains the idea of a purification (from chaff), it preserves that of a "blowing" as the means of purification and (2) because the Soma or other filter (*pavitra*) as a symbol of purification corresponds to the Greek uses of a winnowing fan (*κρούον*, connected with Skr. *pū*; and Lat. *vannus*, connected with Skr. *vā*, to blow) or sieve (*κόσκικον*) as a symbol of purification and fertility (see Jane Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, pp. 526 f.).



part, with its ritual equivalents, of which we have already seen an example in connection with the edification of the Fire-altar, the horse representing the Sun.<sup>11</sup> Among the officiating Priests (*ṛtvij*) it is chiefly the Udgātr, the Sāman “cantor,”<sup>12</sup> who represents the

<sup>11</sup> The Horse functioning here as Udgātr, as also in ŚB. XIII. 2. 3. 2 where, inasmuch as it whinnies, the Horse *hīṅkaroti*, and the whinnying is the *udgītha*. *Hin* is doubtless onomatopoeic and may represent the whinnying of a horse and/or lowing of a cow. Cf. JUB. I. 33. 9 identifying the Person, Disk, and Rays of the Sun with the *udgītha*, *prastāva* and *hīṅkāra* of the Sāman. The equation of *hīṅkāra* with Ray here, and in ŚB. IV. 2. 2. 11 with the breath, tallies with the attribution of the progenitive power to the *hīṅkāra*, as noted below. The solar Ray is likewise breath (*prāṇa*), the breath of life. For the coincidence of sound, light and life in *divinis*, cf. René Guénon, “Verbum, Lux et Vita” in *Le Voile d’Isis*, 39, 1934.

<sup>12</sup> Observe that “chant” (essential to any “enchantment”) is connected etymologically with “cock” (Skr. *koka*, cuckoo or ruddy goose: the word is supposedly onomatopoeic, but may plausibly be derived from *kū*, the root in *kavi*, “poet,” and meaning, when said of birds, to “sing”; cf. *kukkūṭa*, “cock”). The “cock the awakener” is preëminently a “sun-bird”: one says of the cock “il chante”; and *udgātr* could be rendered, not inaptly by “chanticler.” The Buddha’s teaching is actually likened to the crowing of a cock (A. I. 188).

We may say that the Sun is the archetypal Sāman-chanter, for “he goeth as tone” (*svara eti*, JUB. III. 33. —), and “the idiosyncrasy (*sva*) of the Sāman is tone” (*svara*, BU. I. 3. 25); and the archetypal Udgātr, for “he goeth forth with song to all this universe” (*idaṁ sarvaṁ abhiprāgāt*, AA. II. 2. 2 as understood by Ānandatīrtha) “so that everyone feels ‘it is just unto me that he sings’” (*tasmāt sarva eva manyante mām pratyudagād iti*, cited by Sāyaṇa on AA. III. 2. 3 *puruṣam puruṣam praty ādityo bhavati*); “verily, on rising, he sings aloud (*udgāyati*) to his children . . . He is the *udgītha*, the *om*, for he goeth intoning ‘*om*’ . . . The ‘Most High’ (*ud*) is his name . . . His songs (*gesṇau*) are the Ṛk and the Sāman, and hence the term ‘*udgītha*,’ and likewise also the term ‘*udgātr*’ —he, the Udgātr, being the singer (*gātr*) of this ‘Most High’” (CU. I. 3. 1, I. 5. 1, I. 6. 7-8). Cf. Dante, *Paradiso*, X, 76, *sì cantando, quegli ardenti soli*.

For a list of the Udgātr’s archetypes see PB. I. 3. 9 where, addressing himself to the congregation he says, “May I be Indra to your view, Sūrya to your eye, Vāta to your breathing, Soma to your smelling, Priesthood (*brahma*) to your Royalty” (*kṣatra*). All these, of course, are solar principles.

That it is the Sun, the Gandharva, that is the source of the “music of the spheres” further explains why it is that the Gandharvas are regarded as the solar Indra’s musicians. In RV. X. 139. 5, “May the Gandharva, the measurer of midworld (i. e. the Sun) proclaim the Truth” (*grṇātu . . .*



Sun: "he is the Sacrificer's Prajāpati," and being such, "he sniffs at his children" (*prajā abhijighrati*, PB. VII. 10. 7), that is, breathes upon them.<sup>13</sup> We find the Udgātr again representing the Sun in TS. VII. 5. 8. 6 and PB. VIII. 7. 12-14, where he "is Prajāpati" and "is made to look at" the Sacrificer's wife, whose thigh is bared, "for insemination," so that she may "bring forth children"<sup>14</sup> here, of course, the progenitive power is a light that proceeds from the Udgātr's eye representing the solar Eye, the principle of all sight.<sup>15</sup>

We find, again, that the Brahmans who officiate at a sacrifice, for which an initiation is, of course, prerequisite and indispensable, are regarded as the Sacrificer's "begetters" (*te jijījananta*, "they bring him to birth"), inasmuch as it is they who construct (*sam-skurvanti*) for him another self (*anyam ātmānam*) that will be himself (*ātman*) in yonder world (ŚB. IV. 3. 4. 5). The singing

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*gandharvo . . . satyam*), the verbal root *gr* is recognizable in Gk. γηρύω, to sing, celebrate, in *nightingale*, and probably in Lat. *gallus*. Is the "three-bodied Geryon," the "Yeller," a cognate of the "three-headed Gandharva"?

<sup>13</sup> Thus, as Aristotle expresses it, "Man and the sun generate man" (*Phys.* II. 2): "When the (human) father thus emits him as seed into the womb, it is really the Sun that emits him as seed into the womb: there, indeed, he lords it over this (first) death . . . Thence he is born, after that seed, after the breath" (JUB. III. 10. 4-5); three things are prerequisite to conception, viz., the union of father and mother, the mother's period, and the presence of the Gandharva, i. e. the divine and solar Eros (M. I. 265-6); each of these statements affirming that the first cause of conception is solar, the mediate causes human. This is also the Christian doctrine of paternity, according to which it is not the semen, but the "Spirit enclosed in the semen," as in a vehicle, that forms the body (St. Thomas Aquinas, *Sum. Theol.*, III. 32. 11): with this distinction, that in the case of the Virgin Birth the power of the Spirit (represented in iconography by the Dove = Indian *hamsa*, the Gander as Sunbird) operated directly, and without any physical mediation. Man is thus a *natural* son of God: by initiation he becomes a *legitimate* son of God.

<sup>14</sup> In Indian poetry it is said of a girl brought up in strict seclusion that neither has she been seen by the Sun nor touched by the Wind: she is a virgin. In some North American Indian myths, virgins are referred to as "non-sun-struck girls."

<sup>15</sup> "Whoever sees, it is by His ray that he sees" (JUB. I. 28. 8): "The Gods . . . caused the pure fire within us, which is akin to that of day, to flow through the eyes in a smooth and dense stream . . . of vision" (Plato, *Timaeus*, 45 C); which is the traditional theory of vision.



Priest is thus both the Sacrificer's "Godfather"<sup>16</sup> at his birth, natural birth, and at the second birth in which he rises from initiatory death. We may add that the singing Priest is the Sacrificer's "Godfather" also when he dies and is laid on the pyre, to be reborn thence for the third and last time. In all three of these dangerous transitions from death to life it is the Udgātr, by means of the Sāman and as the representative of Sun, Fire, and Moon (Āditya, Agni, Candra)—elsewhere referred to as the three Gandharvas or threefold or three-headed Gandharva—that "carries him over death" (*mṛtyum ativahati*) and effects his rebirth, in the first place as one who is in and of this world, in the second place as one who is in but not of this world,<sup>17</sup> and thirdly in yonder world "making him thrive in those (states of being) to which he is born" (*etais cainam bhūtaiḥ samardhayati yāny abhisambhavati*), JUB. III. 9-12.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> "Godfather" to be taken here in the etymological sense of its component parts and as referring to one who represents the divine paternity. In American Indian rites the initiator is spoken of by the observers as the "ceremonial father" (e.g. Ruth I. Bunzel, "Zuñi Ritual Poetry" in *47th Ann. Rep. Bureau of Amer. Ethnology*, Washington, 1929-30). The *dādā*, "Father," with which one addresses a Brahman in the vernacular, and European "Padre" are by no means merely polite forms of address, but denote the fact that the Priest is our "father" in a very real sense, that of Manu II. 146, "Of these two, he who procreates (*utpādaka*) and he who communicates spiritual understanding (*brahmada*), the latter is the real father" and II. 170, 171 "his mother is Sāvitrī, the Master (*ācārya*) his father; the Master is regarded as his father."

<sup>17</sup> The position of the initiate (*dīkṣita*) is described in TS. VI. 1. 1. 5, "He has died to this world and has not (yet) reached the world of the Gods" (*pracyuto vā eṣo 'smāl lokād agato devalokaṁ yo dīkṣitaḥ*). For "No one becomes immortal with the body" (ŚB. X. 4. 3. 9, cf. JUB. III. 38. 10). The immortality, or rather "not-dying" (cf. Hopkins in JAOS. 26. 37) that is obtained by initiation and sacrifice here and now is to live out the full term of life, dying only of old age (ŚB. II. 2. 2. 14): the sacrificer "has no hope of not dying at all" (*ib.*); but thus to enjoy the "whole of life" here prefigures and guarantees for the initiate an enjoyment of the "whole of life" hereafter (ŚB. X. 2. 6. 9 and passim). Even this does not complete the picture: for the "not-dying" of the Gods themselves is not without a beginning, duration and end (cf. ŚB. xi. 1. 6. 15): the eternal now apart from time and all duration is attained only when the divine intelligences are unified in Brahman, Ātman, or as otherwise expressed, go home into the Gale.

<sup>18</sup> JUB. III. 9 and 11, and AA. II. 5 are not, as claimed by Keith (*Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, p. 233, note 4) "fundamentally different." The first



Now, we have not found a text expressly stating that in connection with the second and third of the aforesaid births the singing Priest literally "breathes upon" (*abhijighrati*) the Sacrificer. But *samardhayati*, "makes thrive," corresponds to *samedhanta*, "they thrive," inasmuch as Prajāpati "breathed upon" them, in PB. VII. 10. 15. Furthermore in the next verse (16) we find that the singing Priest, the Udgātr, "is Prajāpati and breathes upon the children," not literally but "inasmuch as he utters the syllable *hin*" (*tad hin karoti*):<sup>19</sup> while in JUB. III. 12. 5' it is precisely "by the utterance of the syllable *hin*" (*hinkāreṇa*) that the Udgātr "repels Death" on behalf of the Sacrificer;<sup>20</sup> and again in PB. VIII. 7. 13, where the Sacrificer's wife is fertilised by the Udgātr's glance it is expressly stated that the glance is to accompany the utterance of the syllable *hin*, "for it is after the *hinkāra* that the semen is deposited." It is clear, then, that whether literally, or

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and last deaths and rebirths are the same in both cases. The second death in JUB. is sacrificial, in AA. procreative. The two conceptions are combined in CU. III. 17 where *asoṣṭa* means both "he has sacrificed" (lit. "has pressed," i. e. Soma) and "he has procreated." For procreation as a sacrifice cf. VI. 2. 13 and BU. VI. 4. 3. There are many and various sacrifices (BG. IV. 32). When as in CU. III. 16-17 (and as may be assumed in AA. II. 5) life itself is envisaged as the sacrificial ritual, each and everyone of the functions of life, being referred to its principle, becomes a liberating rite. The *gārhapatya* then becomes in effect the *āhavanīya* fire, the act of insemination a Soma-libation; cf. BU. I. 4. 6, *tad retaso 'srjata tadū soma*. It is thus that in AA. II. 3. 2 a "person" (*puruṣa*) is distinguished from the animal (*paśu*), the latter reacting "only to hunger and thirst," the former "seeking the immortal by the immortal": for "In this world is yonder world of heaven, by what is not heavenly one mounts to the world of heaven" (AB. VII. 10), cf. KU. II. 10, "By the transient have I gotten the enduring."

<sup>19</sup> "Prajāpati is the *hinkāra*" (CU. I. 13. 2).

<sup>20</sup> Kauṣ. Up. II-11, *avajighret . . . gāvām . . . hin-kuryāt*, "he should breathe down upon (or smell) him with the *hin* of the lowing of cows." In PB. VII. 10. 16, as we have seen, it is because of an *abhijighraṇa* with the syllable *hin* that offspring "throve." The connection with the lowing of kine is explained in ŚB. II. 2. 4. 12, where the Sāman is at first incomplete; the Gods perceived a cow, who gazed upon them and lowed with the sound of *hin*. With this they completed the Sāman. It is because the *hin* of the Sāman was in the cow that she is "life-giving," or "possest of the means of living" (*upajīvanīyā*): "and so too is he who is a Comprehensor of the *hin* of the Sāman in the cow." Cf. CU. II. 9. 2, "This (*hinkāra* part) of the Sāman has to do with kine."



liturgically, the Priest, the Padre, preserves his "son's" life by a "breathing upon" him.

We have thus established the intimate connection of the "kiss of life"—as *abhijighraṇa* might also be rendered—with spiritual paternity and sacrificial rites. We meet with it also in the rites that are connected with physical paternity and procreative reincarnation.<sup>21</sup> It is precisely by means of a "breathing upon" that a father who returns from a long absence reestablishes the vital links that connect him with his son, "should 'kiss' (*abhijighret*, or v.l. *abhimṛśet*, 'should touch')<sup>22</sup> his son's head, saying 'Thou art myself' and therewith takes hold of his son by name (*nāmāsyagrṇāti*), saying "Wherewith Prajāpati encompassed for their weal his children (*prajāḥ paryagrṇād ariṣṭyai*), therewith I encompass thee . . . By thy name,<sup>23</sup> my son, I kiss (*avajighrāmi*) thy head. Thrice he should kiss (*avajighret*) his head. Thrice he should murmur *hin* (*hin-kuryāt*) upon his head, and say 'I utter the syllable *hin* upon thee (the *hin* of the lowing) of kine'" (Kauṣ. Up. II. 11). It is clear that the "kiss" is what we should call a "blessing," or—in the etymological sense of the word—a "salutation."

<sup>21</sup> According to which the father "himself" (i.e. one of his two selves) is reborn in his son, who represents him in the world after his death and when his "other self" has gone elsewhere. We cannot cite all the material here, and shall only remark that CU. III. 17. 5, "He has procreated (*asoṣṭa*), that is his rebirth" (*punar utpādana*) adequately resumes the only doctrine of reincarnation that I have been able to find in the texts up to and inclusive of BG. and the Pali canon.

<sup>22</sup> Conversely the son, when his father returns from abroad, "touches him lovingly" or "touches him as one who is a friend" (*śivam upasprśati*, ŚB. XII. 5. 2. 8: it is thus that the fires of the funeral pyre, touching him kindly, welcome the Sacrificer to that home that he has won in Heaven). Touch, as the equivalent of kissing, is discussed more fully below.

<sup>23</sup> The vital significance of names need hardly be emphasized. It will suffice to cite RV. VI. 18. 7, "It is by his deathless name that Indra overlasts the generations of men"; ŚB. IV. 6. 5. 3, "Everything here is taken hold of (*grhītam*) by name" and ŚB. VI. 1. 3. 9, where the new-born (Agni-)Kumāra demands a name, since "it is thereby that one repels evil, death" (*pāpmānam apahanti*).

With *paryagrṇāt* here cf. *nyagrṇāt* implying filiation in AB. III. 34 where from Prajāpati's seed *bṛgur abhavat, tam varuṇo nyagrṇāt, tasmāt sa bṛgur vāruṇih*; also Manu II. 151, *putrakū iti hovāca jñānena parigrhya tūn*.

For *ariṣṭa* see PB. XII. 5. 23; and TS. VII. 4. 11. 2 *samārohanty ariṣṭyai*.



In the later, death-bed "blessing," or as it is called "all-bequest" (*sampradānam*) by father to son, the former is recumbent and the son lies down upon him, limb to limb,<sup>24</sup> with all corresponding parts in contact (*saṁsprśya*), e. g. nose to nose.<sup>25</sup> The father formally bestows all of his vital powers, e. g. those of speech, breath (smell), procreation, upon his son, who receives them, or if it is difficult for him to speak he says only summarily "My breaths of life (*prāṇāḥ*) would I deposit in thee," the son replying "Thy breaths of life do I receive in me" (*Kauṣ. Up. II. 15*). The "all-bequest" (*sampratti*), the father's death-bed blessing, is described again more briefly in *BU. I. 5. 17 f.*, where also the father "enters into the son with these (mortal) breaths" (*ebhir eva prāṇaiḥ putram āviśati*), the faculties or "powers of the soul." Thenceforth he is represented in this world by his son, in whom "himself" (*ātman*), i. e. his nature, had been reborn at the latter's birth: at the same time he, the father (in whom "immortal breaths" replace the transmitted powers) in his essence, "that other self of his (*asyāyam itara ātmā*) the *amṛtam evātmānam* of *AA. I. 3. 8*, having done all that was to be done (*kṛtakṛtyaḥ*, 'all in act') enters into the Gale and departs (*vāyogataḥ praiti*), and departing

<sup>24</sup> There is a remarkable parallel to this in *II Kings IV. 16-37*, where the man of God, Elisha, raises the Shunammite woman's dead son, whose birth he had already in a sense god-fathered by the annunciation "Thou shalt bear a son." The boy has been laid on Elisha's own bed: "he shut the door upon them twain and prayed unto the Lord. And he went up and lay upon the child, and put his mouth upon his mouth, and his eyes upon his eyes: and he stretched himself out upon the child: and the child waxed warm . . . sneezed seven times and . . . opened its eyes." In the Indian death-bed rite, it is of course, the underlying father that communicates his mortal life to the son: in this other case, while the method is identical, it is the overlying Elisha that communicates a life to the underlying child.

The *Zohar* (*Prologue*, Sperling and Simon I. 30, 31) points out that the child thus received two "embraces," one from his mother and one from Elisha, and says that the child's original names having been lost at death, "when Elisha embraced him he engraved on him anew all those letters . . . they were all engraved by the breath of Elisha on the child so as to put again into him the breath of life." The name Habakkuk given to him by Elisha at this time alludes to the two embraces, and is thus tantamount to "twice-born."

<sup>25</sup> There is no mention of an *abhi-* or *ava-jighraṇa*; but there is a "rubbing of noses," and what is essential to the "breathing upon," viz., the communication of a breath, is described in detail. A life is transmitted or delegated.



hence is born again" (*punar jāyate*, AA. II. 5), i. e. of the Fire, the heavenly womb of JB. I. 17. For as Eckhart (Evans, II. 127) expresses it, "The mortal father shares with his child his nature, not his being or his life. The child has another life and being than that which the father has himself": and we must not by any means confuse the father's procreative reincarnation with his post-mortem regeneration.

As we have implied above, the "all-bequest" is the final delegation of the life that was transmitted by father to son at the latter's birth. We have in ŚB. XI. 8. 3. 6 the description of the rite by which a new-born child is endowed with the five breaths, and in this passage alone a sufficient justification for our rendering of *abhiḥighrati* by "breathes upon" and of *abhiḥighraṇa* by "kiss of life." There is first described the communication by the winds of the four quarters and zenith of the corresponding breaths to the victim in the horse sacrifice, by which communication the victim is ritually brought to life again:<sup>26</sup> the winds are said to have

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<sup>26</sup> ŚB. XIII. 2. 8. 2 where they "accord" (*saṁjñapayanti*) the victim and so "kill" (*ghnanti*) it, and the Adhvaryu meanwhile invoking the Breath (with VS. XXII. 18) "thereby deposits the breaths of life into it (*prāṇān-evāsminn-etad-dadhāti*) so that offering is made by him with this victim as a living one" (*jīvataiva paśuneṣṭam bhavati*), cf. TS. III. 1. 4. 3: ŚB. III. 8. 2. 4, where we are told that the food, "the oblation of the Gods is alive, a thing not-dead for those who do not die" (*jīvam vai devānām havir-amṛtam-amṛtānām*) and inasmuch as the Sacrificer's wife asperses (*upaspṛśati*), or washes, the slain victim's mouth, nostrils, eyes, etc., she endows it with these breaths of life, and so the oblation of the Gods becomes alive, a thing not-dead for those who do not die": 7, "they sprinkle it about (*parisiñcyante*), beginning with the head, and so resurrect it" (*samīrayataḥ*). Similarly TS. VI. 6. 9 in connection with the slaughtered Soma, and some part of the juice is "drawn off alive" (*jīva-grahaḥ*) lest the Sacrificer (always equated with the victim) should also be killed. Also, when Soma has been slain, "'Let thy breath swell,' he says; verily he removes the pain from the breaths" (TS. VI. 3. 9. 1). All this is not only to provide the Gods with living food, but that the Sacrificer himself, ritually identified with the victim, may in the end himself go to the world of the Gods alive, "may depart from this world to the heaven of the living" (*jīva-svarga asmāl lokat preyāt*, ŚB. XII. 6. 1. 39, cf. TS. VI. 6. 9. 2): the victim (the horse in ŚB. XIII. 2. 8. 1, Agni in TS. V. 6. 8. 1, Christ in the Christian Sacrifice) must have been resurrected and have gone to heaven, if it is to be the Sacrificer's guide in the end. For the victim as guide see ŚB. XIII. 2. 3. 1-2 and XIII. 2. 8. 1; TS. VI. 3. 8.

It is in the same way that the American Indian hunter, when he has



“breathed over,” or “along,” or better perhaps “with” (*anuprāṇat*) the victim, thereby depositing in it the corresponding breaths, and there can be no question that *anuprāṇat* corresponds to *abhyajighrati* in other contexts.<sup>27</sup> In the case of a new-born son, the father requests five Brahmans to “breathe over” the boy in the same way; but if the Brahmans are not available, then he

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killed a bison, smokes the ritual pipe (calumet) and directs the smoke (which is ordinarily blown towards the six directions of space with respect to which the smoker himself is central) towards the muzzle of the slain animal, in order, as it is explained, to compensate for the taking of life by an act implying the gift of life. Traditionally speaking, things (whether plants, animals or men) are not “killed,” but “sacrificed,” i.e. made sacred to those powers which they represent and to which they pertain. In Jewish practise, the priest who slaughters four-footed animals for food removes the lungs and blows into them, and if they do not hold the air, the meat is not *kosher*: here, not only is the animal sacrificed and provision made for its reanimation, but the test that is made to determine whether or not the victim was really “unblemished” (Skr. *medhya*, fit for sacrifice) is a test for tuberculosis, the one ritual action having at the same time a metaphysical and a physical value.

<sup>27</sup> In TS. V. 5. 5, where the priest takes the place of the Sunhorse that *abhi-jighrati* in ŚB. VII. 2. 3. 12 and TS. V. 2. 8. 1, etc., cited above, and himself breathes life into the Selfperforates, we find that over the first, which represents Agni and this terrestrial world “he should breathe with, or along” (*anuprāṇyāt*), over the second, which represents Vāyu and the aerial midworld, “he should breathe across, or distributively” (*vyānāt*), and over the third, which represents the Sun and sky-world, “he should breathe out, or down” (*apānyāt*), and so “he verily kindles Agni with the breaths of life”; from this context and AB. IV. 25 it is clear that these three breathings (which are the equivalents of the three equine *abhi-jighraṇa*) correspond to those of the three principles themselves, and that all are “breathings upon” or “into,” and especially clear than *apān* means “breathe down upon.” All this is exactly paralleled in our own empirical practise. When we “blow up” a fire just kindled or one that has almost gone out we vivify or revive it with our own breath so that it “draws” (breath) and “thrives.” If by ceasing to breathe upon it we can also let it “go out,” or by blowing too hard upon it “put it out” so that it no longer draws (breath), it is clearly with one and the same “breath” that we “kill and make alive,” as in *divinis*. The only difference, but a profound one, is that for us who no longer envisage the world as a theophany, no longer “seek to know the immortal by the mortal” (AA. II. 3. 2, cf. KU. II. 10 “speaking of the right symbolic use of so unstable a thing as fire,” Rawson, *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*, p. 151), and of whom it can no longer be said that “The needs of the body and of the soul are satisfied together” (Schmidt, *Dawn of the Human Mind*, p. 167), this is no longer useful and significant, but only “useful.”



should "breathe over" (*anuprāṇyāt*) the boy himself, circum-ambulating him; whereby the boy "attains the whole of life and lives to old age."<sup>28</sup>

Many ritual operations involve a loss of "breath" and "life," cf. Mark V. 30, "virtue (*δύναμις*) had gone out of him . . . 'who touched me?'" In TS. III. 3. 4, "The life and breath of him who draws the *Amśu* depart: 'Come breath to us from afar' (*prāṇa etu parāvatas*), he says; verily he bestows life and breath upon himself. And saying 'Thou art the undying, thee for the breath,' he breathes across gold (*hiranyam abhi vyaniti*) . . . verily with what is undying he bestows life upon himself." Or there may be a healing of oneself or others only by the words made use of, for example "Thou art the Gale, spiration by name (*vāyur asi prāṇo nāma*); in the lordship of Savitr, give me expiration (*apānam me dāh*, TS. III. 3. 5);<sup>29</sup> or by the words and a taking of the hand, as in TS. II. 3. 11, "'With the Pāvamāna Stoma thee,' he says: verily he thereby bestows breath on him. . . . 'Agni is full of life,' and so saying he takes his hand; these Gods are full of life, they bestow life upon him, he lives all his life"; this taking of the hand recalls Mark V. 41, "And he took the damsel by the hand and said unto her, Talitha cumi; which is, being interpreted, Damsel, I say unto thee arise"; in Luke VIII. 55 "and her spirit came again, and she arose straightway."

We meet also with cases in which the life-giving and healing breath is communicated by a fanning. Thus in SB. VI. 4. 3. 3 when a hole has been dug in the earth (this is felt to be a cruelty, see TS. II. 6. 5), the operator first heals the earth with water, and

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<sup>28</sup> What is described above is exactly paralleled in Zuñi initiation rites where the rebirth of the initiate is in question. In the words of the accompanying chant we find "I shall add to your breath. From the priest of the North . . . West . . . South . . . East . . . the above . . . the below, asking their long life, their old age . . . Asking for their breath, and into my warm body drawing their breath I shall add to your breath . . . Do not despise the breath of your fathers, but draw it into your body, that our roads may reach to where the life-giving road of our sun-father comes out . . ." (Ruth I. Bunzell, "Zuñi Ritual Poetry," in *47th Ann. Rep. Bureau of Amer. Ethnology*, Washington, 1929-30, pp. 801, 808).

<sup>29</sup> *Apāna*, expiration, life, not here that total "giving up of the ghost" that takes place when the man at last "expires." Expiration is the empirical criterion of life, as when one holds a mirror to the face of an unconscious man to see whether he still "breathes."



secondly “joins up and puts together with wind (*vāyunā . . . sam-tanoti samdadhāti*) whatever was injured or torn in her,” that is to say, by fanning air into the hole with his hand. This is just as in ŚB. XIII. 2. 8. 4-5 they fan (*dhuvate*) the slaughtered horse “with the three worlds” (of Agni, Vāyu, and Āditya as in TS. V. 7. 26) and so make amends to it; but in so doing their own “breaths depart from them,” and these they put back into themselves (*prāṇān evātman dadhate*) inasmuch as they circumambulate the victim sunwise.

Or an invocation and offering alone may suffice for healing, as in TS. II. 1. 1. 3-4 where one who has long been ill and whose breaths (*prāṇāpānau*) are leaving him, should have recourse to Vāyu Niyutvat (the Gale as Teamster) with his own appropriate offering of a white animal, whereupon “He (the Gale) puts into him his breaths (*sa evasmin prāṇāpānau dadhāti*; cf. ŚB. I. 8. 3. 12),<sup>29a</sup> so that even if his life is going, yet he lives” (*ut yadītāsurbhavati jīvaty eva*). We cannot omit from this study the use of the concept of “breath” in imprecation, in AA. III. 1. 4: here “Breath is the Kingpost” (*prāṇo vaṁśa iti vidyāt*), and “If any one should defame one (who is) the Breath, the Kingpost, he if he thinks himself able, should say ‘I have set up Breath, the Kingpost (*prāṇam vaṁśam samadhām*); naught canst thou (hurt) me, who have set up Breath, the Kingpost; Breath, the Kingpost, shall abandon thee.’ Or if he does not think himself able, he should say ‘I have sought to set up Breath, the Kingpost; that thou canst not set up (*taṁ nāśakaḥ samdhātum*); Breath, the Kingpost shall abandon thee.’”<sup>30</sup>

<sup>29a</sup> “The Winnower blows as one only here, but on entering into man blows forth and back, and these two are breath and up-breath (*prāṇodānau*, here as commonly in ŚB. = *prāṇāpānau*), that is Mitrāvaruṇau” (ŚB. I. 8. 3. 12).

<sup>30</sup> That the (*śāla*)*vaṁśa* is really “Kingpost” rather than merely “beam” follows from AA. III. 2. 1 where all the powers of the soul, the “breaths” in the plural, are synthesised in this Breath, the Kingpost” (here *śālavamśa*), from the Buddhist parallels cited in my “Symbolism of the Dome” in IHQ. XIV. pp. 52-54 and “Pali *kaṇṇikā*” in JAOS. 50. 238-243, cf. ŚB. VI. 1. 1. 7 where “All the Gods (*sarve devaḥ*, i. e. *viśve devāḥ*, i. e. *prāṇaḥ*) are dependent on, or from (*śritāḥ*), the Person’s head.” It may be added that *vaṁśa* = “spine” (vertebral column, bodily axis) in ŚA. VIII. 9: the spine considered as 101st with respect to the 100 parts of the skeleton is its *ātman* (ŚB. X. 2. 6); the *ātman* is the 11th with respect to the decad of breaths, i. e. is their principal and principle (TS.



We come now to the question of "smelling," which is certainly one of the meanings of *ghrā*, the root in *abhijighrāmi*, the nose (*ghrāṇa*) being the physical organ of scent. It will have been

VI. 3. 11. 5); in the architectural symbolism the Kingpost evidently represents the *ātman*, the principle, of the house. It is not without significance that AA. III. 2. 1, the doctrine of "Breath, the Kingpost" is attributed to Śākalya "the Sthavira," i.e. *σταυρός*. Cf. *prāṇa* as *sthūṇa* in BU. II. 2. 1.

Final proof that *śālavamśa* means "Kingpost" can be found in ŚB. III. 1. 1. 11, where a hall (*śālā*) is erected for the initiation of the Soma-sacrificer, who enters (*adhyavasyati*, Sāyaṇa, *praviśati*) it "approaching the Kingpost from the East side" (*pūrvārdhyaṁ sthūṇa-rājam abhipadya*): Sāyaṇa explains, "The Kingpost stands in the middle (*sthūṇa-rājo madhye sthitaḥ*), it is an elevated pillar (*unnata-stambhaḥ*), he approaches its eastern side, and takes hold of it" (*tasya pūrvārdham abhipadya grhitvā*). In ŚB. III. 5. 1. 1 *pūrvārdhyo variṣṭaḥ sthūṇarājā*, *tasmāt* is "from the eastern half, or end, of the mighty Kingpost," not as rendered by Eggeling "on the east side of the hall." As remarked by Keith, HOS. 19. 483, "the hut or hall is a microcosm." The Kingpost is the principle of the house and represents the Axis Mundi.

For all this is manifestly a mimesis of what is done by the Udgātr (who is *prajāpatya* and self-appointed) at the building of the Sadas where (PB. VI. 4 with Lāṭyāyana and Drāhyāyana as cited by Caland) he enters upon the site from the East, between the holes that have been made for the door jambs, and thus comes to the eastern end of the Udumbara pillar, which is lying down with its top to the East; and is then to take hold of it and raise it, saying "Let Dyutāna Māruta raise thee; prop up the sky (*divaṁ stabhāna*), fill the atmosphere, stabilise the earth," and "I set thee (*sūdayāmi*) in the seat of Āyu (the Sacrifice, Agnī), in the shadow of the Favoursing one, in the heart of the Ocean," words applicable only to the *divo stambha*, *skambha*, Axis Mundi. It is specifically "in the middle of the *sadas* that the Udumbara-post is erected, as also in ŚB. III. 6. 1. 2.

Cf. TS. VI. 2. 10. 4 "May Dyutāna Māruta set thee up": Dyutāna Māruta used to set up the Udumbara-post of the Gods; by him, indeed, he sets up this one." In RV. X. 181. 1-3 *dyutāna* qualifies *dhātṛ*; in X. 65. 3 it is Aja Ekapād that is *divo dharṭṛ*, cf. VIII. 41. 10: it is the *sthūṇam* . . . *sūryasya* of V. 62. 8 that is spoken of in JUB. I. 10. 9 "they call the sun the sky-supporting post" (*sthūṇāṁ divastambhanīm sūryam āhur*). Thus the post is the Sun-pillar, "the median Breath"; and Dyutāna Māruta, as is explicit in ŚB. III. 6. 1. 16, the Winnower who with Mitrāvaruṇau, *prāṇāpānau*, as firm support, erects it as if a naturally growing plant (*ib.* 14), or as TS. VI. 2. 10. 4 expresses it, as if "sprung up of itself" (*svāruham*, a phrase which, taken together with the pillar's life-giving and nourishing function, plainly assimilates it to the Tree of Life).

To be unable to set up Breath, the Kingpost, is tantamount to death; PB. VI. 4. 6 explains that as the heart is in the middle of the bodily self,



remarked that at the close of Kauṣ. Up. II. 11 cited above, *avajighrāmi* and *avajighret* replace the more usual forms with *abhi* : the form with *ava*- implying a breathing *down* upon. This *avaghrā* is found again in connection with various rites : thus, in the Sacrifice to the Patriarchs (*pitṛyajña*, ŚB. II. 6. 1) the remains of the porridge offering are handed to the Hotṛ, who *avajighrati* these remains, or as some render it, “smells” them, though “breathes upon” them may be meant.<sup>31</sup> There can be little doubt that in fact the idea of a “smelling of” is always associated with the “breathing upon” that is the essential character of our salutation. That the Udgātr̥ is preëminently a “smeller” is clear from PB. I. 3. 9. It may seem at first sight that to smell should imply a “breathing *from*” rather than a “breathing upon” : we think of scent as *inhaled*. It is, however, “by expiration, indeed, that one smells scents” (*apānena hi gandhāñ jighrati*, JUB. I. 60. 5, BU. III. 2. 2) : in the beginning, the One Self (*ātman*) i. e. Prajāpati,

so the Udumbara pillar is set up in the middle of the Sadas. In BU. II. 2. 1 it is said with reference to the new-born child (and it should be remembered that the initiate is such) that it “is Breath in the middle . . . its pillar (*sthūṇā*) is Breath.” It is clear that to be unable to set up one’s Kingpost, the Breath, is to be unable to live, and that this is the point of the curse. For it is by the Breath that one “stands up” as a living being (*prāṇena hy uttiṣṭhati*, CU. I. 3. 6) ; it is only when the Brahman as Breath enters into the recumbent and lifeless Prajāpati that he “stands up” (JUB. III. 38. 1-3).

In RV. VII. 58. 1 *nirṛter avamśāt* (in spite of Sāyaṇa’s *bhūmer . . . antarikṣāt*) it would seem that the equation *vamśa* = *prāṇa*, Breath or Life, is already recognizable, the meaning being “from that (realm) without life that is Nirṛti’s.”

*Samādhi* implied by *samāhitāḥ* in AA. III. 2. 1, and the *samādhi* of Mil. II. 1. 3 we render, in strict accordance with the etymology, by “synthesis,” but may remark that what is implied by the texts is also a *συνέντασις*, as is explicit in J. III. 317-319, cited in “Pali *kaṇṇikā*.” (JAOS. 50. 239-40.)

Thus, whether one has attained *samādhi*, in which the functions are united to their principle, or merely striven to do so, the imprecation is of failure to attain it.

<sup>31</sup> In TB. III. 9. 4. 10 and 20, the horse is expected to snuffle at the waters for sprinkling and the fodder offered to it, and if it fails to do so (*nāvajighret*), the invitations of TS. V. 7. 26 (containing the words *avajighra*, “do thou snuffle at,” etc.) are employed. Where something is to be done *to* the object, generally a “putting of breath into it,” this must surely be rather by the breathing upon it than by a smelling of it, though both may be involved.



sought to grasp the form of the primordial "food": amongst other means, "he sought to grasp it by the breath (*prāṇena*), but therewith he could not"<sup>32</sup> . . . he sought to grasp it by expiration (*apāṇena*), and that availed." Now if there is considerable disagreement amongst translators about the rendering of the words that denote the various kinds of "breath," *prāṇa*, *apāṇa*, *udāna*, etc., many even rendering *prāṇa* by exhalation and *apāṇa* by inhalation, the sense which the foregoing texts seem at first sight to demand.<sup>33</sup> But we are in a position to determine exactly the

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<sup>32</sup> Keith, indeed, renders *prāṇa* here by "scent," as also Hume is inclined to do for the *prāṇa* of Kauṣ. Up. II. 15. We may remark that the full text of BU. III. 2. 2, "Inhalation is a grasper. It is grasped by exhalation as super-grasper: it is by exhalation, indeed, that one smells scents" (*prāṇo vai grahaḥ so 'pānenātigrāhena grhīto 'pāṇena hi gandhān jighrati*) is paralleled by AA. II. 2. 1 where "Inhalation is the swallower, exhalation the taster" (*prāṇo vai grtsa, apāṇo madaḥ*)—*graha* corresponding to *grtsa* and *atigraha* to *mada*. Inhalation has thus a part to play in smelling, but only a preparatory part; it is by exhalation that one *actually* smells what has been inhaled. The same might be said of the eye: the retina reflects, indeed; but it is the internal power that sees—"Whoever sees, it is by His ray that he sees" (JUB. I. 28. 8). Just as, even if we be touched on the back, "it is with the mind (and not the skin) that one knows it" (BU. I. 5. 3). It goes without saying that any "breathing upon" implies a previous inhalation.

What our text says is that the knowing subject first endeavoured to grasp the objects of the senses by their empirical effects, scent by the physical reaction of the olfactory nerves, but found that this was merely a sensation, knowable as such but not as "scent"; it is only when the light of the intellect is projected upon the fragrant object that "scent" can be known. It is not with the nose that one smells, but only by that which "overtakes," is the *atigraha* of, the physical organ. Sensibility, in other words, is a passion, but perception an "act of the will, a direction of the *inner sense*" (Richards, *Coleridge on Imagination*, p. 47).

<sup>33</sup> It may be noted, in illustration of the complexity of the problems involved, that Lat. *inhalare*, to "breathe upon," becomes in English to "inhale," i. e. breathe in.

See also the excellent discussion of the "Hindu conception of the functions of breath" by A. H. Ewing in JAOS. XXII, pp. 249-308, with which I am in general agreement. It would have unduly lengthened the present article to discuss in detail all the points raised by Ewing, but I should like to call attention to his question on p. 296, "Whence comes the long *ā* after *vi*, *sam* and *ud*?" (i. e. in *vyāna*, *samāna*, *udāna*). In the passage (JUB. IV. 22) under discussion *prāśvasan* is from *pra-ā-śvas* (MW); the sound "huss"—a sighing—is in fact more naturally made by drawing in than by expelling breath.



meanings of *prāṇa* and *apāna* from other contexts, from which it is clear that *prāṇa* means inhalation, or simply spiration in general,<sup>34</sup> and *apāna* exhalation.<sup>35</sup> It may be remarked, in the first place, that *apān* is to expire, in the sense of “die,” as in RV. X. 189. 2 *asya prāṇād apānatī*, “When he (the Sun) suspires, then

<sup>34</sup> *Prāṇa*, from *pra*, “forth,” and *an*, “breathe,” *adhidaivatam*, in *divinis*, is evidently a breathing or blowing forth: but *adhyātmam*, in the man who “draws breath” and is alive, an inhalation. When it is said that the Sun, or the Gale, “is *prāṇa*,” or when the father “breathes over” (*anuprāṇati*) the son, it means that the one breathes or blows upon the world, as universal Father, and that the human father likewise breathes forth upon his son: but it is this same *prāṇa* that we as sons of God or as our father’s son, inhale (*pra-ā-an?*). Thus from our human point of view, as sons or “children” (*prajā*), who “live and breathe,” the breath (*prāṇa*) is “life” inasmuch as we “draw breath.” *Apāna*, on the other hand, is always “breathing away” (from the subject: and this is clear not only from the ordinary meaning of *apa*, and from the texts cited above, but inasmuch as that form of *apāna* which is anal (cf. TS. VI. 3. 1, etc.) is obviously an expulsion of air.

*Anuprān* is even more literally “breathe along (with),” and this sense can be very clearly recognized in ŚB. II. 2. 1. 10 where the child is said to “breathe along with its mother’s breath” (*mātur . . . prāṇam anuprāṇiti*) so long as it is unborn: but when it is born, then “he puts this breath into it” (*asminn etat prāṇam dadhāti*) by means of the offering to Agni the Winnower.

It is remarkable that even at the present day if the new-born child is not breathing (and where artificial means of inducing respiration are not available) the physician “puts breath into the child” (a phrase corresponding exactly to the Skr. *asmin prāṇam dadhāti*) by breathing into and inhaling from its mouth (actions corresponding to the aforesaid sense of *anuprān*, “to breathe with the same breath as,” or “con-spire with”). The practise is doubtless of immemorial antiquity: the act would have been the father’s where no physician was available. The act survives, but its metaphysical significance has been forgotten.

<sup>35</sup> In ŚB. II. 2. 2. 15 where the “child” is Agni, the Sacrificer “breathes upon it when born, i.e. kindled (*taj jātam abhiprāṇiti*) — the fire is a breathing (*prāṇo vai agniḥ*)—and thus he ‘delivers’ (*janayati*) him when he is born (*jātam . . . santam*): again he breathes (*punar apāṇiti*) and so takes him (Agni) into his inner being” (*taḍ enam antarātman ādhatte*). Here, strange as it may appear, we cannot assume that *apāṇiti* means “inhales”: rather, he “smells” the fire, indeed, but as we know, it is by the out-breath (*apāna*) that one smells, as has already been explained: and this is the more intelligible here, since it is not the nose as such, but the *antarātman*—as *atigraha*—that takes the fire to itself in thus savouring it—that *antarātman* that always tastes of the objects of the sense by a going out towards them.



she (the Dawn) expires." Even more explicitly, we find it clearly stated that "While man speaks, he cannot at the same time breathe" (*yāvad vai puruṣo bhāṣate, na tāvad prāṇitum śaknoti*, Kauṣ. Up. II. 5), and it is obvious that *prāṇitum* can only mean inhale: and conversely, "Let him utter the syllable *pa*" (*pa ity evāpānyāt*, JUB. III. 5, 6), and it is equally obvious that *apānyāt* implies an exhalation, for one cannot utter syllables by an inhalation. This is also clearly implied by AA. III. 2. 6, "Either we sacrifice breath in speech, or speech in breath" (*vāci hi prāṇam juhumaḥ prāṇe vā vācam*). He who speaks *apāne juhvati prāṇam*, he who is silent *prāṇe 'pānam* (BG. IV. 29). In the same way the connection of the *hīnkāra* with *abhiḥighraṇa* (*hīnkaroti . . . abhiḥighrati*, PB. VII. 10. 16) shows that a breathing out is implied; while as we have already seen, *abhighrā* or *avaghrā* correspond to *anuprāṇ*.

Thus scents are smelt by exhalation; and *abhiḥighraṇa* as a "breathing upon" may well involve a simultaneous "smelling of," which we should be apt to think of as accomplished by a previous inhalation. It is from the same point of view that vision is traditionally thought of as effected by means of a ray projected from the eye, rather than by means of a reflected light that strikes the eye: and so for the other sense powers. The reason is that these sense powers are not "our own," but are the Sun's, Prajāpati's, who sees in us, looks out through every creature and "Other than whom there is no seer" (BU. III. 8. 23).

We are far from rejecting the meaning "smells" for *abhiḥighrati*, only maintaining that "smells" is a less important part of the meaning than "breathes upon." It is indeed because the Gandharva, whom we have seen referred to by various names as our spiritual father and first cause of our being, blows or breathes in the world that his name of Gandharva suggests his connection with scent (*gandha*): as an animal knows its young, he knows us by our "scents."<sup>36</sup> The Gandharvas and Apsarases "wend

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<sup>36</sup> See the references cited by Hopkins in JAOS. 28, p. 121, note 2. I do not mean to argue that *gandha* in "Gandharva" is etymologically *gandha*, "scent," as may or may not be the case. If Gandharva = *κένταυρος*, the interpretation of this as "mounted herdsman" would be quite appropriate to the character of the solar Gandharva, as would the more likely explanation of *κένταυρος* as "piercer" from *κεντέω* to prick, goad, urge on, and this the more so in view of the relation between *κέντρον* "point" and Lat. *centrum*, "centre."



(respectively) with scent (*gandhena*) and beauty" (*rūpeṇa*), ŚB. IX. 4. 1. 10. The "active, all-embracing Gale" (*vāta*) is a Gandharva (VS. XVIII. 41), and just "As the Gale (*vāyu*) takes scents from their seats (*gandhān āśayāt . . . ṛhitvā*) and goes off with them"<sup>37</sup> (*etāni samyāti*), so the Lord, when he possesses himself of a body and again departs from it, takes these (powers of the soul, *indriyāni* of the previous verse, i. e. the *prāṇāḥ*) and goes off with them" (BG. XV. 8): the Gale is a "collector" (*saṁvargaḥ*, CU. IV. 3. 1);<sup>38</sup> Death is the "gatherer in" (*saṁgamana*, RV. X. 14. 1).

In the rites of paternity discussed above, the meaning "smells of" (transitive) in *abhijighrati* (cf. Kauṣ. Up. II. 4, *gandham prajighrāya*, "scenting the scent") would appear to imply a "recognition" of the son, just as other parts of the ritual are an "acknowledgement" of legitimate filiation: the father "knows" his son by his smell, and "blesses" him accordingly. We have an un mistakeable case of the same thing in the story of Jacob and Esau: it is immaterial that the dying Isaac is purposely deceived, the point is that it is by his scent that he thinks he recognizes Esau, his "very son," and so thinking bestows his "blessing" (Genesis XXVI. 27),<sup>39</sup> which blessing, the birthright of the eldest son, we can only suppose to have been of the same sort as the Indian *sampradānam*.

Briefer mention made be made of "touch." It will be recalled that in Kauṣ. Up. II. 11 we have the v. l. *abhimṛśet*, "he should touch" (his son's head) for the more usual *abhijighret*, "he should breathe upon, and/or smell." It is a fact that when a child nowadays "touches one's feet," the parent does not kiss, but touches his head with both hands, as the proper response. We feel that there is good reason to think that the ritual "laying on of hands"

<sup>37</sup> Inasmuch as the wind is therefore "scented," *vā* can mean to "smell" (intransitive) as well as to blow, as in ŚB. III. 2. 1. 11 *pūtaḥ vānti*, "they exhale a stink," literally "stinking, they blow."

<sup>38</sup> Cf. BU. I. 3. 13, where the Gods (the six powers of the soul) are carried over death by the Breath as *Udgātr*, and "Smell (*prāṇa*, explained by Śaṅkara, evidently rightly, as *ghrāṇa*), set free from death, becomes the Gale."

<sup>39</sup> "And he (Jacob) came near, and kissed him (Isaac): and he (Isaac) smelled the smell of his raiment (Esau's raiment worn by Jacob), and blessed him, and said 'See, the smell of my son . . . God give thee of the dew of heaven, and the fatness of the earth, and plenty of corn and wine.'"



is an equivalent of the "kiss of life." We have seen that by means of the breathing rites that have been described the father is thought of as "entering into" (*āviśati*) the son. We can cite at least one text in which a "touching" means an "entering into," that of ŚB. III. 2. 1. 5-7, where he who is being initiated "touches" (*abhimṛśya*) the junction of the black and white hairs of the black-buck skins on which he is seated,<sup>40</sup> saying "I touch you": the white and black hairs are the symbols of Ṛk and Sāman, words and chant, i. e. Earth and Heaven in their metrical aspect; now "he who is initiated becomes a child unborn" (*garbha*); by saying "I touch you," "he enters into (*praviśati*) the metres," i. e. Ṛk and Sāman, Earth and Heaven, as an embryo, that is, of course, in order that he may be, like Agni, reborn of the Universal Parents; so "When he says 'I touch you,' he means to say 'I enter into you.'" An even better proof that a touching, whether literal or verbal, is tantamount to breathing upon can be cited in ŚB. VII. 3. 1 and 45, where when sand, as the symbol of Agni's seed, has been scattered upon the Āhavanīya hearth, "he touches it (*abhimṛśati*) with two verses containing the verb *āpyai* ('to grow')" and so both "puts the breath into that seed" (*prāṇam tad-retasi dadhāti*). Perhaps the best case of the life-giving touch can be cited in JB. III. 74, where when Kaṇva has been benumbed by the Asuras and is gasping for breath<sup>41</sup> (*tāntaḥ*, from *tam* and connected in sense with the darkness, *tamas*, in which he has been enveloped), his son Triśoka "touched him (*abhyamṛśat*) saying 'Oi, may he live' (the last words of the Traśoka Sāman), and he lived"; and again, "touched him, saying 'May it be day for him,' and it was day." Cf. ŚB. VI. 1. 1. 10 where Prajāpati, desiring to be born forth, enters the Waters, whence arose the World-egg, and this he "touched" (*abhyamṛśat*) saying, "Be thou, be thou, be thou more" (*astv astu bhūyo'stu*).<sup>42</sup>

<sup>40</sup> He touches with thumb and forefinger the place where the black and white hairs meet, and thus unites, or indeed weds together, the contrasted principles of which he is to be born, just as one might connect the two charged poles of a battery by thumb and forefinger, and receive a shock.

<sup>41</sup> Closely related to this is ŚB. IV. 2. 2. 11 where "when one who is gasping takes breath he is restored" (*yadā vai tāntaḥ prāṇam labhate sa samjīhīte*).

<sup>42</sup> In AB. III. 38 at the close of the Soma-sacrifice the Sacrificer "touches earth" (*upasprśan bhūmim*) and thus establishes the sacrifice in that place in which it was consummated; in ŚB. I. 9. 1. 29 "He then touches



We have, perhaps, sufficiently demonstrated the essential character of the Sun-kiss or Kiss of Life: it is the communication of a "breath" or "life," and at the same time an act of recognition by scent. An account of this and other kisses, entitled "The Sniff-Kiss in Ancient India," was published by Professor Washburn Hopkins in JAOS. XXVIII, pp. 120-134, over thirty years ago. I have not had in mind to repeat all that he has collected, but rather to push the enquiry deeper. One of the main problems Professor Hopkins merely evades, inasmuch as he takes it for granted that *apān* means to "inhale": we have cited a number of texts sufficing to prove the impossibility of this *trop simpliste* interpretation.

Professor Hopkins adduces a number of parallels tending to prove what we also infer, the world-wide distribution of similar kisses. We shall conclude by adding to these some more of the most remarkable, because the most complete analogies, those which are found amongst the American Indians. The best general account of the American Indian breathing rites is to be found in Elsie Parsons, *Pueblo Indian Religion*, 1939, pp. 419-423, on which we depend. "There are two, perhaps three, breath rites: breathing from or breathing on, in order to receive or impart, let us say, influence or life—the two rites being conceptually closely associated and practically confused (where you would expect inhalation, your informer may describe exhalation and vice versa . . .); and a third rite which is a forcible expulsion of breath and is properly a rite

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(*upasprśati*) (the earth) with this (little finger); non-human, verily, he becomes when he is chosen for the office of sacrificial priest (*ṛtvij*); and this earth being a support (*pratiṣṭhā*) he thereby rests on this support, and thereby also becomes again human." We are inclined to see here the archetype of the Buddhist *bhūmi-sparśamudrā*. *Upasprś* in the negative is also used in connection with what must not be touched, as in ŚB. VI. 3. 3. 12 where "he does not touch" (*nopasprśati*) the sacrificial horse, because it is a thunder-bolt (*vajra*): the horse is "tabū," because something analogous to a shock or burn would be received if it were touched, as in ŚB. VI. 3. 3. 20 (VS. XI. 24) where the sacrificial horse is "not to be touched, for its form is of flame" (*na hy eṣo 'bhimṛśe, tanvā dīpyamāno bhavati*). Contact implies a flow of "virtue" from one side to the other, which "virtue" may be either destructive or healing. It is with reference to an outflow of healing "virtue" that Jesus asks "Who touched my raiment?" and probably from the other point of view that after the resurrection He says "Touch me not." At the same time *sprś* (the root in "aspersion") can be used in connection with aspersion, as in ŚB. III. 8. 2. 4, *adbhiḥ prāṇān upasprśati*.



of exorcism.” We may remark at once that the “third rite” (to which we have made no reference above) is that of “blowing away” evil powers or influences, of which there could be cited many examples from Vedic sources, where in this connection the verb *dham*, to “blast” (as if from bellows) is employed: it will suffice to cite RV. IV. 50. 4, where “Bṛhaspati blew away the darknesses” (*vi . . . adhamat tamāṁsi*), i. e. the Powers of Darkness. *Dham* has also, of course, a favorable use, as in PB. XIII. 3. 22, where the Fire has been started (*sṛṣṭaḥ*) but does not flame (*nodadīpyata*) until Prajāpati blows on it (*upādhamat*, PB. XIII. 3. 22).

The two other rites, those of breathing in and breathing out, are clearly employed in the same way and with the same presuppositions as in the Indian contexts. Thus, “In the Laguna tale of José Crito the ox in the stable breathes on the infant”<sup>43</sup> . . . Prayer sticks are breathed from by Hopi—to inhale the essence . . . In Acoma myth Iyatiku, in making the first corn fetish, breathed on it. ‘Thus from her breath we shall receive the health she is herself possessed of,’ says the Town Chief of Cochiti. ‘. . . I breathe from your feathers, so make me strong like you,’ says a man in Zuñi tale in praying to Eagle. . . . In Zuñi initiations the corn fetish is breathed from by the recipient and breathed on by the giver . . . a sick person will breathe from the clasped hands of the doctor. . . . The Zuñi hunter, breathing in the breath of the deer, is supposed to say: ‘Thanks, my father, this day have I drunken your sacred wind of life.’<sup>44</sup> . . .”

The Zuñi prayer that regularly accompanies the breath rite is: *lena ho tek’ ohanna anichiatsu*, thus I light (life)<sup>45</sup> wish much. Similarly the Iseltan will refer to the rite as ‘to have more life.’”

It would scarcely be possible to ask for closer parallels; they are the more significant in that equally close correspondences can be found in other departments of American Indian and Indian mythology and ritual, especially where the metaphysics of light is involved, and in connection with rites of aspersion. As Dr. Johannes Sauter has remarked, “Eine grosse Weltlinie der Metaphysik zieht sich durch alle Völker hin” (*Archiv für Rechte- und Sozialphilosophie*, Berlin, Oct. 1934, p. 90).

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Kauṣ. Up. II. 11, cited above, *avajighret . . . gavām . . . hiṅkuryāt*, and ŚB. II. 2. 4. 12.

<sup>44</sup> We have already called attention to the converse practise of resurrecting the slain animal by a breath rite.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. John I. 4, “the life was the light.”



# GILDS IN BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA

I. MENDELSON

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THE PROBLEM of the existence of voluntary social organizations comprising private citizens in Babylonia and Assyria has not been thoroughly investigated. However, the documents do contain hints, incidentally made, from which we may glean some facts about such private organizations.

This paper is an attempt to investigate one particular aspect of the above mentioned problem, namely, to ascertain whether or not there existed in Babylonia and Assyria merchants' and workmen's guilds organized for mutual economic, social, and religious benefits. Some Assyriologists maintain, or assume, the existence of such guilds in Babylonia and Assyria,<sup>2</sup> while on the other hand a scholar of such repute as San Nicolò denies their existence in a sweeping statement.<sup>3</sup>

That persons pursuing a definite calling were banded together may be seen from the craft designation which, as a rule, follows the proper name in legal and business documents. The technical terms employed are invariably *māru* and *aplu* "son" of such and such a trade. Thus we find in Old-Babylonian: *mārē<sup>meš</sup> iššakki<sup>meš</sup>*<sup>4</sup>, literally "sons of the officials" and *mārē<sup>meš</sup> bārē<sup>meš</sup>*<sup>5</sup> "sons of the soothsayers"; in Neo-Babylonian: *mār awēl-rē'i*<sup>6</sup> "son of the shep-

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<sup>1</sup> The following abbreviations have been used in this paper:

- ADD Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*.  
AR Kohler-Ungnad, *Assyrische Rechtsurkunden*.  
CNB Contenau, *Contrats Néo-Babyloniens, Musée du Louvre, Textes Cunéiformes XII-XIII*.  
LH King, *Letters of Hammurabi*.  
NBD Moore, *Neo-Babylonian Business and Administrative Documents*.  
NRV San Nicolò-Ungnad, *Neubabylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden*.  
VAB 6 Ungnad, *Babylonische Briefe aus der Zeit der Hammurapi-Dynastie*.  
VS *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*.

<sup>2</sup> B. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien* I 231 and II 243; A. T. Olmstead, *History of Assyria* 255, 538, 559.

<sup>3</sup> *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, Article "Guilds."

<sup>4</sup> VAB 6. 24. 12; 25. 25, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 24. 14, etc.

<sup>6</sup> CNB 86. 1 = NBD 86.



herd," *apil awēl nappāhi*<sup>7</sup> "son of the smith," *mār awēl ba'iri*<sup>8</sup> "son of the fisher," *apil awēl iṣpāri*<sup>9</sup> "son of the weaver," *apil awēl ašlāki*<sup>10</sup> "son of the bleacher," *apil awēl iṭinni*<sup>11</sup> "son of the builder," *mār asī*<sup>12</sup> "son of the physician," etc.<sup>13</sup>

The terms *māru* and *aplu* are variously translated. Ungnad translates *mārēmeš iṣṣakki*<sup>meš</sup> and *mārēmeš bārē*<sup>meš</sup> "die zu der Verwaltungsklasse gehören" and "die zu der Wahrsagerklasse gehören." King translates the same "men from the company of the patesi" and "who belonged to the company of the soothsayers."<sup>14</sup> San Nicolò-Ungnad translate the Neo-Babylonian *māru* and *aplu* "Nachkommen" and Moore translates the same "descendant." The context of the documents in which these terms occur requires, in my opinion, a different rendering and I propose to translate these terms "member," i. e., A, member of the weavers' gild; B, member of the goldsmiths' gild, etc.<sup>15</sup>

Unfortunately the documents tell us very little about the officers of the various gilds. Mention is made only of the *aklu* and the *rabû*, "head" or "secretary." Thus we find in Old-Babylonian an *akil nuḥatimmi*<sup>meš</sup><sup>16</sup> "head of the bakers," *akil tamqari*<sup>meš</sup><sup>17</sup> "head of the merchants," *akil gallābi*<sup>18</sup> "head of the barbers," and *akil malāhi*<sup>19</sup> "head of the boat-men"; in Neo-Babylonian we find *akil nuḥatimmi*<sup>meš</sup><sup>20</sup> "head of the bakers" and in Assyrian documents we find *rāb iṣparē*<sup>meš</sup><sup>21</sup> "head of the weavers," *rāb nappāh hurāṣi*<sup>meš</sup><sup>22</sup> "head of the goldsmiths," *rāb malāhi*<sup>23</sup> "head of the boat-men," *rāb nagāri*<sup>24</sup> "head of the carpenters" and *rāb iṣparē*<sup>25</sup> "head of the weavers." *Aklu* is translated by Ungnad "Obmann," by King "secretary" or "scribe";<sup>26</sup> *rabû* is translated by Kohler-Ungnad "Ober" and by Johns "chief."<sup>27</sup> I propose to translate these

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. 94. 4 = NBD 94.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. 184. 5 = NBD 184.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. 122. 4 = NBD 122.

<sup>11</sup> VS III 61. 18 = NRV 416.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. 124. 2 = NBD 124.

<sup>12</sup> VS IV 146 = NRV 131.

<sup>13</sup> See also Nehemia 3: 8 "son of the perfumers" and ibid. 3: 31 "son of the goldsmith."

<sup>14</sup> LH III 112.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. ibid. p. 111, note 2 and VAB 6. p. 338 under *māru*.

<sup>16</sup> VAB 6. 35. 4.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. 244. 29 = AR 159.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid. 19. 3.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid. 324. 29 = AR 36.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid. 166. 15.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid. 161. 21 = AR 51.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. 74. 5.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. 447. 25 = AR 61.

<sup>20</sup> VS 6. 331 = NRV 683.

<sup>26</sup> Op. cit.

<sup>21</sup> ADD 453. 25 = AR 187.

<sup>27</sup> ADD II 152.



two terms "president" or "chief-officer," i. e., A, the president of the goldsmiths' gild, or B, the president of the weavers' gild.

That the gild was an official body recognized by the government and vested with certain rights and privileges is to be gleaned from the following examples. In a letter to Sin-Iddinam Hammurabi ordered that two men Šēp-Sin and Sin-muštāl be sent to Babylon with their over-due taxes consisting of 3600 gur sesame and 26 minas of silver. These two men are called *aklū<sup>meš</sup> tamqarī<sup>meš</sup>* <sup>28</sup> "heads of the merchants." Both Ungnad and King maintain that these two men were revenue collectors in the employment of Hammurabi.<sup>29</sup> It seems obvious that both men were heads of merchant gilds who, in their capacity as presidents, were responsible to the crown for the collection of taxes due from the individual members of their respective organizations. That this was the case is clear from the facts that Hammurabi demanded the delivery of the over-due tax and from the excuse offered by them for not going to Babylon because "since it is now the time of harvest, we will come after the harvest is over." Certainly, if they were revenue officials they could hardly fail to deliver to the treasury goods and money already collected or excuse themselves on the pretense of being too busy because of the harvest.

The gild president not only had to collect the taxes from members, but was also responsible for the sum-total of the assessed tax irrespective of the actual payments by individual members. The same Šēp-Sin complained to Hammurabi that although two men (members of his gild) refused to pay their taxes, which were due to certain temples, "the palace has exacted the full sum from me."<sup>30</sup> It goes without saying that Šēp-Sin could not have been a governmental official, for surely no tax-collector can be made responsible for the non-payment of taxes due from citizens in his given district. The fact that Hammurabi ordered Sin-iddinam to investigate the case and to see to it that the two men pay their taxes to Šēp-Sin proves that the gild chief had recourse to the government and the latter helped him in forcing recalcitrant members to live up to their duty.<sup>31</sup> Another proof that the *akil*

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<sup>28</sup> VAB 6. 19. 13.

<sup>29</sup> LH III 45; VAB 6 xv, No. 19.

<sup>30</sup> VAB 6. 17. 14 f.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien* I 124.



*tamqarī* was not a government official is found in a letter of Ammiditana in which he asked the *akil tamqarī* of Sippar-yahrurum why he had not delivered his tax to the government assessor of goat-wool (*awēlu mušaddin šipāt enzim*).<sup>32</sup> Unfortunately the letter does not state the amount of wool and it is therefore impossible to say whether the amount constituted his private or organization tax.

It seems that in addition to the already mentioned duty of collecting the taxes, the president of a given gild was also responsible for the recruiting of the gild members into the army. It was his duty to see that those of the members who were eligible to be drafted should submit to the military authorities and, on the other hand, to defend those who had been illegally drafted. Thus a certain Ibni-Amurru, president of a bakers' gild (*akil nuḥatimmī*), complained to Hammurabi about the illegal seizure of four bakers (members of his gild) who had been drafted by Sin-iddinam to the army or forced labor-service. After having examined the case the king ordered Sin-iddinam to free one of them, but to retain the other three.<sup>33</sup>

The documents do not tell us about the social life of the gild members. We only know that in Assyria each gild lived in a separate quarter of the city where they may have had their own social and religious institutions. Thus mention is made among other quarters of an *āl nappāḥ hurāši*<sup>34</sup> "a quarter of the goldsmiths," *āl awēl ašlākē*<sup>35</sup> "a quarter of bleachers," *āl awēl pahārē*<sup>36</sup> "a quarter of the potters." In ADD 171 we read of one Atā who was chief magistrate of the district of the goldsmiths (*awēl hazannu ša āl nappāḥ hurāši*).<sup>37</sup> If Atā was a goldsmith himself, as the text seems to suggest, we may have a case where the gild elected one of its members to serve as a mayor of the district inhabited by them.

A few more glimpses into the workings of the gilds in Babylonia in the first centuries of the present era are given in the Babylonian

<sup>32</sup> VAB 6. 82. 4.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid. 35; see also Landsberger, *ZDMG* 69. 501

<sup>34</sup> ADD 415. 22 = AR 437; cf. ADD II 152 f.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid. 307. 4 = AR 37.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid. 391. 15 = AR 394; cf. ADD II 152 f. and IV No. 821, p. 47.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. ADD II No. 184.



Talmud.<sup>38</sup> Thus we learn that the guilds at that time were closed corporations which had a right to exclude new-comers and prevent their settlement in their midst: "The residents of an alley can prevent one another from bringing in a tailor, or a tanner, or a teacher, or any other craftsman."<sup>39</sup> This Palestinian law is cited as a precedent to enforce a Babylonian ordinance which prohibited outside merchants from selling their wares in the city of Babylon: "Certain basket-sellers brought baskets to Babylon. The town people came and stopped them. So they appealed to Ravina, who said, 'they have come from the outside and they can sell to outsiders.' This privilege, however, applied only to the market day and not to other days. And even on the market day only for selling in the market, but not for going around to the houses. Certain wool-sellers brought wool to Pum-Nahara. The town people came and stopped them from selling. They appealed to Rav Kahana, who said, 'they have a right to stop you,' they said, 'we have money owing to us here,' 'if so,' he replied, 'you can go and sell enough to keep you till you collect your debts, and then you must go' ".<sup>40</sup>

These few facts gathered from Babylonian and Assyrian business and legal documents and from the Babylonian Talmud do, in my opinion, warrant the conclusion that guilds were in existence in Old and Neo-Babylonia as well as in Assyria, although we are not able as yet to describe them in as thorough a fashion as the guilds of Hellenistic Egypt.

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<sup>38</sup> The view of San Nicolò (see note 3 and also Franz Delitzsch, *Jewish Artisan Life in the Time of Jesus*, 41) that the guilds of that period derived their origin from Hellenistic Egypt does not, in view of the above facts, seem to be founded upon a sound basis. I maintain that the guilds of that period represent a continuation of the old associations of the Hammurabi period.

<sup>39</sup> *Bava Batra* F 21b.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.* F 22a.



## ON THE AUTHENTICITY OF MOSES OF KHOREN'S *HISTORY*<sup>1</sup>

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MOSES OF KHOREN is, aside from the saints and a few church fathers, the most venerable character among the Armenian people; and his *History of Armenia*, or, to give the exact translation of his best known work, *A Genealogical Account of Armenia Major*, is the most famous document in the Armenian national literature. As one critic has rightly stated,<sup>2</sup> his "*History* remains to a large majority of his readers as the most authentic and trustworthy book next to the Bible." Even though he is not the earliest of Armenian historians<sup>3</sup> (assuming for the moment that wrote late in the fifth century), yet he has been called the father of Armenian historians, the Armenian Herodotus. He has been referred to by all writers during at least ten centuries<sup>4</sup> as the Grammarian, a word which in its Armenian original signifies the most learned among writers of history.

Very little is known about this unique character, and that little has come down to us through his *History*. Therein (Book III, chapt. 60) we are told that he was a disciple of Fathers Sahag and Mesroh, the two learned men who originated the Armenian alphabet (in 412 A. D.), that they sent him to Edessa, Alexandria, Byzantium and Athens to study (III 62), and that at the time of the composition of his *History* he was an old and infirm man, preoccupied

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<sup>1</sup> A brief version of this paper was read at the Middle West Branch meeting of the American Oriental Society, held at the Oriental Institute (University of Chicago) on April 2, 1938.

<sup>2</sup> Father N. Akinian, in *Anahid* (an Armenian quarterly of Paris), I (1929) 72.

<sup>3</sup> The first attempt to write a history of Armenia was made by Agathangelos, the Greek secretary to King Tiridates (387-442 A. D.), in his *History of King Tiridates*, originally written in Greek. The second writer, Faustus of Byzantium, who wrote a *History of Armenia* covering 344-392 A. D., was probably also a Greek.

<sup>4</sup> Though it has been assumed that he wrote in the fifth century, yet the earliest reference to his work is made by John Catholicos in his *History of Armenia*, a work written in the third decade of the tenth century.



with works of translation (III 65). Since his *History* concludes with the year 440 A. D., it was naturally supposed that he wrote after the middle of the fifth century. This supposition was at first generally accepted, the prevalent belief being that it was written some time between 460 and 480. The validity of this date was for a while accepted even by one (the late Alfred von Gutschmid of the University of Leipzig) who subsequently proved to be the severest critic of our author.<sup>5</sup> Such was, and to a large extent still is, the traditional view about the life and the work of Moses of Khoren which was accepted by the Armenians. It is this traditional and unquestioned view that has been subjected to much severe criticism during the course of the past hundred years. The object of this paper is to summarize and evaluate such criticism.

Moses of Khoren states that his work is based upon Armenian, Greek and Syrian sources, but his text as we now have it is based, for the most part, upon the work of a certain Mar Abas Katina (supposedly a Syrian writer) about whom very little is known and whose work has been lost. As a matter of fact this character is shrouded in such obscurity that his very existence has been questioned. Etienne Quatremère, writing in 1850,<sup>6</sup> came out with the bold statement that Mar Abas Katina was a fictitious name, that there never lived such a Syrian writer; since Moses of Khoren's *History* is based upon the nonexistent work of a fictitious author, it is devoid of authenticity. This view of Quatremère was shared by two of his country men, N. Fréret who wrote before,<sup>7</sup> and E. Renan who wrote after him,<sup>8</sup> while F. Lenormant somewhat later (in 1871) was convinced that the said "fictitious author" was an actual writer of the Edessa School.<sup>9</sup>

The criticism of Quatremère, Fréret, and Renan was the first of a series that aimed at the very foundation of Moses of Khoren's *History*. That in itself was not sufficient to discredit and dislodge

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<sup>5</sup> A. von Gutschmid, *Kleine Schriften* IV 286, in an essay supposedly written in 1860.

<sup>6</sup> *Journal des Savants*, June, 364-5.

<sup>7</sup> *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, 47 (1809), 98 f.

<sup>8</sup> *Histoire Générale et Système Comparé des Langues Sémitiques* 682 (sixth ed.).

<sup>9</sup> *Lettres Assyriologiques* I 3.



it from the high place it occupied; more serious and damaging criticism was to follow.

In the seventies of the last century Alfred von Gutschmid brought to bear all the weight of his scholarship and concluded that the *History* was written not in the years 460-480 (as he once had supposed), but between the years 634 and 642.<sup>10</sup> His most weighty argument was confirmed by Moses of Khoren's anachronistic passages, such as his reference to the division of Armenia Major into four provinces (which division took place in 536); and his reference to the Persian advance in Bithynia (which point the Persians first reached in 609). The Nestor of Leipzig was not only the first noted authority to expose convincingly the most serious defects of the *History*, but he also remains as the first to emphasize the fact that Moses of Khoren, assuming that he wrote in the fifth century, was sadly lacking in contemporary historical knowledge.

While many French and German scholars<sup>11</sup> were thus digging into the "sacred" regions of Armenian history, some Armenian writers were also preoccupied with similar tasks. Father J. Caterjian of the Armenian Mekhitharist monastery of Vienna was the first of his race to be seriously baffled with the disconcerting chronological events recorded in the *History*, and he finally concluded (in his *Universal History* I, published in 1849) that Moses of Khoren must have written in a period "much later" than the fifth century.<sup>12</sup> A quarter century later (at the very time Gutschmid's study was published) the late K. Patkanian of the University of St. Petersburg was examining another work, the *Armenian Geography*, supposedly written by Moses of Khoren. Curiously enough, he discovered that this work too was written in the seventh century. More curious still, the proofs upon which Patkanian based his con-

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<sup>10</sup> "Über die Glaubwürdigkeit der Armenischen Geschichte des Moses von Khoren," in *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* 27 (1876) 1-43, and also his article on Moses of Khoren in the *Britannica* (ninth ed.).

<sup>11</sup> J. A. Saint-Martin, "Notice sur la Vie et les Écrits de Moyse de Khorène," *Journal Asiatique* 2 (1823) 321-44; V. Langlois "Etude sur les sources de l'histoire d'Arménie de Moïse de Khoren," *Bulletin of the Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg* III (1861) 531-83; C. E. Pichard, *Essai de la Moïse de Khorène*, Paris, 1866; Petermann, H., "Die Schriftlichen Quellen des Moses Chorenensis," *Berichte d. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1852, 87-104, and many others.

<sup>12</sup> Cited by Father Akinian, loc. cit. 72.



clusion were somewhat similar to those advanced by the Professor at Leipzig. He too noticed anachronisms in the *Geography*, namely, the geographical and ethnographical nomenclature used in the work belonged to a later period.<sup>13</sup>

In 1892 the late Auguste Carrière of the Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes (Paris) carried the study of our author's *History* a step further and came out with another startling exposure. His studies not only convinced him that the *History* was a work of the eighth century but also that its celebrated author liberally used sources to which he makes no reference at all.<sup>14</sup> Thus in addition, Moses of Khoren was accused of plagiarism. According to Carrière the two works which Moses of Khoren used freely were the *Life of Silvester* and the *Ecclesiastical History* of Sokrates. The former was available in the Armenian translation no earlier than the year 690, and the latter in 696. Here, therefore, "was proof, short and peremptory," that Moses of Khoren's *History* was at best a work of the eighth century.<sup>15</sup>

This sort of argument was exploited to the full by the late G. Khalathianz of the Lazarev Institute (Moscow). In his monumental study, *The Armenian Epic*,<sup>16</sup> he examined Moses of Khoren's *History* and concluded that our author copied not only from works already indicated by Carrière but also from those of Sebeos (an Armenian writer of the seventh century), Faustus of Byzantium, and specially from Ghevont (Leontius) the Elder. And as the work of the last named writer<sup>17</sup> was ready only in the year 790, Moses of Khoren must have written some time after that date, "probably early in the ninth century."<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> *The Armenian Geography Attributed to Moses of Khoren* (in Russian), St. Petersburg, 1877. Half a century earlier St.-Martin had criticized this *Geography* on similar grounds. Cf. his *Mémoires Historiques et Géographiques* II 301-317.

<sup>14</sup> *Nouvelles Sources de Moïse de Khoren*, Vienne, 1893.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid. vii. Cf. also F. Conybeare's "The Date of Moses of Khoren," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 10 (1901) 489-504.

<sup>16</sup> *The Armenian Epic: Moses of Khoren's History of Armenia* (in Russian), Moscow, 1896. Cf. also his "Zur Erklärung der Armenischen Geschichte des Moses von Chorene," *WZKM* 7 (1893) 21-8.

<sup>17</sup> *Wars and Conquests of Arabs in Armenia* (in Armenian).

<sup>18</sup> *On the Newest Sources of Moses of Khoren* (in Armenian), Vienna, 1898, 14.



It seemed that both Carrière and Khalathianz had tried to prove more than was warranted by their findings, and on that assumption they were at once challenged by the late F. Conybeare of Oxford. In his attempt to refute Carrière's argument Conybeare observed that the author of the *History* could very well have used the sources named, and if these (the *Life of Silvester* and the *Ecclesiastical History* of Sokrates) were not available in Armenian until late in the seventh century, surely they were to be had in their original in the fifth century. He further observed that although a number of passages in the *History* bear close resemblance to those found in both the works mentioned, yet (and here Conybeare's argument weakens) these passages could have been used by Moses of Khoren "just as Eginhart [Einhard] went to Suetonius for a description of Charlemagne."<sup>19</sup> And he replied to Khalathianz's criticism with the statement that not "a single passage in the History [was] clearly copied or imitated from any Armenian text later than 450, A. D."<sup>20</sup>

It was not to be supposed that this barrage of criticism, persistently aimed at an old national institution such as Moses of Khoren's *History* had become, would pass unchallenged. From the very beginning nearly all the learned fathers of the Armenian Orthodox Church headed by the inmates of the monastery at Etchmiadzin (Armenia), and ably seconded by the learned fathers of the Armenian monastery in Venice, clung to the traditional view. And the stock arguments which they advanced were that Mar Abas Katina was an actual authentic historian and his work is preserved in that of Sebeos,<sup>21</sup> and therefore Moses of Khoren's principal source should not be questioned;<sup>22</sup> that the so-called original and "purer" MSS<sup>23</sup> do not contain any geographical and ethnographical names and dates which show anachronisms; furthermore, since Moses of Khoren was the favorite pupil of Fathers Sahag and Mesrob, he could not have lived and written in any other time than during the last half of the fifth century. Of course, the

<sup>19</sup> *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 11 (1902) 400-401.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.* 10 (1901) 501.

<sup>21</sup> Langlois seems to imply that this is actually the case; cf. his *Collections des Historiens Anciens et Modernes de l'Arménie* I 195 ff.

<sup>22</sup> Father M. Chamchian, *History of Armenia* (in Armenian) I 34.

<sup>23</sup> The oldest MS. extant, believed to be the one found in the Armenian monastery of Venice, is of the twelfth century.



upholders of this view have clung, and still steadfastly cling, to the half-biblical and half-mythological account of the origin of the Armenian people.<sup>24</sup>

Next to the native critics of yesterday Father Akinian of the Mekhitharist monastery of Vienne is the most outspoken critic of today. As such he is the most thoroughgoing critic of his race, and has come very near to uprooting everything connected with Moses of Khoren. Unfortunately, some of his writings, exhaustive and learned as they seem, are more in the nature of polemics, more attractive than convincing. Approaching his subject with a mastery seldom equalled in Armenian studies, he has delved into it from various angles, and at every turn he has seen Moses of Khoren as a character of the eighth century, the mere mouth-piece of the Bagradite princes (the ruling princes of Armenia from 885 to 1080), advocating their claims against other contending princes.<sup>25</sup> And in his most recent studies,<sup>26</sup> he relegates the "Armenian Herodotus" not only to the low level of a faker and masquerader, but by assigning his work to Ghevont the Elder, he brands Moses of Khoren with the same phrase which Quatremère had applied to Mar Abas Katina, "a fictitious character."

If the mantle of Moses of Khoren's critics has fallen upon the shoulders of the learned inmate of the monastery at Vienna, that of the upholders of the traditional view has been claimed by Father V. Hatzouni of the Mekhitharist monastery of Venice. Though devoid of the heavy artillery of German training with which his adversary is equipped, Father Hatzouni is equally persistent in his valiant but decidedly weak defense. In his most recent study,<sup>27</sup> by which he hopes to place Moses of Khoren back in the traditional station, he attempts to refute seriatim all the critics of the *History* and its

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<sup>24</sup> It must in fairness be stated that some among the most learned of those who once held this view were beginning to disown it, even as early as in the 'nineties. Cf. the late Archbishop Tourian's *History of Armenian Literature* (in Armenian) 48 ff.

<sup>25</sup> The best summary of his findings is presented by himself in *Anahid*, I (1929) 67-77.

<sup>26</sup> *Ghevont the Elder and Moses of Khoren*, Vienna, 1930; and his articles on Moses of Khoren scattered in *Hantes Amsorya* for 1929-1931 (both in Armenian).

<sup>27</sup> *Moses of Khoren Returns to the Fifth Century* (in Armenian), Venice, 1935.



author, from La Croze<sup>28</sup> (a French critic, 1661-1739) to Father Akinian. He admits that in the *History* are "recorded events that have no connection with the fifth century"; and he also concedes the presence of anachronisms therein;<sup>29</sup> but he adds that these were incorporated into the MS by the later copyists while the original MS must have been wholly free from such "excrescences." It is not necessary to follow his reasoning, since it is little more than the stock arguments referred to above which scarcely can withstand any critical examination.

While both the native and foreign critics have been concerned with settling of this historic controversy abroad, the students of the subject now resident in Soviet Armenia have also displayed some interest in it. That is why the appearance of Professor H. Manandhian's little book has been greeted with enthusiasm, even though the book is not all that its title implied.<sup>30</sup> The author did not even venture to deal with the *History*; he merely examined two other works attributed to Moses of Khoren, the *Geography* and the *Book of Rhetoric*,<sup>31</sup> and found that both are Moses of Khoren's own writings; and, as there seemed to be no difference in style and composition between these and the *History*, he concluded that all three must have been written by the same author.<sup>32</sup> He did not have any doubt about the author's being a character of the eighth century, but he rightly declared that all efforts to place Moses of Khoren in his proper time will be futile until a comparative study of at least most of the extant MSS has been made by a group of scholars.

Such is the considered opinion of one who has spent a quarter of a century of his life in the study of the subject; he admits that the information is inadequate for a definite settlement of the contro-

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<sup>28</sup> La Croze was perhaps the first critic who in 1730, in a letter to William Wiston of London (who translated the *History* into Latin and subsequently published it in 1736), expressed the view that Moses of Khoren was a writer of the "ninth or the tenth century." Cf. G. A. Schrumpf's *Les Etudes Arméniennes en Europe* (the Armenian translation, Venice, 1895) 52.

<sup>29</sup> Hatzouni, op. cit. 9.

<sup>30</sup> *The Solution of Moses of Khoren's Riddle* (in Armenian), Erivan, 1934.

<sup>31</sup> On the *Rhetoric* cf. A. Baumgartner's "Über das Buch 'die Chrie,'" *ZDMG* 40 (1886) 457-517.

<sup>32</sup> Manandhian, op. cit. 53.



versy. But if the student at the University in Erivan (Armenia) thus warns against premature judgment, Mr. H. Levy of Jerusalem boldly tries to settle it in a brief study. He is the most recent among Moses of Khoren's severest critics, and his article <sup>33</sup> among the latest of their works. But Mr. Levy has little of his own to offer; he briefly reiterates the views of some earlier critics, and then, in his attempt to expose Moses of Khoren's "purpose," indulges in a bit of psycho-analysis. Welcome as his venture is in this respect, it is based only upon a few scraps of doubtful discoveries; and his conclusion that internal evidence found in the *History* proves it to be the work of a late ninth century writer is grounded upon a misunderstanding of Armenian history. A closer study would reveal that the internal situation in Armenia during the fifth and the ninth centuries has many similarities, as Professor Adontz has stated.<sup>34</sup> Besides, the scholars have not studied exhaustively the subject so as to resort to the exercise of psycho-analysis. The author, his work, and the date of the composition of his work must first be established on the basis of some such researches as are suggested by Professor Manandhian, before an inquiry into the "purpose" could begin.<sup>35</sup>

Having summarized the major portions of weighty criticisms on Moses of Khoren, I shall conclude by adding a few remarks upon his importance in Armenian history.

Moses of Khoren was the first of his race to conceive and execute the plan of a complete history of Armenia, from the earliest times to about the middle of the fifth century A. D. Whether he be considered a fifth or a ninth century writer, to him belongs that distinct priority; in that he was the pioneer, and on that all his critics agree. His *History* is also an unrivalled document as one of the earliest examples of national history, based partly on presumably written

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<sup>33</sup> "The Date and Purpose of Moses of Chorene's *History*," *Byzantion* 11 (1936) 81-96. Cf. also Professor N. Adontz's brief reply, "Sur la date de l'*Histoire de l'Arménie* de Moïse de Chorene," *ibid.* 97-100, and Mr. Levy's rejoinder with Professor Adontz's counter-rejoinder, *ibid.* 593-9.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. the preceding note.

<sup>35</sup> Such a plan was once under way, on a comprehensive scale, in 1904, when C. Der-Mekerditchian and S. Malkhasian began their series of *Armenian Historians*. But the fruits of their labor on Moses of Khoren were lost in the Russian Revolution, and we have the works of only two Armenian historians (Agathangelos and Lazar of Pharb) thus carefully edited.



accounts and partly upon the traditional national folk-tales and ancient beliefs. As such it is a mine and treasure of unrecorded folkloristic literature of a high order, thus constituting a primary source of Armenian history. On that too his critics are unanimous. In addition, the *History* has certain literary qualities which place it among the best works of classical Armenian literature. The author's dignified style and the lofty spirit displayed therein, his poetic gift and his ability to condense his thoughts in succinct and pithy expressions, his confident grasp of such learning as he possessed and its effective use in his hands, all these have made his *History* a literary masterpiece. Small wonder that it has been difficult to dislodge him from the esteem which he commands among Armenian historians of all time, long after it has been proved that his *History* as history is of little value.<sup>36</sup>

To date there exists no satisfactory history of Armenia in any language. Many have tried to fill that important gap in world history, but none has succeeded in the difficult task. According to Professor Manandhian and many others<sup>37</sup> this enviable enterprise has been rendered most difficult by Moses of Khoren's *History*. For it is indeed difficult to destroy myths, and national myths have an uncanny persistency of reviving themselves. And the *History* of our author, it must be admitted, is replete with myths that have wandered from mouth to mouth in the pre-Christian era and have been "sanctified" in the national history of the oldest Christian people at the hands of a gifted, imaginative and versatile writer.

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<sup>36</sup> The first Armenian edition of the *History* was published in Amsterdam in 1695. The Latin translation of Wiston Brothers was issued in London in 1736 (along with the Armenian text); the first Russian translation by J. Ohanian was published in 1809; the first French translation and the first Italian translation were issued in 1841; the only German translation was prepared by M. Lauer and published in 1869. There is no English translation of this work.

<sup>37</sup> Manandhian, op. cit. 50. Cf. also C. Funduklian's articles on Moses of Khoren scattered in *Anahid* for 1930, 1931 and 1936, and especially A. Baumgartner's "Armenia" in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyclopadie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (new edition).



## RŌMAJI OR RŌMAZI

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In the pages of this journal, Mr. Carr has brought up the vexatious problem of Japanese Romanization (Rōmaji), arguing that "there is every reason, scientific and practical, for going over to the Kokutei" Romanization and urging that "discussion regarding its adoption be opened at the first opportunity."<sup>1</sup>

In 1885, a group of interested Japanese scholars, with the aid of Hepburn, a distinguished American missionary, and other foreigners, devised a system of Romanization for the Japanese language, which was adopted and still is used by the Nihon Rōmaji Hirome Kai (Japanese Society for the Propagation of Rōmaji). In time this system came to be known by Hepburn's name, although it would be more fitting to call it simply the Old Romanization.<sup>1a</sup> In 1886 a movement was started by some natural scientists and other Japanese scholars for the reform of this system. The result was Nipponshiki (Japanese style) Rōmaji, or, according to the Romanization of this system, Nipponsiki Rōmazi. In 1937, a cabinet decree adopted for government use a system called *Kokutei* (Official) Rōmazi, which conforms to Nipponsiki in most of the important points of dispute between it and the earlier system.

The following chart of the differences between the three systems of Romanization will help to clarify the problem for those not familiar with the various Romanization systems or with Japanese phonetics.

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<sup>1</sup> JAOS 59 (1939). 99-102.

<sup>1a</sup> The committee which evolved this system was composed of four Japanese, Toyama Masakazu 外山正一, Terao Hisashi 寺尾壽, Kanda Naibu 神田乃武, and Yatabe Ryōkichi 矢田部良吉, and of two foreigners, Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Eby. Dr. Hepburn and a Herr Techow were merely invited to assist the group. See *A Short Statement of the Aim and Method of the Rōmaji Kai*, Tōkyō 1885, p. 4-6.



Phonetic		Old		
Kana	Transcription	Romanization	Kokutei	Nipponsiki
ク	ka	ka	ka	kwa
シ	ʃi	shi	si	si
シャ	ʃa	sha	sya	sya
シュ	ʃu	shu	syu	syu
ショ	ʃo	sho	syo	syo
チ	tʃi	chi	ti	ti
ツ	tsu	tsu	tu	tu
チャ	tʃa	cha	tya	tya
チュ	tʃu	chu	tyu	tyu
チョ	tʃo	cho	tyo	tyo
フ	Fu	fu	hu	hu
ジ	dʒi	ji	zi	zi
ジャ	dʒa	ja	zya	zya
ジュ	dʒu	ju	zyu	zyu
ジョ	dʒo	jo	zyo	zyo
ヂ	dʒi	ji	zi	di
ヅ	zu	zu	zu	du
ヂャ	dʒa	ja	zya	dya
ヂュ	dʒu	ju	zyu	dyu
ヂョ	dʒo	jo	zyo	dyo
ンバ	mb....	mb....	nb....	nb....
ンパ	mp....	mp....	np....	np....
ンマ	mm....	mm....	nm....	nm....

The fundamental difference between the systems is that the Old Romanization is a simple broad transcription based on the normal value of the vowels as in Italian and the consonants as in English, whereas the other two Romanizations are not phonetic transcriptions but are rather phonemic Latin orthographies which take the phonemic structure of Japanese rather than Occidental concepts of letters values as a starting point. In other words, the Old Romanization is a simple Latin transliteration designed for the transcription of single Japanese names and words when writing in a foreign language, while the other two systems are really spelling systems designed for use by Japanese wishing to write the Japanese language in the Latin alphabet. Consequently, the Old Romanization is obviously designed primarily for use by foreigners and the other two systems for use only by those who know the Japanese language.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Palmer in his *Principles of Romanization* (Tōkyō, 1931), p. 123, has already clearly stated this difference as follows:

“The Hepburn system is by its very nature nothing other than a trans-



The nature of this difference may be illustrated by the T series of Japanese syllables, which are *ta t*f*i tsu te to*. Since *t*f*i* and *tsu* take the place of *ti* and *tu* in the Japanese phonemic system, they can naturally be Romanized as *ti* and *tu* in a system of Japanese orthography with no danger of confusion between the syllables they represent and the syllables normally represented by *ti* and *tu* in most other languages. However, in a transcription system designed for foreigners, especially for those unfamiliar with the phonetic structure of Japanese, these two syllables cannot be Romanized as *ti* and *tu* without causing serious confusion. Therefore, the Old Romanization, in accordance with its own principles, naturally represents them as *chi* and *tsu*.

Whatever may be the objectives of the many groups supporting the various Romanization systems, there can be no doubt that these systems differ radically in character and are designed, whether consciously or not, for two very different purposes. On the one hand, the Old Romanization has proved to be a very practical transcription. Although it may seem to rest on rather arbitrary standards of letter values, it has the great weight of decades of almost universal acceptance on its side, and the simple rule, "the vowels as in Italian, the consonants as in English," has been singularly successful in a geographic area where English is the undisputed international language. On the other hand, Kokutei Rōmazi is vastly superior to the Old Romanization as a Japanese Latin orthography. However, for this purpose, Nipponsiki is better than Kokutei in that it preserves a few important differences in *kana* spelling lost in *Kokutei*.<sup>3</sup>

If the Old Romanization is a good broad phonetic transcription and the other two systems are good phonemic orthographies, the question naturally arises as to which is really wanted, a broad phonetic transcription for foreigners or an orthography for Japanese. From the point of view of foreigners, there can be no doubt but that the former is desired. Mr. Carr states that Kokutei has practical advantages for the student of Japanese, but there

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*literation* whereas the Nihonshiki (*i. e.*, *Nipponsiki*) is by its very nature a national *orthography*; in short, each system fulfils the purpose for which it was primarily intended."

<sup>3</sup> Another change for the worse in *Kokutei* is the substitution of the hyphen for ' between the final *n* of one syllable and an initial vowel in the next syllable within a single word. The hyphen is best reserved for use in words which should be hyphenated on other than phonetic grounds.



are grounds for serious doubt of this assertion,<sup>4</sup> and, in any case, the argument is quite beside the point. For each student of the Japanese language there are hundreds or thousands who read and write about Japan, and it is the latter, rather than the former, who need a system of Romanization. The argument that, no matter what the Romanization, the foreigner will not pronounce Japanese with absolute correctness, and therefore the foreigner's viewpoint need not be considered, has been brought forward, but it is mere sophistry. The fact remains that an intelligent but uninformed foreigner confronted with the Old Romanization has a much greater chance of arriving at a comprehensible approximation of the Japanese pronunciation than when confronted with Nipponsiki or Kokutei, which for him will always be full of startling and confusing discrepancies between the spelling and the correct pronunciation. The vast majority of interested foreigners, whether they be merely members of the newspaper reading public or serious students of the Far East, desire and need a broad phonetic transcription which can be used with fair accuracy by anyone, and not a phonetic orthography, which is satisfactory only for those who know the language.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>To the student of the language the fact that *Kokutei* preserves the stem of the verb *matsu* (*matu*) in all forms unquestionably is gratifying, but that is of little significance, for it is generally accepted that students of the language should use *kana* and Chinese ideographs rather than *Rōmaji* in language study.

<sup>5</sup>No person with whom I have spoken about the subject in the United States has been in favor of the adoption of *Kokutei*, and the only argument put forward in support of it is that, if the Japanese *all* use it, we may be forced to do so also for the sake of uniformity. The instructors of Japanese in eastern universities and others closely concerned with the problem of Japanese Romanization, who are listed below, all recently signed their names to a simple statement that they were in opposition to the adoption of *Kokutei*.

William R. B. Acker	Freer Gallery of Art
Hugh Borton	Columbia University
Knight Biggerstaff	Cornell University
Serge Elisséeff	Harvard University
John K. Fairbank	Harvard University
A. W. Hummel	Library of Congress
Shio Sakanishi	Library of Congress
Osamu Shimizu	Columbia University
A. C. Soper	Princeton University



The Japanese attitude towards the Romanization of their own language is somewhat confused by a divergence of objectives and by some misconceptions. Some of the most enthusiastic proponents of each of the Romanization systems have been motivated by a desire to substitute the Latin alphabet for the present means of writing Japanese in Japan itself. For this purpose they naturally need a phonemic orthography like Nipponsiki. But this group comprises only a very small number of extremists. The Japanese people and the Japanese government do not in the least contemplate such a change, and at present there is not the slightest possibility that the Latin alphabet will displace Chinese ideographs and *kana* in Japan. The Japanese unquestionably want a Romanization system primarily for the transcription of individual names and words in connection with foreign relations and propaganda work among foreigners. With the exception of bilingual dictionaries, Rōmaji is used for no necessary purpose for the Japanese people. Therefore, from their point of view, as well as from that of foreigners, Rōmaji is essentially for foreign use.

Although most Japanese probably realize this fact, many have allowed themselves to be misled by Nipponsiki enthusiasts. It has been argued that the Old Romanization is not scientific, while Nipponsiki and Kokutei are. It is true that, as phonemic orthographies, they are scientific, but, as broad phonetic transcriptions suitable for use by foreigners, they are neither accurate nor scientific, and for purely phonetic purposes all three systems are completely unsatisfactory.

To the Japanese, Nipponsiki and Kokutei naturally seem both simple and practical,<sup>6</sup> and, forgetting that their own phonetic background is very different from that of foreigners, they believe these systems are equally simple and practical for others. Unfortunately,

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Nancy Lee Swann	Gest Library
R. Tsunoda	Columbia University
James R. Ware	Harvard University
Joseph K. Yamagiwa	University of Michigan

<sup>6</sup> An often overlooked but important practical drawback to these systems from the strictly Japanese point of view is that their use undoubtedly encourages the Japanese student in his favorite mispronunciations of foreign words, which render so much of the English and other foreign languages spoken in Japan quite unintelligible to those not accustomed to Japanese mispronunciations.



to the average foreigner, who naturally does not know that in the Japanese phonetic system *t/i* and *tsu* take the places of *ti* and *tu*, both systems are extremely difficult and confusing, whereas the Old Romanization has been proved by decades of use to be both simple and practical.

Another misunderstanding on the part of many Japanese is occasioned by the names of the rival systems. The Old Romanization has been cursed by bearing the name of a foreigner, while Nippon-siki and Kokutei have names which naturally appeal to Japanese pride. But the usual assumption that the first is foreign made and the others Japanese made is false, and, even were it true, it should not influence the judgment of Japanese scholars, especially when the use of Kokutei or Nipponsiki unquestionably militates against the primary function of any Japanese Romanization system, which is to act as a tool in spreading information about Japan among foreigners.

One very natural solution of the conflict between the two types of Romanization might be to adopt a compromise system. Kokutei itself in certain regards is such a compromise. However, when the systems are based on different principles and have different objectives, there can be no satisfactory compromise. In fact, compromise, as in the case of Kokutei, is worse than either extreme. Rōmaji must be either a phonetic transcription or else a phonemic orthography but not a combination of the two.

Some may argue that the action of the Japanese cabinet has already decided the question, but this is a serious misinterpretation of the facts. Only last February the Minister of Education admitted that a final decision had not been reached.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, many if not

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<sup>7</sup> In proof of this assertion, I offer the following statements, made in the Japanese diet on February 9, 1939 (as reported in *The Japan Times Weekly*, Feb. 16, 1939).

"Mr. Kasai: . . . For 55 years . . . Romaji has been used in Japan and abroad without any difficulties.

"But unfortunately, in recent years, Dr. Tanakadate has been trying his best to propagate a new system called 'Romazi' and has been doing his utmost to force it upon our people. It is indeed a crime that such an inadequate and inferior system should be forced upon our people and foreigners, when the existing system of Romaji has been used with satisfaction for over a half-century. . . . I sincerely hope that the Minister of Education will use his discretion to put a stop on (*sic*) the use of this incomplete and imperfect 'Romazi.'



most of the Japanese groups and institutions which are most deeply concerned in the problem and print most of the material using Rōmaji are resolutely continuing to use the Old Romanization. Furthermore, the Old Romanization is still accepted everywhere outside of Japan, and the weight of the forty or fifty years during which it has been the acknowledged standard system has given it a lead in world use over Nipponsiki and Kokutei that could not be overcome in anything short of several decades. It will be no simple task to substitute such startling Romanization as *Tyōsyū* for *Chōshū*, *Huzi* for *Fuji*, *Tusima* for *Tsushima* and *zyūzitu* for *jūjitsu*. The half-hearted support of Kokutei by certain groups in Japan will accomplish little in the face of the evident superiority of the Old Romanization, its decades of unquestioned supremacy, and the determined support it is being given by many Japanese as well as most foreigners. Kokutei has by no means won the battle. It still is decidedly the weaker opponent of the two, and any deflection from the Old Romanization on the part of this society or any other group, whether in Japan or abroad, will not tend towards uniformity, as Mr. Carr asserts, but will only lead towards greater confusion.<sup>8</sup>

In conclusion, one may summarize the case for the Old Romanization as follows. Of the three systems it alone is a phonetic tran-

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"Minister of Education, General Araki: The question of the use of Romaji has been discussed often. . . . I am hoping that we may be able to establish an institution for studying sound, and before arriving at a final decision, we must make careful studies of our own language and sounds."

<sup>8</sup> The inevitable confusion which would result can be illustrated by two well known examples. The steamship company operating the liner Chichibu Maru was induced to change the spelling of the name to Titibu Maru in conformity with Kokutei. The resulting confusion in pronunciation among the foreign passengers of the ship made the company desire to restore the old spelling, but the supporters of Kokutei vigorously opposed this. Eventually the company, in desperation, changed the name of the liner to Kamakura Maru, a name Romanized alike in all systems. The second example is afforded by a famous Tōkyō grocery store of Meidiya, which in the old Romanization would be Meijiya. Several decades ago the company began using Nipponsiki for its name, and in all these years foreigners in Tōkyō, including those who speak the Japanese language, have persisted in pronouncing the second syllable of the name as *di*, although this syllable does not exist in the Japanese phonetic system.



scription suitable for foreigners. With the exception of a few extremists, foreigners and Japanese alike desire such a phonetic transcription and not a phonemic orthography designed to displace Chinese characters and *kana* in Japan itself, but many Japanese have been misled into supporting Nipponsiki or Kokutei because of misunderstandings as to the relative merits of the systems and the misconception that the Old Romanization was foreign in origin. Despite the action of the Japanese government, there is strong opposition to the use of Kokutei in Japan as well as abroad, and the Old Romanization still remains by far the most generally accepted system. Therefore, if serious confusion is to be avoided in the transcription of Japanese names and words, a strong stand should be taken by Japanese and foreigners alike against the use of Kokutei or Nipponsiki. If this is done, there is good reason to believe that before long the Old Romanization may again be officially accepted in Japan, as it is elsewhere.





## THE IŠRĀQI REVIVAL OF AL-SUHRAWARDI

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ABU-AL-FUTŪḤ YAḤYA<sup>1</sup> AL-SUHRAWARDI was born at Suhraward near Sultānīyah, in the Persian area of Jibāl, about 1154. Having lived and studied at Marāghah, Iṣfahān, and Baghdad he moved on to Aleppo during the reign of al-Zāhir<sup>2</sup> in whose favor he remained till the year 1191, when incensed by the orthodox party the ruler at the advice of Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn (Saladin) sanctioned the execution of al-Suhrawardi.<sup>3</sup> Thus ended prematurely the life of a stalwart mystic of Islam and an extraordinary exponent of Sufi Illumination. His biographers, because of one form of prejudice or another, say of him that "his learning was greater than his wisdom."<sup>4</sup> They levelled at him the accusation of disbelief and allegiance to Greek philosophy. Hence the doctors of jurisprudence (*al-fuqahā'*) decided that his life be terminated, his bitterest critics having been Zayn-al-Dīn and Majd-al-Dīn, the sons of Juhayl.<sup>5</sup>

Abu-al-Futūḥ al-Suhrawardi revived the interest of the East in both the illuminative life and illuminative mysticism. He initiated the so-called *ḥikmat al-išrāq* "wisdom of illumination" and his followers gained the sobriquet of *Išrāqīyun* (Illuminatics). The most characteristic feature of the *išrāqī* theory is the metaphysics of illumination.<sup>6</sup> It is the Neo-Platonic theory of light, a spiritual light which serves as a symbol of emanation but at the same time is regarded as the fundamental reality of all things. Arab philos-

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<sup>1</sup> Or Aḥmad, ibn-Ḥabash ibn-Amīrak Shihāb-al-Dīn.

<sup>2</sup> A. D. 1186-1216; the son of Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn, and viceroy of Aleppo.

<sup>3</sup> See Bahā'-al-Dīn ibn-Shaddād, *Kitāb Sīrat Ṣalāḥ-al-Dīn*, Cairo, A. H. 1317, p. 302; the popular name *al-Shaykh al-Maqtūl*, the murdered shaykh, is applied to al-Suhrawardi in opposition to *shahīd*, martyr.

<sup>4</sup> Ibn-Khallikān III 257.

<sup>5</sup> Bahā'-al-Dīn, *op. cit.* 303.

<sup>6</sup> On the metaphysics of light see Clemens Baeumker, "Witelo, ein Philosoph und Naturforscher des xiii Jahrhunderts," in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters* (Münster, 1908) 357 ff.



ophers, like al-Fārābī, ibn-Sīna<sup>7</sup> and al-Ghazzālī, betray the same theory, but al-Suhrawardī makes greater use of the symbol. Necessity and contingency, being and non-being, substance and accident, cause and effect, thought and sensation, body and soul, are all explained by the doctrine of *iṣrāq*.<sup>8</sup> Through the symbol of *iṣrāq*, proof is found for living, moving and being—all are light,<sup>9</sup> even the very existence of God is light.<sup>10</sup>

Like ibn-Sīna he was a Peripatetic.<sup>11</sup> Yet unlike him, al-Suhrawardī accepted all the mystic philosophy which Islam obtained from Hellenistic syncretism—the Neo-Platonic doctrine, Hermetic theories, occult sciences, gnostic traditions, Neo-Pythagorean elements. That all religions express one single truth was strongly upheld by him as well as by his followers; also by ibn-ʿArabi who came on the scene in the subsequent century. Agathodaemon, Hermes,<sup>12</sup> the five greatest Greek philosophers—Empedocles, Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle—Jāmāsp and Buzurjumhur were the masters in this philosophic movement.

In their study of illumination, which is one of the most interesting in the history of Neo-Platonism, the Iṣrāqīs used a special nomenclature based on the use of metaphoric terms. "Light-darkness" thus symbolized the highest and the lowest in the realm of the metaphysical, that is, spirit and matter, good and evil.<sup>13</sup> The superior intellects issue from God and are called "lights." God himself is the "Light of lights." The diffusion of this ideal light from its primary source illumines the world of darkness. Plotinus<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> See his *Rasā'il al-Hikmah al-Mashriqīyah*, ed. M. A. F. Mahren (Leyden, 1889); cf. C. A. Naillino, in *Rivista degli Studi Orientali*, 10 (1923-25) 433-467, where evidence is deduced to point out that ibn-Sīna wrote a work on "eastern philosophy" (*ḥikmah mašriqīyah*) not illuminative philosophy.

<sup>8</sup> H. Corbin and P. Kraus, "Suhrawardī d'Alep," in *Journal Asiatique* 227 (Paris, 1935) 2-4.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Max Horten, *Die Philosophie der Erleuchtung nach Suhrawardī* (Halle, 1912) 48-61.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Muḥammad Iqbāl, *The Development of Metaphysics in Persia* (London, 1808) 121 ff.

<sup>11</sup> In Arabic the school is called *al-Maššā'ūn*.

<sup>12</sup> Alfred von Kremer, *Geschichte der herrschenden Ideen* (Leipzig, 1868) 93.

<sup>13</sup> In Oriental traditions the dualism of Mānī was characterised, precisely, by this opposition of light and darkness.

<sup>14</sup> Died in 270.



had already called this diffusion "irradiation" which corresponds to the Arabic word *išrāq*.<sup>15</sup>

But few Arab writers made a record of *Išrāq* doctrines. Al-Suhrawardi was soon followed by Fakhr-al-Dīn al-Rāzi<sup>16</sup> among whose numerous works, which include a voluminous commentary on the Koran, is a book allegedly on illumination, *Kitāb al-Mabāḥiṭ al-Mašriqīyah* "Book of Illuminative Studies." Yet neither this nor the other scanty writings in this *išrāqī* field ever eclipsed the impression left by al-Suhrawardi.

Al-Suhrawardi's<sup>17</sup> chief work, *Kitāb Hikmat al-Išrāq* "The Book of Illuministic Wisdom" completed in 1186 was chiefly an attack on Peripatetic philosophy. Manuscript copies of this work are extant in Ištānbūl, Vienna, London and Leyden. Of his other books, *Hayākil al-Nūr* "Temples of Light" is the best known but does not measure up to the former in originality. He also wrote *Kitāb al-Talwīḥāt* "Elucidations," *al-Mašārīḥ w-al-Muṭārahāt* "Crosswords and Conversations," and *al-Lamahāt fi-al-Haqā'iq* "Glimpses of the Truth."<sup>18</sup>

In *Hikmat al-Išrāq* he declares that his philosophy is the same as that of the ancient sages of Greece, Egypt, and Persia, who, he think, expressed metaphorically the same doctrine. He advances a mystical theory of the *Imām* which leaves little doubt in one's mind as to why he was sentenced to death.<sup>19</sup> His statements on the science of light represent what he calls "the teaching of God, the

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<sup>15</sup> In this paper, however, "illumination" is used as the equivalent of *išrāq*.

<sup>16</sup> Died 606/1209.

<sup>17</sup> Two other figures carried the same name. First, Šihāb-al-Dīn al-Suhrawardi (539/1144-632/1234), descendant of abu-Bakr and companion of the celebrated ascetic 'abd-al-Qādir al-Jilāni whose chief work is *ʿAwārif al-Ma'ārif*. Second, Diyā'-al-Dīn al-Suhrawardi (490/1096-563/1167-8), the uncle of the present Sufi who also was a celebrated ascetic. He taught at the Nizāmīyah College in Baghdad ca. 545/1150/51. Biographical notices of these two Suhrawardis, who were orthodox Sufis, are more abundant than those relating to *al-Maqtūl*.

<sup>18</sup> See Otto Spies and S. K. Khattak, *Three Treatises on Mysticism* (Stuttgart, 1935) in which three *risālahs* of al-Suhrawardi, composed in Persian, are edited and translated into English; on this work, to which is appended a biography of *al-Maqtūl* as well as a list of his writings, see the present writer's review in *JAOS* 56. 516-17.

<sup>19</sup> Von Kremer, op. cit. 92.



Almighty." The same had also been "the sentiment of Plato, the chief of philosophy and possessor of force and light (*al-'ayd w-al-nūr*)."<sup>20</sup> Similarly did those believe who foreshadowed Plato, such as Hermes, father of the sages, and other pillars of wisdom like Empedocles and Pythagoras. "The words of the ancients are symbolic."<sup>20</sup> On the illuminative theory of light and darkness, as a foundation, the sages of Persia such as Jāmāsp,<sup>21</sup> Farshawashtar<sup>22</sup> and Buzurjumhur<sup>23</sup> (or Buzurgmihr) laid their emphasis.

Al-Suhrawardī uses a kind of Platonic induction whereby the lowest possible may be used to reach the highest possible, that is, a process that leads from this world to another of which this is only a mere reflection. He often confuses Plato with Plotinus,<sup>24</sup> for all his doctrine seems to be in common with the latter rather than with the former. He criticizes the Peripatetics, even though he borrows some of their objections to the theory of ideas. At this point he proceeds to elaborate his own theory of illumination which he attempts to associate with the views of the old sages. This is one of the most interesting episodes in the whole process of Arabic philosophic literature.

Al-Suhrawardī taught that the pure governing lights<sup>25</sup> that are in man prove to us the existence of light. The victorious light<sup>26</sup> is nobler than the governing light, since it is more removed from dependence on darkness. These lights are outside of the pale of the world of contingencies,<sup>27</sup> and nothing can prevent them from that which is consistent with their perfection. All phases of darkness are shadows of the phases of ideas.<sup>28</sup> Through ascetic exercises one

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<sup>20</sup> Carra De Vaux, "La Philosophie Illuminative d'après Suhrawardi Meqtoul," in *Journal Asiatique*, sér. 9 tome 19 (Paris, 1902) 69.

<sup>21</sup> A companion of Zoroaster.

<sup>22</sup> Brother of Jāmāsp and father-in-law of Zoroaster according to the *Zend-Avesta*, tr. James Darmesteter (Paris, 1892) I 336.

<sup>23</sup> Ideal vizir of Anūshirwān the Great. Many sayings and singular proverbs are ascribed to him. He died at an advanced age during the reign of Hormuz, son of Anūshirwān, A.D. 580 or 590. See Theodor Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden* (Leyden, 1879), 251.

<sup>24</sup> See reference to Plotinus above.

<sup>25</sup> *al-anwār al-mujarradah al-mudabbirah*, that is, "the spirits."

<sup>26</sup> *an-nūr al-qāhir*, these are celestial intelligences.

<sup>27</sup> *'ālam al-ittifāqāt*.

<sup>28</sup> *jamī' al-hay'āt al-ḡulmānīyah ḡilāl li-al-hay'āt al-'āqilah*, see Carra de Vaux, op. cit. 77.



comes to perceive the world of might<sup>29</sup> and the royal essences,<sup>30</sup> the lights once witnessed by Hermes and Plato, the clarity of ideas,<sup>31</sup> sources of thirst and sight about which Zoroaster spoke. *Al-barzah*<sup>32</sup> stands for an obscure substance which in *iṣrāq* means the human body<sup>33</sup> which is thought of as a barrier because it stands in the way of light. The dualism of this system, therefore, is not between light and darkness for darkness is nothing; rather is it between luminous matter and things obscure.

If we must trace *iṣrāq* to Neo-Platonism, we should remember the Oriental character of the latter,<sup>34</sup> which is apparent in the terminology,<sup>35</sup> in the dualism of light and darkness and in the metaphors drawn from astral worship. The parentage of Illumination is twofold, Greek and Persian: Plotinus<sup>36</sup> and Māni.<sup>37</sup>



<sup>29</sup> *‘ālam al-jabarūt.*

<sup>30</sup> *al-dawāt al-mulūkīyah.*

<sup>31</sup> *al-aḍwā’ al-ma’nawīyah.*

<sup>32</sup> Cf. von Kremer 95; Koran 23: 102; 55: 20, where it means “barrier, transition, interval”; ibn-‘Arabi is sometimes called *Barzah al-Barāzih*.

<sup>33</sup> Carra de Vaux, op. cit. 85.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid. 89.

<sup>35</sup> Interesting from this point of view are the following New Testament references to light: John 1: 4; 10: 10; 11: 25; 14: 6; Acts 3: 15; Romans 6: 4; II Corinthians 4: 12; Philemon 4: 3 etc.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. W. R. Inge, *The Philosophy of Plotinus* (London, 1918), I 113-21.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. A. V. Williams Jackson, *Zoroastrian Studies* (New York, 1928), 174-5, 187-93.



## BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

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### *Etymology of qâtum, "Hand"*

Although *qâtum*, "hand," is one of the most common words of Akkadian, attempts at establishing its etymology have hitherto not met with success. In point of fact, the etymological difficulties presented by the word are exceptionally great. It contains only two visible consonants, *q* and *t*, and since the word is feminine, one must furthermore take into consideration that the second consonant might represent the *t* of the feminine formative element *-(a)t*, a fact that would leave *q* the only certain radical of the root. But no matter how that *t* was conceived, there did not seem to exist in Akkadian or any other Semitic language a root with *q* as one of its radicals and with such a meaning that a form *qâtum* derived from that root could readily mean "hand." Holma in *Die Namen der Körperteile im Assyrisch-Babylonischen*, p. 117, therefore, directly states: "Etymologie [of *qâtum*] unklar," and also the dictionaries of Delitzsch and Muss-Arnolt as well as Bezold's *Glossar* refrain from suggesting any etymology. But judging from the place assigned by him to *qâtum*, Delitzsch seems to think preferentially of a biconsonantal root קט, while Bezold for the same reason seems to have in mind a root mediae infirmae (קטת, etc.). Thus far the only actual attempt I know of at connecting *qâtum* with a known verb root has been made by Haupt,<sup>1</sup> who derived *qâtum* (over *qattum* and *qantum*) from *qanû*, קנח. But this etymology presents some difficulties. A feminine derivative of *qanû* should have a long contracted vowel before the "Auslaut" *-tum* in Akkadian, i. e., one would expect a form such as *qanîtum*, *qanûtum*, or *qanâtum*, which would not readily become *qantum*. But even if this shortening could be assumed, there is to date no instance known in Akkadian where the sound combination *att* (as in *qattum* < *qantum*) developed to *ât*. And finally a meaning "to grasp," which Haupt ascribes to the verb קנח, *qanû*, etc. in order to explain the meaning

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<sup>1</sup> Mentioned by Albright in *AJSL* XXXIV (1917/18) 236, n. 1.



"hand" of *qâtum*, is unprovable, the meanings actually found being "to acquire (by purchase)" and "to make."<sup>2</sup>

No such difficulties, however, are encountered if we derive *qâtum* (< *qahtum*) from the root *lqh*. In all Semitic languages in which this root occurs, it has the meaning "to grasp," "to take"; cf. in Akkadian *laqâ'um*, *leqû*, "to take," in Hebrew לקח, "to take," and in Arabic *laqiha*, "to take," "to conceive (from the stallion)." The form *qâtum* (< *qa'tum* < *qahtum* < *qáhatum*) corresponds perfectly to the Hebrew verbal substantive or infinitive form לקחת, ... לקחת (< *qahtum* < *qahatum*), "to take," "the taking." It will be observed that in this word as in the Akkadian *qâtum* the root *lqh* has lost its initial radical, similarly as, e. g., the root *wšb*, "to dwell," in *šubtum* (< *šibtum*) from *wšibatum*. To be sure, in all other known derivatives of Akkadian *leqû* the *l* of the root *lqh* is not treated like a weak consonant (cf. *ilqi*, "he took," and *melqêtu*, "that which has been taken"); but also in Hebrew dropping of the *l* of *lāqah* is found only in the infinitive form *qahat* and the imperative *qah*, whereas in all other forms with originally vowelless *l* this consonant like the *n* of the *primae nûn* is merely assimilated to the second radical (cf. *iqqah*, "he takes," מקח, "taking of bribes," מקחות, "merchandise(?)"), or even preserved (cf. *milqon*, "booty," and *milqonim*, "pair of tongs").

There is, nevertheless, an important difference between Akkadian and Hebrew with regard to the use of *lqh* forms with dropped initial *l*. In Hebrew *qahat* and *qah*, which drop the *l*, belong to the regular inflectional scheme of the verb. The scheme of the Akkadian verb *leqû* uses exclusively forms in which the *l* of the root *lqh* is treated strong, while the treatment of the *l* as a weak consonant is found only in the substantive *qâtum*, which not only for this reason, but also because of its meaning "hand," stands outside of the inflectional scheme of the verb *leqû*. This fact can be satisfactorily explained only by the assumption that the derivation of *qâtum* from the root *lqh* took place long before the historical period in which the *l* of the verb *leqû* was treated as a strong consonant. This very early Akkadian or even pre-Akkadian origin of *qâtum* is fully corroborated by the fact that although the long *â* of *qâtum* resulted from a contraction of short *a* and vowelless *h*.

<sup>2</sup> Zimmern was inclined to ascribe the two meanings to two different verbs.



it was never subjected to the change to  $\hat{e}$ , ordinarily caused by the presence of a  $h$  in the root of the word. Evidently the dropping of its initial  $l$ , the contraction of the vowel  $a$  and the last radical ' (<  $h$ ) to  $\hat{a}$ , and the fact that the word carried a meaning no longer immediately connected with the idea "to take," had separated the substantive *qâtum*, "hand," from the verb for "to take" long before the time in which the change of  $a$  to  $e$  took place in Akkadian. At that time the historical connection of *qâtum* and *lqh* must evidently already have been completely forgotten, so that the  $\hat{a}$  of *qâtum* could be taken as an original genuine  $\hat{a}$ .

While Hebrew *qahat* (< *qahtum*) still appears in its primary meaning of an abstract verbal noun, "the taking," the Akkadian *qâtum*, "hand," presupposes of course a meaning "means by which one takes." But the use of the verbal abstract noun as denoting the means by which an action is performed can also be observed elsewhere. One need only recall the German "Fang," which not only denotes the "action of catching," but also has the meanings of "claw" and "tooth," i. e., the means by which an animal catches its prey.<sup>3</sup>

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### *Some Supplementary Arabic Literature on the Lemon*

In an article on the lemon in *JAOS* 57 (1937) 381-396 I endeavored to collect the most important references to this fruit in Arabic literature. Since the appearance of this material some additional passages have come to hand which are important enough to be added to what has already been said on the subject. The earliest of these additional sources is al-Maqdisi († after A.D. 1000);<sup>1</sup> he mentions the lemons *laymū* of al Baṣrah as being unequalled anywhere. In the same work (p. 482) he lists the *laymūnah* among the fruits peculiar to Sindh; according to him it

<sup>3</sup> Note also that some scholars have been inclined to take English and German "hand," Gothic "handus," as a derivative of the root reflected in Gothic "hinþan," "to capture," English "to hunt."

<sup>1</sup> *Kitāb Aḥsan al-Taḳāsim fī Ma'rifat al-Aḳālīm*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1877) 7.



resembled the apricot (*mišmiš*) and was extremely sour. The lemon (*al-laymūā*)<sup>2</sup> is mentioned again on p. 425 as growing in Arrajān,<sup>3</sup> on the southern border between the Iranian provinces of Khūzistān and Fārs.

*Yāqūt* (*Buldān* III 443) quotes al-Iṣṭakhri to the effect that the lemon (*laymūn*) grew as far north in Iran as Ṣaymarah and Sīravān,<sup>4</sup> near the boundary between al-Jibāl and 'Irāq-i 'Arabi. The existing texts of al-Iṣṭakhri, however, have *tamr* (dates) instead of the *lāymūn* which *Yāqūt* quotes. The reading *tamr* in this case seems to be the correct one, since in a résumé on p. 201 of al-Iṣṭakhri it is said that of the whole province of al-Jibāl it was in these two towns only that the date grew, while nothing whatever is said of the lemon.

Some illuminating remarks on the lemon as cultivated in Egypt are made by the historian al-Maqrīzi († A. D. 1442), whose *Khitaṭ*<sup>5</sup> is a mine of information on all phases of medieval Egyptian culture. Quoting (pp. 232-3) from ibn-al-Ma'mūn's chronicle of the year 517 (A. D. 1123), he says that at the feast of Epiphany "The people, according to custom, distributed to the officiants [at the Coptic church services] citrons, oranges, and the *laymūn murākab*," which Wiet (p. 233, n. 1) correctly identifies with the *laymūn murakkab* of ibn-al-Bayṭār.<sup>6</sup> Al-Maqrīzi mentions still another kind of *laymūn*, which though similar in name cannot be the sour, apple-like lemon of al-Iṣṭakhri: "[In the (Coptic) month of Messori (July-August)] the *laymūn tuffāḥī* (apple-like lemon) ripens. This is one of a number of varieties of lemons found in Egypt and is eaten without sugar, owing to the small degree of its acidity and its delicious taste." The lemon seems to have passed from Egypt to the Sudan, for al-Maqrīzi<sup>7</sup> mentions it as one of the staple products of the kingdom of Kānim, to the east and north-east of Lake Chad.

Professor G. Dalman of Greifswald has kindly brought to my

<sup>2</sup> For variant spellings of this word in the MSS see de Goeje's vol. IV of the *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (Leiden, 1879) 351.

<sup>3</sup> See Guy Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge, 1905) 268-9.

<sup>4</sup> *Idem* 202.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. Gaston Wiet IV (Cairo, 1924).

<sup>6</sup> See *JAOS* 57 (1937) 383.

<sup>7</sup> Ed. Wiet III (Cairo, 1922) 266.



attention a list of modern Palestinian varieties of *Citrus*, together with their Arabic names, which he and J. E. Dinsmore published in the *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* in 1911.<sup>8</sup> This material is treated more fully in Dinsmore's revision of George E. Post's *Flora of Syria, Palestine and Sinai*. I (Oxford, 1932) 277. Under C. Limon he lists the following varieties: *laymūn ḥāmid*, *laymūn murākabi* and *laymūn māliḥ* (saline lemon). These he gives as coming from India. C. Lumia, the sweet lime of India or the sweet lemon, is the Arabic *laymūn ḥilw*. It resembles the ordinary lemon except that it is sweet. This is also ascribed to India. C. Aurantifolia is known in Arabic as *laymūn ba'li* (lemon growing on unirrigated soil). C. grandis (decumana), the shaddock or pomelo, is called either *burtuqān hindi* or *laymūn hindi* (Indian orange or Indian lemon). The *laymūn ḥilw* here described must certainly be very similar to, if not actually identical with, the apple-like lemon of al-Maqrīzi.

It is quite clear from the latitude with which the word *laymūn* is employed in Arabic that this name has been extended in usage so as to cover a number of varieties of *Citrus* besides C. Limon. No doubt many varieties were developed by Arabs and other Mediterranean peoples by grafting and intensive cultivation.

The article in *JAOS* 57. 381 ff. referred to above, should be corrected in two places. On p. 384, line 10, نرج is an error for اترج; ibn-Hawqal's work mentioned in n. 16 should be *al-Masālik w-al-Mamālik*, and not *Masālik al-Mamālik*, as given.

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### *Documents from Mughal India*

In connection with the communication from Miss Abbott in the *JOURNAL* 59 (1939) 371, it may be of interest that in the meantime 22 of the documents in question have been purchased by the Cleveland Public Library from Rev. R. H. Hannum as an addition to the large collection on the history of India in the John G. White Collection of Folk-lore and Orientalia.

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<sup>8</sup> 34. 25.



As one document mentions the sum of Rs. 3940 in the settlement of an estate and another document the amount of 15 dāms, it would seem that at least some of the documents are precisely the ones described by Miss Abbott.

Our collection comprises 7 public and 15 private documents. Among the former, there is a release (فاوغخطی), a list of prices (واجب قیمت نامه) and a court case (مطالبة مسله نامه). The latter are practically all contracts referring to the sale or lease of agricultural land or property, among them a lease for 100 solar years (يكصد سال شمسی) 1152 to 1251 (year of the) Faṣlī.

F. E. SOMMER

Cleveland Public Library

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### A CORRECTION

In the JOURNAL 59. 397, 2nd from last line, after the words " (1132 A. D.) " insert the following:

incorporating the earliest, actually dated, Islamic exterior architectural faience known, and a mosque sanctuary, dated 529 A. H. (1134-35 A. D.)

M. B. SMITH

Library of Congress

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## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

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*Glazed Tiles from a palace of Ramesses II at Kantir* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Papers No. 3). By WILLIAM C. HAYES. New York, 1937.

Of Egyptian royal palaces of the Old and Middle Kingdoms, we have no traces at all. They must have stood at the site of Memphis, the ancient capital of Egypt since its unification by Menes. If we may judge from the tomb furniture of King Kheops' mother or from the jewels of some of the princesses of the 12th Dynasty, they must indeed have been stately buildings and their rooms must have been filled with costly objects.

With the New Kingdom the city of Thebes came to the fore, and it is possible that since the beginning of the 18th Dynasty each King, beside his main residence at Memphis, also had a palace of his own built in the neighborhood of Karnak, where stood the temple of Amon-Re, the King of the Gods. Such palaces (or rather their ruined sites) of Amenophis III, of Ramesses III, and of Ramesses II (at the Ramesseum) are known. Two have been explored by American expeditions. A third American expedition, sent out by the University of Pennsylvania, while excavating at Memphis, unearthed the palace of King Meneptah (successor of Ramses II), the stately remains of which are to be seen in the University Museum at Philadelphia. The so-called "heretic" King, Amenophis IV (Akhnaton), had several palaces<sup>1</sup> built at el Amarna, where he resided and worshipped his only God Aton, the sun disk.

But in the second half of the New Kingdom, the capital of Memphis, to say nothing of Thebes far up in the South, seems to have been too distant from the troublesome northeast boundary of the Empire to serve permanently as a residence of the Kings. Thus, probably under the reign of Sethos I, if not under one of his

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<sup>1</sup> The site of the larger or Northern one of his palaces is the most extensive ruin of an Egyptian royal palace so far known. We get much additional information about the arrangement and the contents of its rooms from the wall reliefs depicting the palace in rock tombs of Akhnaton's highest officials at el Amarna.



predecessors, a new residence was built near the modern village of Kantir, about one hundred kilometers northeast of Cairo and about about 20 kilometers south of Tanis.<sup>2</sup> Temples to many of the great gods of Egypt were erected there, and all kings of the 19th and 20th dynasties, at least from Sethos I to Ramses X, had their palaces there. The most elaborate ones were those of Sethos I and Ramses II, and this latter king celebrated here the third and sixth of his jubilee festivals.

A thorough excavation of these palaces has never been undertaken. But for a number of years glazed tiles and fragments of glazed statues (these latter unknown from other sources) had been secretly dug up by the natives and thus got to the antiquity dealers in Cairo and through them to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. The Cairo Museum then had some excavating done at the spot,<sup>3</sup> and a number of similar objects were found and brought to the Museum in Cairo.

Of all such glazed tiles and glazed statues coming from the palace of Ramesses II at Kantir, Dr. William C. Hayes of the Metropolitan Museum has made an elaborate and painstaking study, the results of which he presents in the above publication. We learn that the material was a highly friable and porous granular substance of artificial composition, which first was made as a coarse paste, then modelled by hand to the desired shapes and dried by exposure to the heat, after that, it was glazed. The statues and almost all the tiles were polychrome.

Although almost all of the objects are fragmentary, Dr. Hayes has been able to reconstruct in most cases their original shapes and sizes, and to ascertain the respective places of the palace from which they came. Most of them, by far, came from the king's throne room: rectangular plaques with figures of foreigners probably from its walls, other from the tops and sides of a number of stairways and from the tops and sides of raised platforms. The whole group probably once formed the ornamented revetment of two (or four) elaborately decorated throne daises.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> It is in all probability the site of the ancient Pe(r)-Ramesêse-mai-Amûn on "House of Ramesses, beloved of Amun," as the texts of Ramesses II's time call the Delta residence of the Ramesside Kings.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the report of Mahmud Effendi Hamza, *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, 1930, pp. 45-52 and pls. I-III.

<sup>4</sup> Reminders of a similar throne dais were found in Meneptah's palace at



Other pieces, among them inlay tiles in the form of bound foreign captives, tiles with sections of the hieroglyphic titulary of the king and pieces of inlay from the decoration of formal doorways, windows and balconies must come from various public and official portions of the palace suites. Tiles with floral designs, marsh scenes, female figures and with the figure of the God Bes, who was the patron of the erotic life of the Egyptians in the New Kingdom, evidently came from the private rooms of the king's harem.

The glazed statues represent lions, sitting upright on their haunches (reminding one at first of the bears in our zoological gardens), and biting the head of a captive (Negro, Asiatic, or Libyan), who is kneeling in front of them. They probably were used as newel posts in connection with the throne-daises.

On pp. 33 ff., Mr. Hayes gives an interesting discussion of the representation of different foreign races, which on the tiles are shown as the enemies of Egypt, and especially of their garment, with ample references to the literature: they are Kushites (negroes), Libyans, Hittites, Mesopotamians (Babylonians and Mitannis), Syrians and 'sea peoples' of the Mediterranean.<sup>5</sup> These figures were used only in inferior positions in the decorative scheme of the palace, as on the steps of staircases or the floor of the dais etc. and were always shown as fettered captives or groveling vassals, a typical sign, as Mr. Hayes rightly suggests of the "arrogant and probably slightly apprehensive spirit," which distinguished the Ramesside period from earlier times of the New Kingdom.

The end of this valuable study is devoted to a brief review of the history of the use of glazed tiles in the decoration of Egyptian architecture. Its beginning goes back to the first dynasty, but it remained rare through the Old and Middle Kingdoms. Since Amarna it replaced, to a certain extent, the earlier decorations on

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Memphis and are now shown in a reconstructed model in the University Museum in Philadelphia.

<sup>5</sup> A small rectangular inlay tile shows a cow's head in front view with a rosette enclosed in her curving horns, a representation well known from the Aegean art of this time and occurring also on Egyptian painted ceilings, e. g. in the palace of Amenophis III. Here, however, (pl. 12) quite exceptionally, part of the cow's neck is seen to the left of the head! It looks as if the animal were just turning its head toward the observer. Another interesting item is a shoe (or sock) of soft green leather (?) covering the foot of one of the Cretans.



painted stucco. But this use never reached a height comparable to the decoration of Ramesses II's palace at Kantir, whose throne platforms were practically built of massive glazed tiles; after him—under Ramses III—a definite decline is visible.

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*Der Tanz im alten Aegypten.* Von EMMA BRUNNER-TRAUT. Nach bildlichen und inschriftlichen Zeugnissen. (Aegyptologische Forschungen herausgegeben von Alexander Scharff, Heft 6). Glueckstadt-Hamburg-New York, 1938.

Frau Brunner-Traut's treatise (a Munich Ph. D. dissertation) presents a conscientious collection of all the available material—representations in relief on the walls of tombs and temples and references in the Egyptian literature—concerning dancing in the various periods of Egyptian history.

The arrangement is chronological. The author begins with a brief chapter dealing with prehistoric and archaic times. In the following chapters, which treat the Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms, subdivisions are introduced containing descriptions of various kinds of dances which were used in the cults of the temples (in the royal residence as well as in the province) and in connection with the funerary rites. Ceremonial dances are contrasted with acrobatic dances, which are also found in the temple rituals of the Middle and New Kingdoms and in the funeral processions of the Old Kingdom.

In the New Kingdom<sup>1</sup> a third group of dances appear, of a secular kind, which were enjoyed at public festivals or at the convivial parties of the well-to-do classes.

It seems to me commendable that the author has refrained from contrasting the dances of the Ancient Egyptians with those of other peoples. The Egyptian material which she presents here for the first time in an exhaustive manner, is so filled with problems and difficulties that it had to be published by itself and thus thrown open

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<sup>1</sup> In this period not only dances of Egyptians, but of foreigners also, were represented on Egyptian tomb walls. With the exception of one case, in which a dancing Negro girl is shown, these often ecstatic dances of foreigners, Negroes and Libyans, were performed by men only and always to the accompaniment of musical instruments.



to specialists who may give their own comparisons. We must be grateful for this presentation which in a very sober way distinguishes between established facts, possible explanations, and unsolved questions. While not pretending to say a final word, it has done a good deal to advance our understanding in this interesting field of Egyptian civilization.<sup>2</sup>

The second, comparatively short, part of the book is devoted to an interesting discussion of the various words of the Egyptian language designating the different kinds of dancing: the ceremonial, rigid dance, always performed by women; a figure dance performed by pairs and in use only during the Old Kingdom; a word used for an acrobatic dance which originated in the late Old Kingdom as well as for the more sedate dance of the "Muu"; and a word designating the leaping dance which, since the Middle Kingdom, was performed in the cult of the goddess Hathor. Finally, a number of words are discussed which have been rendered erroneously by "dancing."

A valuable addition is found at the end of the book, giving an exhaustive reproduction of the hieroglyphic texts which accompany representations of dancing. Unfortunately, a similar collection of passages referring to dancing in Egyptian literature has not been added.<sup>3</sup>

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*Textes Mathématiques Babylonniens, transcrits et traduits.* Par F. THUREAU-DANGIN. Leiden: PUBLICATIONS DE LA SOCIÉTÉ ORIENTALE EX LUX: Tome 1<sup>er</sup>, 1938. Pp. XL + 243. \$15.

A historian who attempted about a century ago to trace the development of mathematics back to its early stages, had to begin his study with the Greeks, nothing but some legendary tales being known about their predecessors. This situation has entirely changed

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<sup>2</sup> Special chapters are dedicated to the life of the dancers and to their titles in the different periods.

<sup>3</sup> A number of interesting and valuable discussions include one about the so-called "Muu" dancers of funeral processions in the Middle and New Kingdoms, of which the author distinguishes three different kinds. Others deal with monkeys, often found in connection with dancers, with dwarfs and with tattooing.



since systematic, as well as clandestine, excavations in Babylonia have furnished mathematical cuneiform texts in sufficient number to reveal the existence in that country of a highly developed mathematical science as early as, or even before, 2000 B. C. These texts make it clear that a good many algebraic methods and devices which hitherto were generally attributed to the Greeks were known in ancient Babylonia; so, e. g., the so-called Pythagorean theorem was used more than a millenium and a half before Pythagoras, and problems of the type generally named after Diophant had been solved by the Babylonians centuries before the famous Greek algebraist.

That the main difficulties in the way of deciphering and interpreting the Babylonian mathematical texts have now been overcome so that also the non-specialist can successfully approach that important material, is due to a large extent to the indefatigable work of M. F. Thureau-Dangin, who publishes in the first volume of the newly founded series *Publications de la Société Orientale Ex Oriente Lux* a comprehensive summary of our present-day knowledge of Babylonian mathematics.

In the introduction (pp. IX-XL), the author familiarizes his reader with the most characteristic features of the scientific numeral system used by the Babylonians; he then proceeds to the discussion of the measures of length, capacity, and weight occurring most frequently in the mathematical texts, a chapter which he treats with particular competence since it was he who determined a good many of these measures in his previous painstaking studies. The introduction ends with a summary of the rules and formulae applied by the Babylonians in the solution of equations of the first, second, and even fourth degree with one or several unknowns. The main part of the book comprises transliterations and translations of 623 problems arranged according to the museums where the relevant tablets are now preserved, and according to their approximate age. An arrangement with regard to the character of the problems, which certainly would have been more convenient for the reader, was probably not envisaged by the author in order to avoid separating the problems which the ancient scribes united on one tablet. The reader will be particularly grateful for the indices at the end of the book (pp. 215-243) which contain a comprehensive glossary of the Akkadian terms occurring in the problems as well as an elaborate list of the most current ideograms.



The chief value of the new presentation of the mathematical texts, all of which were previously dealt with by O. Neugebauer in his *Mathematische Keilschrift-Texte*, Vols. I and III (Berlin 1935 and 1937), lies in the fact that, for a philologist of M. Thureau-Dangin's standing, the idioms of the problems are the true key to the understanding of the ideas which lead to the formulation and to the solution of the problems. Whereas the pure mathematician is too easily inclined to approach the Babylonian mathematical texts from the point of view of our modern, abstract algebraic thinking, the author of the present book accounts in his translations and interpretations for the characteristic fact that all mathematical notions and operations are conceived as, and expressed by, terms of Babylonian daily life.

A characteristic example of applying a current expression in mathematical terminology seems to be the word *wašîtum* which is frequently added, like an apposition, to the number 1. The occurrence of this term, which Thureau-Dangin interprets as "unité," literally "sorti,"<sup>1</sup> recalls its use in the Old Assyrian business documents, where it designates a tax to be paid by a caravan when leaving the Assyrian capital, in other words, at the outset (*wašā'um*) of a commercial trip.<sup>2</sup> Hence it may be concluded that *wašîtum* became, in the mathematical texts, a designation for the number "one," because this number marked the starting point of operations inasmuch as it was chosen by the Babylonians as the provisional solution of the problem in cases where the modern algebraist introduces an unknown  $x$ .

Thureau-Dangin's new book, the result of years of careful investigation into what was a few years ago, unexplored ground, will be the indispensable guide for all those who want not merely to acquaint themselves with the methods of Babylonian mathematics, but who really wish to penetrate into the spirit of these early examples of mathematical thinking.

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<sup>1</sup> O. Neugebauer, who erroneously read *pišîtum*, rendered the term with some hesitation by "Koeffizient"; see, e. g., the translation and commentary of BM 13901 in Vol. III of his above-quoted book.

<sup>2</sup> See, e. g., TC II 6, 21; TC II 14, 20; BIN IV 30, 13; KTS 38<sup>a</sup>, 30; CCT III 27<sup>a</sup>, 30 (*wa-šî-tum*); cf. TC 41, 13; BIN IV 127, 2; CCT IV 10<sup>a</sup>, 7 (*wa-šî-sû*).



*The Hebrew-Arabic Dictionary of The Bible known as Kitab Jami Al-Alfaz (Agron) of David ben Abraham Al-Fasi the Karaite* (Tenth Century). Edited by SOLOMON L. SKOSS: from Manuscripts in the State Public Library in Leningrad and in the Bodleian Library in Oxford. Volume I,  $\aleph$ - $\aleph$ . Yale Oriental Series Researches, Volume XX. New Haven, YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1936. CLI + 600 pages. Published on the Foundation Established in Memory of Alexander Kohut.

In 1830 the Karaite savant Firkowitz found a Judeo-Arabic manuscript in a Karaite synagogue in Jerusalem which he later ceded to Pinsker. This manuscript turned out to be the Bible Dictionary of David ben Abraham Al-Fasi. In 1860 Pinsker published copious excerpts from it. A year later Neubauer discovered a second manuscript from which he extracted many interesting items and published them with a French translation and some notes.

Now Professor Skoss has undertaken the task of publishing the Dictionary in its entirety on the basis of all available manuscript material. So far the first volume covering letters  $\aleph$ - $\aleph$  has appeared. Besides the Dictionary, it is known that the author also composed a commentary on the Psalms and Song of Songs which is not extant.

Al-Fasi hailed from Fez, as his name indicates, but he most probably lived in Jerusalem, as Professor Skoss has shown on the basis of his intimate acquaintance with the geography and political conditions of the Holy Land, and his knowledge of Persian due to the association with Karaitic scholars in Jerusalem. How greatly posterity prized his accomplishments may be inferred from the high compliments paid to him by several scholars who condensed his compendium. Levi ben Yefet first made an epitome of the work which, in turn, served as a basis for two similar but independent abridgments executed by Ali ben Israel and Ali ben Suleimen.

The Dictionary of Daniel Al-Fasi reaches far back to the beginnings of Hebrew philology. Since the work is not distinguished for its originality, it is chiefly significant for the history of Biblical Philology and Exegesis, as well as Karaitic and Mediaeval Hebrew Literature. Professor Skoss has placed many scholars under obligation for the painstaking care with which he has prepared the edition, preceded by an instructive introduction and



garnished with many notes locating the sources. We hope that the concluding volume will not be long in coming.

During my perusal of the book, a number of observations came to mind which may be of interest to the rabbinic student. Since Alfasi was a Karaite, it is always interesting to ascertain how large was his fund of rabbinic knowledge. Thus the statement (page 202) that Job lived in Egypt reflects the view of the Rabbis, cf. *Baba Batra* 15 a. His reference (page 388) to the derivation of דָּמָא in Psalms 35:15 from blood is found in *Baba Mezia* 59 a. The remark (page 306) that Palestine is more elevated than any other country in the world, occurs in *Sifre Deuteronomy* 23, ed. Finkelstein, p. 33. The interpretation (page 187) of וְתִיבַב in Judges 5:28 "to shout," derived from יִבְבָּא, the Aramaic equivalent of תְּרוּעָה, which he cites with approval, is mentioned in *Rosh ha-Shanah* 33 b. He objects to connecting it with בְּבַת as do Menahem ben Saruk, Rashi and Kimhi. On page 31 the phrase Garden of Nuts (Cant. 6:11) is an allusion to the Temple, as the Targum ad locum takes it. On page 31, that the Temple is situated at the center of the world is a familiar notion in rabbinic literature, cf. Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews* V 14-15; Luncz *Yerushalayim* X 120-132; and Roscher, *Der Omphalosgedanke bei verschiedenen Völkern besonders den Semitischen* (Leipzig, 1918), 12-25. On page 277, that Bera and Birsha in Genesis 14:2 were evil-doers as their names indicate, was already noticed by Rabbi Meir, cf. *Genesis Rabbah* 41:5, ed. Theodor, page 409. On page 30, for Agag as a title for the kings of the Amalekites, cf. Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews* V 373. On page 120, Jer. 2:24 שָׁאֵפָה רוּחַ he translates "he drinks in the wind" as does the Targum. On page 101, the statement that the terebinth mentioned in Joshua 24:26 had been there before Joshua erected the sanctuary seems to be a reminiscence of a lost midrash quoted by Rashi and Kimhi ad locum, which identified it with the one planted by Jacobs. On page 103 he finds in Psalms 58:2 an allusion to Gog and Magog, and on page 483 in Zechariah 4:14 a reference to Elijah and the Messiah. These remarks too seem to echo some lost midrash.

David Al-Fasi's work is important for the student engaged in tracing the sources of various statements and ideas found in mediaeval Hebrew Literature. Thus on page 407 he writes that Genesis 25:22 "And she went to inquire of the Lord" refers to Abraham.



The oldest source for this view known at present is the *Sefer ha-Yashar* which is not earlier than the 12th century (cf. Guttman, *MGWJ* 63 (1919) 292-294). On page 302 he disapproves of the interpretation of נִדִּי in Exodus 23:19 meaning precious fruits, from מִנִּד. This notion is first cited in rabbinic literature by Ibn Ezra, ad locum.

While the treatment of grammar in Al-Fasi does not represent any advance over his predecessors (cf. Bacher, *Jewish Encyclopedia* IV 457), many of his lexical remarks have historical interest. Thus on page 167 for the particle אֵם he distinguishes five different uses (cf. J. Loewy, *Zur Deutung des Partikels אֵם* in *Jüdisches Literaturblatt* 9:130). On page 203 he gives three interpretations of the irregular form בּוֹשְׁמֶכֶם in Amos 5:11, namely (1) "to do violence to the poor"; this explanation is repeated verbatim in Ibn Ezra ad locum; (2) "to tread down," from בָּסַם so Rashi; (3) "to rob," from שָׁמָה, so also Targum Jonathan and Menahem ben Saruk. On page 312 he explains בִּגְפוֹ in Exodus 21:3 as if it were בִּגְפוֹ; so does Ibn Ezra. Such instances could be multiplied with ease. With the help of Al-Fasi we are thus able to trace back often the antiquity of many explanations found in later Hebrew commentaries.

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*Lexique Soqotri (Sudarabique moderne) avec comparaisons et explications étymologiques.* Par WOLF LESLAU. Paris: Librairie C. KLINCKSIECK, 1938. viii + 501 pp.

The author of this work has accomplished two things: he has compiled an exhaustive dictionary of all that has been published in the Soqotri dialect, at the same time presenting in detail the phonetic system of Soqotri and its relation to Semitic phonology. The importance of comparative treatment is heightened for this dialect by the special position which Mehri, Šhauri, and Soqotri (collectively termed 'Modern South Arabic' by the author) appear to occupy within the Semitic family.

The *Lexique* is prefaced by a table of paradigms and another of phonetic correspondences, followed by an analysis of sound changes within the language. The phonetic system has developed along



characteristic lines: *t*, *ḏ*, *z*, *ḡ* and *ḥ* behave as in Aramaic although they are retained in foreign words; the velar stops *k*, *q* and *g* interchange and are subject to palatalization; the phonemic distinction between *ḥ* and *h*, and *h* and ' tends to disappear; ' as initial radical replaces *w* and *y*; the alternation of *h* and *š* is widespread; finally Soqotri possesses a characteristic intervocalic glide, the so-called parasitic *h*. Most of these tendencies are present in a more or less advanced stage in Mehri and Šhauri. Parasitic *h* has an analogue in South Arabic.

The lexicon proper covers the Soqotri texts which D. H. Müller transcribed at the dictation of native informants in the course of the *Südarabische Expedition* of the Vienna Academy, 1898-9, and two further series of texts obtained by the same method in 1902 and 1904 in Vienna. Each entry in the vocabulary, as far as possible, has been made the subject of an etymological note. Of particular interest are the comparisons with South Arabic; the connection between the ancient and modern languages presents a problem which the author has expressly held in view. In measuring the extent of this connection, due weight must be given the lack of evidence that South Arabic was ever current in the Mahra territory, Dofār or the island of Soqatra, where Modern South Arabic is spoken today, and above all to the implications of M. Leslau's previous study ("Der š-Laut in den modernen südarabischen Sprachen," *WZKM* 44, pp. 211-8) in which it is shown that Modern South Arabic *š* corresponds in a large class of words to North Semitic *š*.

The lateral sibilant *ś* has a pronunciation typical of and confined to Modern South Arabic. The *Lexique* makes clear that in Soqotri, *ś* corresponds with almost perfect regularity to Arabic *š*; it is not related to the third South Arabic sibilant (= samech, but conveniently designated *s*<sub>3</sub> by M. Leslau), contrary to the opinion of Müller and Rhodokanakis, who suspected that *s*<sub>3</sub> had such a lateral pronunciation. It is now plain that *s*<sub>3</sub> is cognate with Soqotri *s*, never with *ś*.<sup>1</sup> There are, it is true, exceptions to the converse of this rule, and cases can be pointed out where Soqotri *s* corresponds in South Arabic not to *s*<sub>3</sub> but to *s*<sub>1</sub> (Arabic *sīn*), in North Semitic

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Soq. *sef* 'to increase,' Heb. *yāsaf*, S. Ar. *ws<sub>3</sub>f*; Soq. *séle* 'to bring,' S. Ar. *s<sub>3</sub>l'*; Soq. *qésom* 'to give,' Ar. *qasama*, S. Ar. *qs<sub>3</sub>m*; Soq. *siddeh* 'wall,' Ar. *sadd*, S. Ar. *s<sub>3</sub>d*.



not to *s* but to *š*.<sup>2</sup> The author is probably right in regarding Soqotri *s* as cognate with North Semitic *š* as well as *s*. The situation is the same with *sīn* in Arabic.

M. Leslau has avoided comment on the pronouns, although their forms present a problem. Among the words in which *š* and *h* alternate are the masculine possessive suffixes *-h*, pl. *-hin*, varr. *-š*, *-šin*. According to the author's analysis, original *š* has a marked tendency to become *h*, especially at the beginning of a word and intervocalically. The less widespread change of *h* to *š* is to be regarded as secondary and based on false etymology. It is by no means certain, however, that *š* is original in the pronouns. On the contrary, when the feminine suffixes *-s*, *-sen* are brought in for comparison, the juxtaposition of *h* and *s* recalls the South Arabic distinction of *h* and *s*<sub>1</sub> dialects. The difficulty is not simplified by the use of *s* in the feminine. If it is assumed that this is a case where Soqotri *s* corresponds to North Semitic *š*, the position of Modern South Arabic among the *lišānu* languages (indicated by Leslau, "Der *š*-Laut," p. 214 n. 1) is called in question.

The whole study of Modern South Arabic phonology is handicapped by the want of a recorded history for these languages. M. Leslau has made light of the difficulties. He has done comparative Semitics the great service of making accessible a mass of material with the help of which we may hope to overcome the handicap.

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DOROTHY STEHLE

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*Portuguese Vocables in Asiatic Languages.* From the Portuguese original of Monsignor Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado, translated into English with notes, additions and comments by Anthony Xavier Sqaes. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. 74. Baroda: ORIENTAL INSTITUTE, 1936. Pp. cxxvi + 520 + 10. Rs. 12-0-0. (The series title-page has expanded title: *Influence of Portuguese Vocables in Asiatic Languages.*)

The Portuguese original of this work was published by the Lisbon Academy of Sciences in 1913 with the title *Influencia do Vocabu-*

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. Soq. *sóbi* 'to carry off,' Heb. *šābā*, S. Ar. *s<sub>1</sub>by*; also Soq. *hóseb* 'to count,' Heb. *hāšab*, Ar. *hasaba*; Soq. *hēbos* 'to imprison,' Heb. *hābaš*, Ar. *habasa*; possibly too the fem. poss. suffixes, Soq. *-s*, pl. *-sen*, Akk. *-šā -šinā*, S. Ar. (Min., Qat.) *-s<sub>1</sub>, -s<sub>1</sub>m*.



*lario Portugues em Linguas Asiaticas* (abragendo cerca de cinquenta idiomas). It was the work of a distinguished Goanese cleric and scholar among whose works was included, besides a great *Glossario Luso-Asiatico* (characterized by the translator of the present volume as "a Portuguese *Hobson-Jobson*"), this reverse of *Hobson-Jobson*, for which a counterpart for English loans in the languages of India and other parts of Asia is still lacking. We are grateful to Professor Soares of Baroda College for having made this important book available to scholars whose equipment does not include a knowledge of Portuguese and for having added to the original, where he could, cases where the words of Portuguese origin treated in the book have passed into the English of India and passages from English texts substantiating such transfers. The book is fully provided with the scholarly aid of indexes for each of the 52 Asiatic languages into which Portuguese words have found their way (partly based on Monsignor Delgado's work, partly due to Professor Soares' rearrangement). And we owe a word in memory of the late Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda through whose interest and the decision of whose Government the translation has seen the light of day.

Though 52 Asiatic languages have been drawn upon, the bulk of the work is concerned with borrowings into the languages of India, as is natural considering that the native country of its author was India. The book will be of use mainly to Indologists and especially to those who are concerned with the Konkan and the Maratha country, the nearest areas to the Portuguese center Goa. But many other areas were effected by the Portuguese and students of these also will find the book of value.

In many cases the words treated have an interestingly complicated history. Some of them are Asiatic by origin, borrowed and remade by the Portuguese and by them given currency in other parts of the East. One such is the word for "tea" in the form *cha* (or something similar), which was borrowed from either the Mandarin or the Cantonese form of Chinese into Portuguese and by them (though Malay intermediaries have also been suggested) given currency in North India. The other form known in Europe (French *thé*, English *tea*, etc.) derives from an Amoy or Fuh-kien dialect of Chinese; it is the form also in general use in Ceylon and in South India (Tamil, Malayalam, Telugu, but apparently not Canarese, which uses the other type). Sinhalese probably received the word



from the Dutch, the South Indian languages from the French (cf. Holmes in *Language* 10. 284-5 for the occurrence of the word in French in 1563 or 1565 [uncertain which is correct],<sup>1</sup> whereas it seems not to be recorded for the Dutch before about 1610). Tamil uses *tē(y)* quite regularly, e. g. *tē(y)-nīr* "infusion of tea," *tē-mēj* "tea-table" (with Portuguese *mesa* as second element; see *sub voc.* in the volume under review), *tē-t-tannīr* "infusion of tea," etc. It also has *tī* which is of course borrowed from English, as is attested both by the vowel and by the retroflex stop representing, as regularly, the English stop. It is of interest to note that the Todas and the Kotas of the Nilgiris, who cannot have known tea until the English and their Tamil-speaking camp-followers reached the hills in 1813, but whose district is now a tea-growing area of importance (the Kotas themselves are tea-growers), both use the form [ti:] with the dental of the normal Tamil word and not the retroflex that we find in words borrowed from English containing a *t*, but with the English vowel. A Tamil *ē(y)* would not yield [i:] in either language; we probably have here contamination of two sources, Tamil and English, though it is possible that some yet unrecorded Tamil dialect, most familiarly known to the hill-tribes, has [i:] either as a contamination or as a regular development from *ē(y)*.

Some words of true Portuguese origin have also found their way, probably through Tamil, into the two languages, Toda and Kota, in phonetic forms which I omit here, notably *saco* "sack," *mesa* "table," *mestre* in the sense of "master-workman, foreman," and *padre* in the sense of "clergyman of any Christian sect, missionary." The latter word in Toda has the further meaning "man of stout build," an extension the starting-point of which I dare not guess without considerably more knowledge than I possess of the physical build of early missionaries in the Nilgiris.

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<sup>1</sup> Since this review was written, Prof. Holmes has published a note (*Language* 16. 59-60) to the effect that this earliest occurrence in French really dates from about a century later than it had been reported. This brings the French occurrence later than the Dutch and makes it possible that at least some of the areas of South India (e. g. Malabar) received the word from the Dutch.



*La Somme du Grand Véhicule.* By ÉTIENNE LAMOTTE. 1938-39.  
Tome I; Fasc. 1, 47 pages; Fasc. 2, 99 pages: Tome II;  
Fasc. 1, 24 + 152 pages; Fasc. 2, 72 + 345 pages. Louvain:  
BUREAUX DU MUSÉON FOR THE INSTITUT ORIENTALISTE.

*Wei-shih-er-shih-lun.* By CLARENCE H. HAMILTON. New Haven:  
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY, 1938. 82 pages.

These two translations of important Mahāyāna philosophic texts of the Yogācāra school are very welcome. Despite the mass of studies made in Buddhism by western scholars, the philosophic positions of the great Mahāyāna thinkers have not been thoroughly examined, and the need for this is particularly urgent in the study of Chinese thought. Not only is it necessary for the understanding of Chinese and Japanese Buddhism, it is a prerequisite for the study of the Neo-Confucians of the Sung period.

Of the two, Professor Lamotte's work is the more ambitious. It is a translation of Asaṅga's Mahāyānasamgraha, in twenty chapters. A commentary is also given, using six Chinese and three Tibetan versions. There are full notes and lengthy bibliographies, but no index. A third volume not yet published will contain Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese indices, while a fourth will be an introduction to Yogācāra literature. The Sanskrit text is lost, though Chapter 2 has recently been found in the Kāśyapaparivarta, and the Sanskrit is therefore largely a reconstruction. The translation is based chiefly on the Tibetan. Separate fascicules give the romanized Tibetan text of the *Theg pa chen po bsdu pa*, and a photographic reproduction of Hsüan Tsang's Chinese translation. The work is a summary of Mahāyāna philosophy, and while not long, is exceedingly condensed.

Professor Hamilton has translated Hsüan Tsang's translation of Vasubandhu's Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi, a short essay on the thesis that nothing exists save representation. His full notes usually give the commentary of K'uei Chi, while the Chinese text is published on the opposite page to the translation, which is a great aid to the reader. Professor Hamilton has consulted the Sanskrit version published by Sylvain Lévi, a Tibetan translation, and four other Chinese texts beside the Southern Sung text on which the translation is based. There is an introduction and brief bibliography, but no index. The book is Volume 13 of the American Oriental



Series, and its publication was aided by a contribution from the American Council of Learned Societies.

It is interesting to have published almost simultaneously translations of the work of the great brothers, Asaṅga and Vasubandhu. It is also interesting that the Chinese translation of Hsüan Tsang should be used in both instances, and that Paramārtha should have likewise translated both texts. Professor Lamotte has used Japanese editions (Taishô), while Professor Hamilton has used the edition of the Chinese Academy of Buddhist Learning at Nanking. In both works, the highest critical standards have been followed, and an enormous amount of learning and effort have been involved, although the French work is nearly seven times larger than the American. Nevertheless, even the shorter treatise presented such difficulties that Professor Hamilton was obliged, the reviewer believes, to devote himself to the task for more than twenty years.

Of the contents of the two treatises it is not possible in a brief review to say more than that they present the most thorough, complete, and influential system of philosophical idealism that has ever been developed. Our philosophers will now be able to consider the teachings of a great school of Indian thought to some extent at first hand, rather than through secondary sources. These Indian works contain subtle and profound theories of psychology, ontology, and the theory of knowledge.

The sinologist will be particularly interested in the ability of Hsüan Tsang to take the straightforward Chinese, and without violence, use it to convey the most difficult philosophic abstractions. He was a master of language, and it will probably be found that later Chinese thinkers—particularly the Sung Confusians—were greatly indebted to him.

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*Literary Chinese by the Inductive Method*, Vol. II. By H. G. CREEL. Chicago: UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS, 1939. 252 pp.

Professor Creel in choosing texts for the study of literary Chinese has followed the example of the Chinese themselves. As far back as the Han period, the Book of Filial Piety was used for beginners, and was followed by the Analects. This is what Dr. Creel has done, though his second text is merely a series of selected passages from the Analects. The selection has been wisely made, most of the difficult and uncertain passages having been omitted, and it would



seem that properly-grounded second-year students should be able to do this work.

The general introduction, concerned with tones, pronunciation, punctuation, and translation is good, and the introduction to the *Analects* is excellent. It includes a brief history of the text with a critical treatment, particular attention being given to the theories of Ts'ui Shu. The account of Confucius himself is well-done, though the reviewer confesses to a feeling of irritation when he reads the ancient remark about the sage being a "transmitter, not a maker." Men should be more careful how they talk about themselves, and Confucius has certainly suffered from this modest remark. All the leaders of great changes regard themselves as conservatives, and if they were not, they would fail to introduce changes successfully. Moreover, even a great genius has few ideas that are entirely new. But Confucius was a man who possessed great power of original thought, by means of which he made profound changes in Chinese civilization, and he ought to be given more credit for them. It is ironical that his original genius is covered and hidden by his own conviction that he was merely recovering a lost ideal. He was doing much more than that: he was making a new and closer approximation to that ideal, and doing it so effectively that it has remained an active force among his people until this day.

Dr. Creel's notes are full and carefully made. There is little or no criticism to be made of what they are, but rather, of what they are not. As in the first volume, there is very little treatment of the particles, and no treatment of the sentence. While the classroom doubtless provides opportunity for the treatment of these features, it is unfortunate that they are neglected in the textbook. The unit of language is not the word, but the sentence, and there is hardly anything in this volume to show how the Chinese form sentences from words.

There are several indices. The Chinese characters are written with a brush in the notes, but printed in the text. The actual text of the *Lun Yü* occupies thirty-four pages, which ought not to be too much for a year's work. As in the first volume, the ancient forms of the character are given in the notes. As a whole, the volume is a very creditable piece of work, though it is too early yet to form a final judgment upon the peculiar features of Professor Creel's methods.

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## THE LETTERS PREFIXED TO SECOND MACCABEES

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THE TWO DOCUMENTS treated in the following pages have been sadly misunderstood, for reasons that will be made clear. They are in fact what they profess to be, official letters sent from the Jews in Jerusalem to those in Egypt; and their historical importance, in more than one particular, is not slight. Neither of the two, up to the present time, has been correctly translated; and the false interpretation of the second and longer document, making it a truly ridiculous "forgery," has been especially unfortunate. There are two chief reasons for the present misunderstanding: the nature of the writings, as "festal letters" belonging to a routine, has not been appreciated; and the true character of the Greek text, which is the result of translation from a slightly corrupt Semitic original, has not been seen.

Festal letters, sent out from the seat of authority, calling to the common observance of a day or celebration of a feast, are a familiar thing. So are the similar edicts regarding matters requiring common action or general acceptance; such, for example, as the three circular letters of Rabban Gamaliel II which happen to have been preserved (see the references in Dalman's *Aram. Dialektproben* 3). To quote one of the three, relating to the intercalary month, sent forth from Palestine to all the lands of The Diaspora (גלותא): "We notify you that the young lambs are (still) tender and the chickens are small, the time of ripe grain is not yet come; it has therefore seemed good to me and to my associates to add thirty days to this year." In such a case, the need of the broadcast is evident.

In the celebration of festivals of which the precise date requires to be specified by a central authority, a general message must be issued. Our Thanksgiving proclamations are an example. The variously conceived grounds of thanksgiving are usually included, often also the mode of observing the day, though nobody needs the instruction. In the early Christian church the festal letters appointing the time of the Easter celebration were a necessary feature. The few which have been preserved either contain some







fragment, and in the original document there certainly was no space for prescription of any sort regarding the passover ritual. The feast actually described is that of Unleavened Bread. The papyrus is No. 6 in Sachau's *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka*, and No. 21 in Cowley's *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B. C.* Less than half of the original text has been preserved, but the most important part remains, and, thanks especially to the patience and acumen of Sachau, much that was missing can be restored with certainty. The Jews of Elephantine are given instruction regarding the feast.<sup>2</sup> The editors of the text, misled (as I believe) by an Aramaic verb with no apparent subject, have drawn the astounding conclusion that the instruction *was given by the Persian King* (Darius II)!

Cowley's restored text in lines 3 f. is the following:

וּכְעַת שְׁנַתָּא דָּא שְׁנַת 5 דְּרִיּוֹהוּשׁ מַלְכָּא מִן מַלְכָּא שְׁלִיחַ עַל אַרְשָׁם  
לֵאמֹר 4 בִּירַח תְּעוּבִי יְהוּי פִסְחָא לְחִילָא יְהוּדִי כְעַת אַנְתֶּם כֵּן מִנּוּ  
אַרְבַּ [עַת עֶשֶׂר 5 יוֹמָן וְגו'] .

The words restored by conjecture are in brackets. His translation: "Now this year, the 5th year of King Darius, word was sent from the king to Arsames, saying: *In the month of Tybi(?) let there be a Passover for the Jewish garrison.* Now you accordingly count fourteen days . . ." etc. The conjectured portion is printed in italics.

Sachau, whose interpretation all have followed, understood שְׁלִיחַ as impersonal. This would not be strictly necessary in any case (see Arnold, *JBL* 31. 14-19; Bewer, *Text des Buches Ezra*, p. 69, bottom), but the important question is this, whether the subject is not indicated in the words originally following but now lost. For the restoration made by the editors is by no means the only one possible. At the end of line 3 five or six letters are missing; the lost portion of line 4, from the beginning to the letters לֵיָא, would have contained (see Sachau) 28 or 29 letters. I would suggest accordingly the following restoration, beginning after the date:

מִן מַלְכָּא שְׁלִיחַ עַל אַרְשָׁם אַתִּיתָ 4 לָכֶם בְּכַתְבָּא עַל חֲגָא מִן דִּי בִירוּשָׁלַם  
יְהוּדִיָּא 3 כְעַת אַנְתֶּם כֵּן מִנּוּ אַרְבַּ [עַת עֶשֶׂר 5 יוֹמָן וְגו'] .

<sup>2</sup> The important article by W. R. Arnold, "The Passover Papyrus from Elephantine," *JBL* 31 (1912) 1-33, should not be overlooked.

<sup>3</sup> The regular order of The Aram. words. See e. g. 2 Macc. 1: 1, 10.



The translation: "Having been sent by the king to Aršam, I have brought to you the (customary) prescription concerning the feast from the Jews who are in Jerusalem, as follows (כעת): Do you therefore number 14 days . . ." etc.

This is in all respects a typical festal message. Nothing can be learned from it as to the history of the feast itself; whether it had been recently instituted, or whether the military colony at Elephantine had observed it faithfully in the past. It certainly was well known to them, for no word is said concerning its significance. These details of prescription might be repeated—and might be needed—year after year. In general, such official reminders are more or less stereotyped. One important thing which they all aim to assert and to maintain is the authority of the central body.

The documents prefixed to 2 Maccabees, used by the author as a sort of preface to his history, are two letters of notification in a series conceived as annual, whatever may have been the number actually sent out from Jerusalem.<sup>4</sup> They are concerned with the observance, from the 25th of December, of the Feast of Dedication, the חנוכה, variously designated in Greek by the names καθαρισμός, ἐγκαίνια, and ἐγκαίνισμός; also termed by Josephus, *Antt.* 12 vii 7, φῶτα, "Feast of Lights," a popular name given because of the lighted candles displayed in the windows of the houses during the celebration.<sup>5</sup>

The first of the two letters, dated in the year 169 of the Seleucid era (144/143 B. C.) is given in 1: 1-9; the second, much longer, dated in the year 188 (125/124 B. C.), extends from 1: 10 to 2: 18. The dates here given are not those which at present are generally accepted, for the year named at the beginning of 1: 10 is by all recent authorities made the date of the preceding letter; erroneously, as will be shown.

For the literature dealing with the letters are to be named especially the Commentaries on the O. T. Apocrypha, by Grimm (in the Fritzsche-Grimm series), 1857; Henry Wace, two volumes,

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<sup>4</sup> Herkenne (see below), p. 69, stands almost alone in recognizing this, insisting that a "jährliche Feier" is implied in these documents.

<sup>5</sup> The rendering of ἐγκαίνια in John 10: 22 by 'īqār bēth maqdēšā in the Lewis Syriac Gospels is worthy of notice here. This is the אִיקָר of Targ. 2 Chron. 7: 1-3, etc.



1888; Ball, in the *Variorum Bible*, 1890; Zöckler, 1891; Kautzsch (2 Macc. by Kamphausen), 1900; R. H. Charles (2 Macc. by Moffatt), 1913. Further, the articles by Fairweather, in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible* III 190; and by Torrey in *The Encyclopaedia Biblica* III cols. 2875-2878. Also the following special investigations: Bruston, "Trois lettres des juifs de Palestine," *ZATW* 10 (1890) 110 ff.; Büchler, *Monatsschrift für Gesch. u. Wiss. des Judentums* 41 (1897) 481 ff., 529 ff.; Torrey, "Die Briefe 2 Makk. 1:1-2:18," *ZATW* 20 (1900) 225-242; Niese, *Kritik der beiden Makkäbaerbücher* (1900) 10-25; Laqueur, *Krit. Untersuchungen zum 2. Makkabäerbuch*, 1904; Herkenne, *Biblische Studien*, Vol. 8 (1904), Heft 4; Wellhausen, *Nachr. d. K. Gesell. der Wiss. zu Göttingen*, Phil.-hist. Klasse 1905 118 ff.; Kolbe, *Beiträge zur syr. und jüd. Geschichte* (1926) 107-119.

The letter of 1:1-9 is a thoroughly conventional specimen of its class. It exhorts to the observance of a familiar feast, to be celebrated in the well-known manner, and gives the clear impression of belonging to a series of such notices. The events to be commemorated in the celebration are reviewed in the briefest possible terms, and the stereotyped exhortation to observe the days is added. The homiletic introduction, as commonplace as the rest, occupies half of the letter, and the date is withheld until vs. 7, where the real business of the document begins. The punctuation of the Greek in our editions is wrong in many places and very misleading. This is partly due to the translator, partly to editors ancient and modern. The false punctuation in this verse has made very serious trouble. There must be a full stop after the word ὑμῖν. A new paragraph begins with the words Ἐν τῇ θλίψει. Comparison of the corresponding (stereotyped) clause in 2:16 is quite sufficient to show the true place for the pause; and ἐγράψαμεν ὑμῖν there, like γεγράφαμεν ὑμῖν here, means "we (now) write to you." Partly responsible for the universal misunderstanding is the presence of καί before ἐδεήθημεν in vs. 8, rendering the (apparently superfluous) Semitic conjunction.<sup>6</sup> Such cases are not at all uncommon in translation Greek; other examples in these letters may be seen in 2:6, 17.

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<sup>6</sup> See the chapter entitled "The Redundant 'And'," in *Our Translated Gospels*, 64-73.



How did such a commonplace document happen to survive? Quite possibly it owed its preservation to the scene in which it was framed, the state of popular feeling in Jewish Egypt at the time when it was received. The date was the important thing. The Seleucid year 169 was a great year in Jewish history; see 1 Macc. 11:28 ff., 12:1 ff., 13:41 f., for the progress of events. The letter was brought to Egypt (we may suppose) by some one who reported fully the wonderful turn of affairs to the advantage of Israel. The *written* message which he brought was mere routine, and (excepting perhaps the introductory portion) identical with its immediate predecessors. Some one—or some official body—kept it as a memorial of the historic day of rejoicing, when Palestine and Egypt seemed nearer together than ever.

The second letter, 1:10-2:18, was a document likely to be preserved for its own sake; though here again the date may have played an important part. There were doubtless many years (as in the case of the Christian festal letters) when circumstances prevented the sending of any message; but the date prefixed to this letter, the Seleucid year 188, must have seemed very nearly as significant for the prosperity of Israel as did that on the former occasion. Before noticing briefly the progress of recent events in Palestine, a word must be said about the point of division between the two letters.

The older textual tradition, represented by the Latin and Syriac versions and eventually by the Roman edition of the Greek text (1587), followed by subsequent editions including that of Tischendorf-Nestle (1880), ended the first letter with verse 9, at the word *μηρός*. This division was accepted without question by the great majority of scholars, down to the middle of the 19th century. Grimm, however, in his admirable Commentary (1857), made the division in a new place, attaching the date at the beginning of vs. 10 to the preceding letter. Since that time his example has been almost universally followed; thus in Fritzsche's very influential *Libri Apocryphi Veteris Testamenti* (1871), in the English Revised Version, and in the standard translations, textbooks, and commentaries. In the long series of works listed above (with the exception of the two articles by the present writer) the only representative of the old division is in Wace's *Apocrypha* (2 Macc. by G. Rawlinson). Swete's *Old Testament in Greek* makes the division in a



still worse place, attaching to the first letter not only the date in vs. 10 but also the words ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις.<sup>7</sup>

Grimm's proceeding was caused by the reflection that a letter sent by Judas the Maccabee (vs. 10) and others, and mentioning the death of a king Antiochus (vs. 14) who must therefore have been Epiphanes, could not have borne the date Sel. 188. A few other commentators before his time, feeling strongly the same difficulty and claiming the support of a few Greek codices, had also made the first letter end with the date in vs. 10; see Grimm, p. 35, bottom. This had the double result of making the second letter a remarkably foolish forgery (for it could not possibly be regarded in any other way), and of reducing the date in vs. 7 to nonsense.

The Ἰούδας in vs. 10 is original in the Greek, but it is the result of misreading the Aramaic word which stood in the original text, as will appear. Judas Maccabaeus is mentioned in 2:14, along with τὸν γεγονότα πόλεμον (Lat., bellum quod nobis acciderat; Syr., "the war that we had"), as belonging to past history. The fact that the Feast of Dedication has mention only in the two verses 1:18 and 2:16,<sup>8</sup> with not a word in regard to its institution, shows that the writer believed it to be perfectly familiar to the Jews of Egypt. The commentators seem to have shut their eyes to this patent fact. Even a supposed forger should be granted a mental equipment sufficient for his task.

For the identification of the Antiochus whose death is described in vss. 14-16, Epiphanes is not to be thought of. At the time when this letter was composed (probably no modern scholar supposes it to have been written earlier than the date in 1:10), several decades had elapsed since his death, and the story of it was well known in Palestine and Egypt. More than this, the tale of his death-bed remorse (1 Macc. 6, 2 Macc. 9) was cherished in every Jewish household. No such account of his death as this before us could

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<sup>7</sup> This is due to the fact that in Codex A, which he is editing, the article *οι* before these two words was accidentally omitted. It is an example of bad editing, since the letter which thereupon followed could not possibly begin with *Και*.

<sup>8</sup> The only natural and adequate interpretation of 2:16 is that it was written by the author of 1:18a, as the necessary resumption and partial repetition of the former passage. This implies that he also wrote the intervening matter.



possibly have been written by any Jewish writer at this late date, for all Israel knew better.

A few years before the date of this letter (125/124 B. C.), Antiochus VII Sidetes—bitterly hated and feared by the Jews—took an army of 80,000 men (cf. vs. 13a!) into Persia, and for some time carried all before him, gaining complete possession of Babylonia. This was in the year 130 B. C. In the following year, when his army had become scattered because of the difficulty of wintering in the foreign land (Bevan, *The House of Seleucus* II 242-245), he was defeated by the Persians and came to an inglorious end. The present writer saw in Sidetes the "Antiochus" of this letter, and the argument was published in 1900. In the same year the conjecture was made also by Niese; see the references above. See also Oesterley, *The Books of the Apocrypha* (1915) 491 f. The real manner of the king's death (the literature is in Schürer, 3rd. ed., I, 264, note 9) bore indeed no resemblance to that narrated in our letter, but the fact is unimportant. Histories were not yet written; many different stories were current in Palestine; none as yet had authority. The story of the temple of Nanai, very plausible indeed in view of the similar attempts to raise money made by former Seleucid kings, was the one that was believed by those who sent this letter, at the time when it was written. It may only recently have become current, and was so circumstantial as to make a strong impression. At all events, no other king than Sidetes can be thought of here.

The date of the second letter, as was remarked above, like that of the first, may have been influential in causing it to be preserved along with the other. The fact is very noticeable that in this case also a time of especial rejoicing in Egypt and Palestine is represented. The "king" whose army Yahweh, entering the contest (*παρτασσόμενος*, 1:11) had driven from the city, was Antiochus VII Sidetes, and the day of this deliverance, in the year 134, was celebrated by the Jews for at least three centuries (*Megillath Taanith* XI 28). But this was only the beginning. Soon followed, in 129, the death of that monarch in his ill-fated expedition. At the end of the year 125 the allies of Ptolemy Physkon triumphed at last in Palestine. Alexander Zabinas, who came to the throne at that time, had been introduced into the struggle by Ptolemy, and was himself an Egyptian. He at once made friends with John Hyrcanus and the Jews (*Josephus, Antt.* 13 ix 3). So the year



124 B. C., like 143, was a memorable time, when the relations between the Jews of Egypt and those of Jerusalem and Palestine were especially close and joyous. Hence, possibly, the preservation of both these documents, kept together.

The second of the two, however, is especially significant and valuable in its character as a festal letter. The formal address is of historical importance. The part immediately following, telling briefly of the rescue of Jerusalem, may have differed little in its wording from former recent messages. The (fanciful) account of the death of the hated king is perhaps, as suggested above, an improvement over those which had previously been sent. But after the usual exhortation to keep the feast (1:18a) the writer proceeds to give, in 1:18b-2:18, a most interesting and important essay on the historical significance of the Maccabean feast of the Dedication.

This subject has been so thoroughly treated in the commentaries that it will be passed over briefly here. But before coming to it, there is a matter of fundamental significance to be considered. It was said above, at the outset, that there are two reasons for the present misunderstanding of the longer letter, the second reason, which is much the more important, residing in certain false readings of our Greek text. The Greek, in both letters, is a translation from Aramaic. The text which it renders had suffered in transmission and was corrupt in a few important places. The translator made the usual mistakes in his rendering.

This faulty transmission has caused very great trouble and a totally wrong conception of the nature of the document. This appears especially in the strange parenthesis in 1:18, where the reader is reminded that Nehemiah "built the temple and the altar"; that is, presumably, in Jerusalem, since no other place has been mentioned. The reading of the Greek text is not to be questioned, and the commentators have seemed justified in turning impatiently away from the work of so ignorant and presumptuous a man as this colporteur of fables.

Nevertheless, the verdict could hardly satisfy anyone. This same writer refers his readers, expressly, to the book of Ezra—or rather, to the Chronicler's entire history—in 2:13; and since he plainly identifies the Chronicler with his hero Nehemiah, it requires a high degree of credulity to believe that he was not acquainted with the



part telling of the restoration of altar and temple. Nearly two generations before the time of this letter, Ben Sira had written:

“How shall we magnify Zerubbabel?  
He was as a signet on the right hand;  
So also was Jeshua the son of Jozadak;  
Who in their days builded the house.”

Every educated Israelite in Jerusalem, even before Ben Sira's day, knew the story of Zerubbabel; and the author of our festal letter was, unquestionably, a learned man. A point in the Greek of 1:18, ὁ οἰκοδομήσας τότε τὸ ἱερόν καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον, deserves a moment's attention. The τότε is noticeable, emphasizing as it does the occasion of the building, and quite superfluous unless the meaning of the sentence is this, that the ἱερόν and the θυσιαστήριον were erected by Nehemiah for the specific purpose of the sacrifice which he intended to offer. This, in fact, is exactly what the sentence does mean. The whole scene is located in Babylonia, as every feature of it shows.

The plain statement of the Greek, that Nehemiah built *the* temple and *the* altar at the time of his sacrifice, has caused misinterpretation of every part of the legend. First, in regard to the hiding of the sacred fire. Jeremiah's command to the priests, as they were about to be deported (2:1), was of course this, that they should carry the fire with them to Babylonia, to be kept in their custody and under their control. If it had been left in some pit in Palestine, it would have been lost forever; the descendants of those priests (1:20) could never have found it. According to Jewish tradition, moreover, the fire of Solomon's temple was not restored; see e. g. Yoma 21 b. The fire on the altar of Zerubbabel's temple had been burning long before Nehemiah's day, as he of course knew; he saw that the time had come to dispose of the remnant in Babylonia.

Under appointment by the king (1:20), and before undertaking his journey to the holy land, he sent some of the new generation of priests after the fire, and they brought him the strange liquid. He thereupon built an altar, presumably on the spot where the sacred fluid had been hidden. He also erected a sanctuary (ἱερόν) of some sort, in order to do the divinely given fire all possible honor. The altar did not stand in the open air, the service described in vss. 23-30 was conducted indoors. Those who participated in



the service were by no means the people of Jerusalem and Judea, they were the exiles whom Nehemiah had collected about him, οἱ περὶ τὸν Νεεμίαν, vss. 33, 36. The Jonathan who led in the responsive recitation (vs. 23) was in any case the head of the Babylonian exiled priests; that the name has any connection with the "Jonathan" (otherwise unknown) who is mentioned in Neh. 12:11, probably by a copyist's error, is most unlikely. When the Persian king knew about these marvelous happenings in his neighborhood, he built a fence about Nehemiah's little sanctuary, and gave a large sum for its maintenance (see the emendation of the text).

Now while it is just possible that the legend may have been so familiar (that is, in Jerusalem) that the writer of this letter could employ the definite forms מִקְדָּשָׁא and מִדְּבַחָא, "the (well known) sanctuary and altar," it is much more probable that the undetermined forms were used, and that the employment of the Greek definite article was an error of the translator.

The legend concerning Jeremiah and the storing away of the holy relics, 2:4-8, is both interesting and impressive; it is also finely written, with all its brevity.<sup>9</sup> It is familiar also in the *Lives of the Prophets*, extant in Greek and in secondary versions, but originally rendered from a Semitic text.

The writer of this message to the Jews of Egypt is thorough in his demonstration of the importance of the Hanukka as a landmark in Israelite history, and of the place of Judas the Maccabee in the list of great men. Jeremiah, Nehemiah, and Judas preserved what was in danger of being lost, whether holy relics or sacred books. The history of the fire on Yahweh's altars adds the name of Judas to those of Moses, Solomon, and Nehemiah.

The verse 2:13 is especially interesting and important, since in view of the present interpretation of the letter there can hardly be doubt that it is really an official document. Nehemiah "collected" precisely what is in the work Chron.-Ezra-Neh.: the history of the Kings of Israel and Judah and of prophets (the Chronicler gives an impressive list of ten or more historical works, by prophets, of which we have no other knowledge); the voluminous account of David's temple service and servants; and the letters of Persian

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<sup>9</sup> There is a serious mistranslation in vs. 4; and Swete's Greek text is wrongly punctuated in vs. 8, as in numerous other places in the two letters.



kings in the book of Ezra. Nehemiah, coming at the end of this great collection and speaking in the first person, known also (Neh. 7:5) to have made search for old records, was very naturally thought of as the author of the whole. One may wonder when this doctrine arose in Jerusalem, and how long it continued to be held.

After this historical essay, the writer refers briefly, in 2:16, to his recommendation in 1:18a, to observe the feast; and thereupon closes with an eloquently expressed wish (unfortunately mistranslated in our Greek) for the speedy restoration of scattered Israel.

It is an admirable document throughout, well constructed, clearly and concisely written (the conciseness everywhere noticeable), worthy in all respects to have been sent to Aristobulus and the Jewish leaders in Egypt. More than this, it is an authoritative statement of ideas and beliefs held by the scholars of Jerusalem at that time, and is thus a historical monument of high value.

As to the language, or languages, in which the letters were originally composed, there was some difference of opinion among the early commentators. Grimm, p. 23, names Bertholdt (1819) as thinking them translated from Hebrew or Aramaic; Schlünkes (1844), as favoring Hebrew for the first letter; Ewald (1851), for the second letter only. Grimm himself held the original language of both to be Greek (p. 24), and this was, and continued to be, the generally accepted opinion. Graetz, however, in Frankel's *Monatsschrift*, 1877, held that they were translated from Hebrew. The simple, "Hebraizing," diction of both (especially noticeable in the first), in sharp contrast with the Greek of the following history, was of course universally recognized; and it was the more common belief—stated emphatically by Grimm—that the two letters had different authors. During the past half-century the subject has generally been approached from the Greek side, and consequently the question of translation from Semitic has hardly been raised at all. In Kautzsch's *Apokr. u. Pseudepigr. des A. T.*, the Hebraist Kamphausen, who dealt with 2 Macc., plainly had no thought of possible translation here. This was true also of Wellhausen,<sup>10</sup> who discussed the letters in the article mentioned above,

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<sup>10</sup> Wellhausen, with all his acumen, did not have a sharp eye for varieties of Greek, nor, especially, for the translation idiom. He was indeed compelled, in many places in the Synoptic Gospels, to recognize rendering



pp. 118-120. Moffatt, in Charles' *Apocrypha*, is better than his predecessors in at least mentioning the early conjectures of a Semitic origin, but ends by saying (p. 130) that there is at present no way of proving that these conjectures were mistaken.

The language which would naturally be used in such letters as these (whether genuine or spurious) between the Jews of Palestine and those of Egypt was the Aramaic. In the first place, it was the language of the common religious life of all Israel, in use throughout the Dispersion. It had been employed, as a matter of course, in the Elephantine correspondence, and since that day the situation in this regard had not changed in the least. In the second place, Aramaic was the language in actual use among the Jews of Egypt, at the time of these festal letters, in all their common affairs, commercial or religious.

For the last-named fact there has been no unequivocal evidence until recent times. In the absence of positive information regarding the use of Hebrew and Aramaic by the Egyptian Golah, it was too hastily assumed that the two Semitic languages of Jewish sacred tradition were completely abandoned in favor of Greek. Since they were not abandoned in any other part of the Jewish world, even down to modern times, this was a strange theory; still, it was widely adopted. Thus Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B. C.*, remarks on p. xv: "In Egypt Aramaic probably gave way to Greek by about 300 B. C.," and the same thing is said on pp. xiv, 191, and 200. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris* II 243, speaking of the ostrakon of which he gives a facsimile on p. 246, and which he dates in the second century B. C., calls attention to it as the only specimen of Aramaic writing known to come from Egypt in the eight hundred years beginning with 400 B. C. He continues: "Die aramäische Sprache hat ja in persicher Zeit dort nur ein künstliches

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from written documents, but strangely failed to see that these "schriftliche Vorlagen" were coextensive with the Gospels themselves. He saw no evidence of translation in the Fourth Gospel (contrast the article, "John wrote in Aramaic," in *JBL* 57 (1938) 155-171, by Prof. J. de Zwaan, of the University of Leyden); and, most remarkable of all, wrote an investigation of the N. T. Apocalypse, the most literally translated of all the Biblical books whose originals have perished (it is a painfully close rendering of Aramaic), never doubting that it was composed in Greek. His mistaken theory of Gospel origins has been very influential in holding back recognition of the truth. These things are said by an ardent admirer of the man and his work.



Leben geführt und wurde nach Alexander sehr bald aus dem Verkehr durch die griechische verdrängt." We are beginning to see, however, that the use of Aramaic at Elephantine was by no means "artificial," and to realize that ancient literatures consigned to perishable material are likely to disappear utterly. One potent reason for the traditional theory was found in the fact that the Hebrew Scriptures were translated into Greek in Egypt. The "Septuagint" version, however, was not made for the benefit of the Egyptian Jews, but for the Gentiles. In this respect, at least, the Aristeas Letter gives a true impression.

As a matter of history, the Jews in all parts of the earth and even to the present day have held to their Hebrew and Aramaic Scriptures, and have retained some use of the Semitic alphabet in their ordinary intercourse with one another. The Jews of Egypt of course adopted Greek, they could not have done otherwise; but evidence is accumulating to show that at the same time, and among themselves, they gave the preference to the language of their own people. Even small scraps of papyrus, or bits of inscribed pottery, may give important information.

The first specimen of clearly Jewish Aramaic writing on papyrus dating from the Greek period came to the notice of scholars in 1907. It is a business document of considerable extent (11 columns), but only partially preserved; evidently one of many similar records of commercial transactions. It is published as No. 81 in Cowley's volume. The editor notes that it comes from the Ptolemaic period (many Greek names, etc.), but adds, that since it is "unlikely that Aramaic survived, even in individual cases, long after the time of Alexander, we shall perhaps not be far wrong in assuming a date about 300 B. C." Lidzbarski, on the contrary, assigned it to the second century B. C. (*Ephemeris* III 22 f.). Another papyrus fragment, evidently of the same time and probably from the same place (so Lidzbarski), is Cowley's No. 82. This, be it noted, is the remnant of a Jewish legal document.

We happen to have also from Egypt of the Greek period three ostraca inscribed in Aramaic by Egyptian Jews. The first of these, from the Berlin Museum, is the one mentioned above as published by Lidzbarski. It is a commercial memorandum, consisting of a long list of names (mostly Hebrew or Aramaic, but with Greek and Egyptian also represented), each name accompanied by abbre-



viations indicating quantity or value. It is hardly to be doubted that the language of the memorandum was that of the community where it was written. Lidzbarski dated this, as was said above, in the second century B. C.

The other two ostraca, preserved in the Library of the University at Strasbourg, are evidently of the same date as the preceding. They were published in *Ephemeris* III 22-26, with accompanying plates. One of the two is a private letter, almost perfectly preserved. It is chiefly a record of the sending of merchandise, which accounts for the use of the ostrakon. Aramaic was evidently the ordinary language of communication. The other specimen is a memorandum like the one in the Berlin Museum, a list of names and amounts.

Evidence of another kind, equally significant, is afforded by a collection of Aramaic graffiti on the silver staters of an Egyptian hoard, published by the present writer in the series of Numismatic Notes and Monographs of the American Numismatic Society under the title *Aramaic Graffiti on Coins of the Demanhur Hoard* (1937). The President of the Society, Edward T. Newell, in his description of the famous hoard in this same series of Notes and Monographs (No. 19, 1923), first called attention to these graffiti, noticing also, p. 148, the countermark עמי (see below), and suggested the separate publication.

The time of these little inscriptions is very definitely fixed. The hoard was buried in 318 B. C., and the coins, Alexander tetradrachms, had been minted within the preceding decade. The graffiti are eleven in number, aside from the punchmark. The characters, typically Aramaic, are carefully and firmly incised, not scrawled. Since these are merely marks for the purpose of identification, personal names would hardly be expected; one of the inscriptions, however, a well-written זבנאי, seems to be a name, Zabnai(?). Eight are either single letters, monograms, or scattered letters (perhaps initials) which yield no sure interpretation. The three remaining legends are as clear as could be wished. One is יאן, "Javan," perhaps suggested by the Alexander portrait. There are also two characteristic mottoes, one of which is the above-mentioned countermark עמי, "my people," an incuse made with a punch, in the cheek of one of the portraits. This designation of Israel, which occurs some 200 times in the Hebrew Bible, is admirably suited for use as an official stamp in this manner.



The other motto is the phrase יהו יקים, "He will restore." The letters are all sharply cut, and their arrangement on the coin, יה above and יקים below, leaves no doubt as to the reading intended. These two inscriptions, especially, attest both the language and the loyalty of the Egyptian Jews.

Interesting testimony from the first century c. e. is given by the passage Acts 21:37 f. The Roman tribune laid hold of Paul, whom he supposed to be instigating a riot, and asked in surprise, "Do you know Greek? Are you not that Egyptian who recently stirred up the people of Judea to sedition?" The incident to which the Roman officer referred is mentioned by Josephus both in the *Antiquities* (20. viii. 6) and in the *War* (2. xiii. 5), and the trouble-maker in question did come from Egypt. The tribune took it for granted that the ordinary language of the Jews of Egypt was Aramaic, and that a fanatic of this man's type would have little to do with Greek, and would have had no need to learn it well.

It can hardly be doubted, in view of the facts above stated, that Aramaic was the ordinary language, the preferred language, of the Jews of Egypt in all their inter-Jewish affairs, throughout the entire Greek period. This gives us a clear presumption with which to approach the two festal letters. It would be strange if they were composed in any other language than Aramaic.

The Greek of the first letter is hardly awkward, though the structure of its sentences and clauses is clearly Semitic. There are no striking Semitisms, nor phrases that make mere nonsense, such as are likely to appear in any Greek rendering from Semitic, and will infallibly be present if the text covers more than a page or two. There are a few things, however, that suggest translation. The *καὶ νῦν* in vs. 6, where the business of the letter begins, is a very common feature (וכעת) at just this point in the Aramaic letters of the time. The phrase *εἰρήνην ποιῆσαι*, vs. 4, sounds improbable, for it has no evident meaning. *Καὶ ἐδεήθημεν* in vs. 8 introduces the conclusion of the long sentence (when vs. 7 is punctuated correctly); the conjunction is then Semitic, not Greek. The employment of the noun *καρδία* three times in three successive lines (vss. 3 f.) does not sound like Greek composition, but like translation; such repetition is not strange in Semitic. Moreover, the last phrase of vs. 3, *καρδία μεγάλη καὶ ψυχῇ βουλομένη*, is a familiar quotation from 1 Chon. 28:9, בלב שלם ובנפש חפצה, ["Serve



Him] with a perfect heart and a willing mind" (Targum an exact equivalent). *Karδιά μεγάλη* is certainly not the accepted Greek rendering of *לב שלם* in this phrase, but is quite natural in a somewhat hasty translation. The text of the letter, then, supports the antecedent probability, that the Jews of Palestine wrote it in Aramaic to their brethren in Egypt.

The second letter is long enough to show at once and unmistakably its character as a translation. Hebrew has been conjectured as the underlying language because of the erroneous belief<sup>11</sup> that the Jews of Egypt did not use Aramaic. The latter language is seen, when the trial is made, to explain (as Heb. could not) the chief difficulties of the Greek text.

Foremost among these difficulties is the presence of the strange *Ἰούδας* (standing in an obviously impossible place!) in the address of the letter. Now in any Jewish document *ἡ γερουσία*, "the elders," needs a following genitive. Thus 2 Macc. 11:27, *τῇ γερουσίᾳ τῶν Ἰουδαίων*; 1 Macc. 12:6, *ἡ γερουσία τοῦ ἔθνους* (Codd. S and V); Ezra 5:5; 6:7, 8, 14, *שְׁבִי יְהוּדִים*; in the Pentateuch, 7 times, *ἡ γερουσία (τῶν υἱῶν) Ἰσραήλ*; and the same in Judith 15:8. It is evident that the original text of 2 Macc. 1:10 had the reading *שְׁבִי יְהוּדִים*, and that a copyist wrote *Ἰουδᾶ*.

The confusion in 1:15 f. is due to the copyist who carelessly wrote *ἑνὶ κεφαλῇ* instead of *ἐν κεφαλῇ*, *τὴν κεφαλὴν*. Antiochus, who alone entered the inner sanctuary (vs. 15), had only one head.

The serious trouble in 1:18, which has caused much conjecture, and has lead to numerous proposed emendations of the Greek text, is admirably explained by the Aramaic; see the restoration, below. If the text had been Hebrew, the translator could not have failed to recognize the superscription.

The impossible *ἡμῖν* in 1:21 is obviously the result of an error in the copying of a Semitic text; there is no way of explaining it from the Greek side. Such a mistake might occur in either Heb. or Aram., more easily in the cursive writing of the latter.

There is in 1:35 a gap which the translators and commentators, at least since Grimm, have glided over too easily. The verse follows

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<sup>11</sup> This belief was shared by the present writer in the articles published in 1900 and 1902, but was corrected in 1909 (*Notes on the Aram. Part of Daniel*, 654) and in several later publications, especially in the article "The Translations made from The Original Aram. Gospels" (1912) 295.



immediately upon the statement (vs. 34) that the Persian king made sacred the place where the fire-liquid was found. The Greek text which on all hands is accepted for translation (printed also, without a query, in Fritzsche's *Apocrypha*) reads as follows: *καὶ οἷς ἐχαρίζετο ὁ βασιλεὺς πολλὰ διάφορα ἐλάμβανεν καὶ μετεδίδου*. The gap is here filled (by conjecture); even so, the verse is neither good Greek nor good sense. The natural meaning of *πολλὰ διάφορα* is "much money," like *τὸ πλῆθος τῶν διαφόρων* in 3:6. The attempts at translation are interesting. R. V., "And when the king would show favour to any, he would take (from them) many presents and give them some of (this water)." At the opposite extreme is Moffatt: "And the king exchanged gifts with those in his favour"; paying slight attention to the Greek.

The true text, an incomplete sentence, is the reading of Cod. A and of Swete's edition. It is readily explained by the restored Aramaic. It is the text which lay before the translators of the Latin and Syriac versions, a fact which seems to have been generally overlooked. Each of the two did his best to fill out what the sense of the passage seemed to require, and both were on the right track, recognizing that the gifts of the king were bestowed on the new sanctuary. It seems clear that the *ἐχαρίσατο* of Cod. V was the conjecture of a scribe, thereafter improved to *ἐχαρίζετο* and adopted by the small group of cursives.

Especially striking evidence of translation from Aramaic is afforded by the two passages 2:4 and 2:17, in which the Greek translator interprets as past tense certain verbal forms which in fact were participles with future signification; an easy mistake which occurs several times, with serious result, in the Four Gospels (see *Our Translated Gospels*, 114). In vs. 4 (where there must of course be a full stop after *συνακολουθεῖν*) the second *δέ* shows that the translator completely misunderstood the clause. In vs. 17, where the author of the letter intended to say "will also restore," the Greek has *καὶ ἀποδοὺς*, thus bringing nonsense and confusion into this truly fine passage. See the Aramaic text and its translation, below.

The best way of presenting the evidence to Semitists is to make a complete Aramaic retroversion from the Greek. A quotation from Wellhausen's article, already mentioned, is pertinent here. With no doubt in his own mind that the Greek of 1 Macc. is a translation from Hebrew (the accepted doctrine ever since the times



of Origen and Jerome), he said, p. 160, "Man müsste das ganze Buch abschreiben, um das vollständig zu beweisen. Davon sehe ich aus einleuchtenden Gründen ab." To write out 16 chapters of Hebrew translation would indeed have been too laborious a task. Instead, he gave a few convincing specimens of mistranslation (pp. 160-163), restoring the Heb. of several passages, thus showing how misunderstanding of the original text had produced nonsense in the Greek. Similar demonstrations in occasional passages have been offered in the case of other translated books of the extra-canonical O. T. literature. The present writer gave a very extensive collection of retroversions from N. T. Greek in *Our Translated Gospels* (1936), restoring the Aram. text of many falsely rendered passages and showing in each case the cause of the error. A connected text, however, makes an impression such as no array of mistranslated passages can give. Since our two festal letters cover only a few pages, it is not a laborious task to present the entire text, and the attempt to do this needs no apology. It can show that the original language was Aramaic, and that is all that is intended.

It is quite possible to restore substantially, and in very large part exactly, the words of the original documents. The Jewish Aramaic of the second century B. C. is practically identical with that of Ezra and Daniel (though these, excepting Dan. 7, are of the third century), and there is plenty of other material for comparison. The orthography and vocalization of the chapters in Dan. may be followed as the norm. The transitional features of Jewish Aram. of the last centuries B. C., 'af'ēl beginning to replace haf'ēl, etc., inner passive giving way to reflexive stems, etc., will be in evidence. At all events, and in spite of probable faults which others may correct (if correction is worth the effort), the Aramaic letters which on two important historical occasions in the 2nd century B. C. were sent by the Jewish authorities in Jerusalem to those in Egypt are here sufficiently restored to be recognized in their true character.

A few words need to be said in regard to the relation of the letters to the history which follows. Second Maccabees, as is well known, is a Greek epitome (of some sort) of a more extensive Greek historical work "in five books" (2:23), of which nothing



else is known than the name of its author, Jason of Cyrene. The Epitomist wrote in his own Greek, not in that of his source; and it was he only (as will appear) who made use of the two festal letters.

It has several times been observed, e. g. by Ewald, Niese, and Kamphausen, that the hand of the Epitomist is to be seen in the diction of the letters. This important fact can hardly fail to be recognized when the matter is examined. The translator does not, of course, write his own Greek, but he translates in his own way and in his own words. Especially noticeable are some characteristic circumlocutions of this rather long-winded writer. Instead of "a waterless well," he writes "a well having a waterless character," *τάξιν ἔχοντος ἄνδρον* (1:19); cf. 9:18, where "a supplicating letter" becomes "a letter having a supplicating character," *ἔχουσαν ἱκετηρίας τάξιν*. So also 9:21, *ἀσθενείᾳ δυσχερίαν ἐχούση*. In 2:5, it is not simply "a cave" that Jeremiah found, but "a room with the appearance of a cave," *οἶκον ἀνθρώδῃ*, etc. In 1:24, the phrase *τὸν τρόπον ἔχουσα τοῦτον*, prefixed to the verbally quoted prayer, is not a translation but a circumlocution; and comparison with 11:16; 5:22; 8:36, and a dozen other examples of the use of this favorite noun, shows it to come from the pen of the Epitomist. A well-known mannerism of 2 Macc., noted in the commentaries, is the use of *οἱ περὶ* in the phrases "Judas and his followers," "Timotheos and his men," etc. (17 times in the history). It is very noticeable that this occurs four times in the second letter: 1:13 (twice), 33, 36. The use of the following words both in the letters and in the history tells the same story: *διασαφένω*, *διάφορα* (mentioned above), *ἐκβράσσω* (1:12 and 5:8), *καθαγιάζω*, *καταλλάσσω* (cf. 1:5 with 8:29), *κατάρχομαι*, the adverb *μεγάλως*, *προσαγορεύω*, *ὑπομνηματισμός* (in 4:23 "memorandum").

Benedictus Niese, in his *Kritik der beiden Makkabäerbücher* 9-26, propounded the theory that the Epitomist was actually the author of the letters; or rather, of the letter, for he made of them a single document. The date in 1:10, 125/124 B. C., thus became the date of the entire work. The conclusion was accepted by Eduard Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums* (1921) 455 f. Niese supposed the Epitomist to have composed the edifying "Widmungsbrief" with purely literary purpose, and without intending it to have any material connection with the history which followed. Kolbe, *Beiträge* (1926), was inclined to follow Niese,



but (like most others) found the dating of 2 Macc. very improbable. He of course saw that the question of the relation of this "proem" to the main work was of the first importance (von grösster Wichtigkeit, p. 118), but was unable to do more than to oppose his own opinion to that of Niese (p. 119), insisting that the work of a later hand must be recognized. Wellhausen, in his reply to Niese (see above), took no account of the one decisive fact, the character of the Greek in which the letters lie before us, utterly unlike the uniform style of the 14 chapters which follow. We might expect that to him, at least, the possibility of translation would at some time have occurred.

It has been shown in the preceding pages that there are two distinct letters, each one dated; that they both give evidence of translation from Aramaic; and that the Semitizing Greek in which they are written has unmistakably the mannerisms and the vocabulary of the main work. It therefore seems certain that the Epitomist himself found and translated them and prefixed them to his epitome. This conclusion is further supported by the manner in which the transition is made from the letters to the history. The verse 2:19, unquestionably written by the Epitomist, makes close connection with the preceding matter not merely by use of the particle δέ, but also by specific mention (in this same verse!) of καθαρισμὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ and ἐγκαινισμὸς τοῦ βωμοῦ, things with which the letters were primarily concerned. A more obvious and effective "bridge" could hardly be imagined.

The literary proceeding exemplified here, producing a document consisting partly of the author's freely written Greek and partly of his own translation from Aramaic or Hebrew, must have been very common. Even in the few writings that have survived there are several examples. Such are: the Proverbs of Ben Sira, with the translator's prologue; the Wisdom of Solomon, the first part rendered from Hebrew;<sup>12</sup> the Gospel of Luke, in which the flowing Greek of the brief preface passed over suddenly into the translator's idiom, exactly as in Sirach; Acts 1:1-15:35, rendered from Aramaic by Luke, who continued to the end of the book in his

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<sup>12</sup> See E. A. Speiser, "The Hebrew Origin of the First Part of the Book of Wisdom," *Jewish Quarterly Review*, April, 1924; C. E. Purinton, "Translation Greek in the Wisdom of Solomon," *JBL* 47 (1928) 276-304; and the references there given.



own Greek; the Gospel of John, the 21st chapter added in Greek by the translator of the preceding 20 chapters. There probably are other extant examples, not yet recognized.

Did the Epitomist find the two letters united as they now are in a single continuous document? There can be no certainty, but the probability is strong that this was the case. The former of the two had no especial importance for his purposes. It is colorless, and adds little to what is well set forth elsewhere. We have seen, moreover, in the dates of the two documents a plausible reason why they may have been preserved together. They had also been copied, perhaps repeatedly, and the text of both alike had suffered.

The Epitomist's main motive in making use of the two festal letters to introduce his work is certainly to be seen in the verse 2:19.<sup>13</sup> The *ἐγκαινισμός* could almost be called the central fact in his epitome, see 10:1-8. His hero was *ὁ Μακκαβαῖος*, and the second letter, aside from all its emphasis on the importance of the Feast of Dedication, was a document which set forth in a striking way the place of the great Maccabee in Jewish history. (The "Judas" in 1:10 was already in the Aramaic text before him, and he could only reproduce it, whatever he may have thought of it.) The story of the divinely given fire kindled on the altar in Israel's earlier history gives the background, the perspective, of the renewal of the worship in the temple by the Hasmoneans. The "records" regarding Nehemiah and Jeremiah, interesting enough in themselves but only included in the festal letter from Jerusalem for their bearing on the subject of God's help given to great leaders, were significant for any picture of the Maccabean triumph. They have a place of their own in the preface to 2 Maccabees, for they are in the line of its author's chief interest. The connection between history and proem is even closer than Niese declared it, for it is essential, not merely formal.

The Epitomist's Greek rendering is skilfully made, sufficiently close but never awkwardly literal; not as inevitably fashioned on the words and idioms of the original as is the case in the Greek O. T. and the Four Gospels—to say nothing of the Apocalypse! The somewhat greater freedom here is due simply to the fact that the

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<sup>13</sup> Contrast the widely current opinion expressed in Schürer, *Geschichte*<sup>3</sup> III 361: "In keinem Zusammenhang mit dem Buche selbst stehen die zwei Briefe."



text rendered is not that of a sacred writing. Considering this writer's tendency to use circumlocutions, it is noticeable how closely he follows the Aramaic; it was easier to do so. He was under no obligation to stick to the Semitic order, and yet he follows it as a rule; this also was easier. There are Aramaic idioms retained, such as μέλη ποιήσαντες, 1:16; ἐκ τῆς ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν, 2:18, the neuter gender in Aram. represented by the feminine; and other examples; and (as has been shown) a few false renderings. A fine specimen of "translation-Greek" is 1:35, for it reproduces exactly, word for word, the defective and meaningless original. An example of desirable freedom seems to be ὁ ἡγεμών in 1:13 and 16, for the original pretty certainly kept מלכא throughout. The phrase ἐν τῇ θλίψει καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀκμῇ, 1:7, is probably an effective rendering of two synonymous nouns, each meaning exactly θλίψις. In general, however, it is evident that the Epitomist translated faithfully, phrase by phrase, the text which he saw before him; and the best proof of this is to be seen in a faithful retroversion aiming to give at every point just the Aramaic which was rendered.

### אַנְרָתָא קֳדָמִיתָא

1:1 לְאַחֲרֵי יְהוּדָאֵי דִּי בְּמַצָּרִין אָחֲרֵי יְהוּדָאֵי דִּי  
 בִּירוּשָׁלַם וְדִי בְּמַדִּינַת יְהוּדָא שְׁלָם טָב. 2 וַיַּעֲבֹד טִיבוּ לְכוֹן  
 אֱלֹהֵא וַיִּדְבֹּר קִימָה דִּי לֹות אֲבָרָהֶם וַיִּצְחָק וַיַּעֲקֹב עֲבָדוּהִי  
 מִהִימָנִיָּא. 3 וַיִּנָּתֶן לְכָל־כוֹן לֵב לְמַדְחָלָהּ וּלְמַעֲבָד רַעוּתָהּ  
 בְּלֵב שְׁלָם וּבְנִפְשׁ רַעֲיָא. 4 וַיִּפְתַּח לְבַבְכוֹן וּלְמַחֲכֶם] 14  
 בְּאוֹרֵיתָהּ וּבְקִימוּהִי וּלְהַשְׁלֵמָהּ 15. 5 וַיֵּצֵאת בְּעוּתְכוֹן וַיִּתְרַעַא  
 בְּכוֹן וְלֹא יִשְׁבּוֹק לְכוֹן בְּעַדָּן בִּישׁ. 6 וּבְעֵנָת. אַחֲרֵינָא

<sup>14</sup> The text is defective. A verb is needed to account for the preposition ἐν, and an infinitive is indicated by the following καὶ ποιῆσαι. The words לַכְכוֹן and לְמַחֲכֶם resemble each other very closely in the cursive script; hence the accidental omission.

<sup>15</sup> Dir. obj. unexpressed, as often. Mistransl. of verbs of root שָׁלַם has many examples. Among those in the Gospels, the most striking are perhaps Mk. 9: 49 and Lk. 13: 32.



הָכָא מַצְלִין עַל־כּוֹן. <sup>7</sup> בְּמַלְכוּת דְּמַטְרִיוֹס בְּשַׁנַּת מָאָה  
וְשָׁתִין וְתַשַּׁע אֲנַחְנָא יְהוּדָאִי כְּתַבְנָא עַל־כּוֹן. בְּצִירָא  
וּבְעֻקְתָּא <sup>16</sup> דִּי אֲתִיָּא עַל־יָנָא בְּשַׁנְיָא אֱלִין מִן דִּי סָטָא יִסּוֹן וְדִי  
עֲמָה מִן אַרְעָא דִּי קוּדְשָׁא וְנִרְשַׁעִין שְׁלִיחוֹתָ <sup>17</sup> מִן מַלְכוּתָא  
<sup>8</sup> וְהוּקְדּוּ תַרְעָא וְאַשְׁדּוּ דָם זָכִי. וּבְעִינָא <sup>18</sup> מִן יְהוּה  
וְהִתְקַבְּלָנָא. וְהִקְרַבְנָא דְּבַח וּמִנְחָא וְהִדְלִקְנָא בּוֹצִינָא  
וְשִׁמְנָא לַחֲמָא. <sup>9</sup> וּכְעַן דִּי תַעֲבִדּוֹן יוֹמֵי מַטְלִיָּא דִּי יִרְחָא  
כִּסְלוֹ.

### אֲנַרְחָא תַנִּיחָא

<sup>10</sup> בְּשַׁנַּת מָאָה וְתַמְנִין וְתַמְנִי. דִּי בִירוּשָׁלַם וּבִיהוּד  
וְשַׁבִּיָּא דִּיהוּדָאִי <sup>19</sup> עַל אֲרִסְטִבּוּלִס אַבָּא <sup>20</sup> לְפִטּוּלָמִיס מְלָכָא  
וְדִי אֲתוּהִי מִן וְרַעָא דִּי כְּהֵנְיָא מְשִׁיחָא וְעַל דִּי בְּמַצְרִין  
יְהוּדָאִי שְׁלָמָא וְהֵנָּאָה. <sup>11</sup> מִן עֲקֹן רַבְרָבִין פֶּרֶקִין  
בִּיד אֱלֹהָא לַחֲדָא מִהוּדִין אֲנַחְנָא לָהּ הֵיךְ לָדִי עַל מֶלֶךְ  
עֲבַד קָרַב. <sup>12</sup> הוּא לֵם תִּרְךְ לְמַגִּיחֵי קָרְבָּא בְּקִרְתָּא דִּי  
קֻדְשָׁא. <sup>13</sup> עַל פֶּרֶס אֲזֹל מְלָכָא וְעֲמָה חִילָא דִּי חָשִׁיב דִּי  
לֹא לְמַקָּם לְקַבְּלָהּ הִתְמַחִי <sup>21</sup> בְּהִיכְלָא דִּי נִנִּי כְּדִי נִכַּל עֲבָדִין  
הוּוּ כְּמִרְיָא דִּי לֹות נִנִּי. <sup>14</sup> אַרִי דִּיבְעֵלְנָה אֲתָא עַל אֲתָרָא

<sup>10</sup> This is the thrice repeated phrase in Deut. 28: 53, 55, 57 (see Onk., and observe the context!). The Grk. trans. is excellent.

<sup>17</sup> Another lacuna in the Greek text, made obvious by 1 Macc. 1: 29-37. Jason "and those with him" did not depart (or revolt) "from the kingdom," nor did they burn anything.

<sup>18</sup> The "redundant" conjunction.

<sup>19</sup> Carelessly read וִיהוּדָא by a copyist of the Aram. text.

<sup>20</sup> Pretty certainly the original of διδασκάλω here. Cf. 1 Macc. 11: 32; also Gen. 45: 8; 2 Chr. 2: 12; 4: 16; and LXX add. to Esther 3: 13.

<sup>21</sup> The plur. number (false) was in the Aram.; see below.



אֲנִיכּוֹס וְרַחֲמֵיָא דִּי עֲמָהּ בְּדִיל דִּינִישָׁא נְכֻסִין שְׁנֵאִין בְּחֻשְׁבֹן  
 פִּרְנָא<sup>22</sup>. 15 וְכִדִּי שְׁמוּהוֹן כְּמָרִי בֵּית נָנִי וְהוּא מָטָא עִם  
 זַעֲרִין לְגוֹ שׁוּרָא דִּי הֵיכְלָא סָגְרוּ מִקֻּדְשָׁא כְּדִי עַל לָהּ  
 אֲנִיכּוֹס. 16 וּפְתַחִין תַּרְעָא כְּסִיָּא דִּי בְּכִיּוֹרִי מָטְלָא<sup>23</sup>  
 וְרַמִּין כִּיפִין רַעְעוּ מִלְכָּא וְהִדְמִין עַבְדִּין רֵאשָׁא<sup>24</sup> לְדִי  
 לְבַר רַמִּיו. 17 בְּכָלָא בְּרִיךְ אֱלֹהֵנָּא דִּי יִהְיֶה רִשְׁיַעְיָא.  
 18 עֲתִידִין לְמַעַבְדַּב בְּכֻסְלוֹ בְּחֻמְשָׁא וְעֲשִׂרִין לְדְכִיּוֹת<sup>25</sup>  
 בֵּית מִקְדָּשָׁא חֲשֹׁבָנָא כְּשֵׁר לְהוֹדְעָה לְכוֹן דִּי וְאַף אֲנִתוֹן  
 תַּעֲבִדוֹן וַיּוֹמֵיָא דִּי<sup>26</sup> מָטְלָא.

וְדִי<sup>27</sup> אֲשַׁתָּא כְּדִי נְחֻמְיָה וְהוּא בֵּאדִין בָּנָא מִקֻּדֶּשׁ וּמִדְּבַח  
 הַנִּסֵּק מִנְחָה. 19 בְּעֲדָנָא דִּי הִשְׁתַּבֵּיו אֲבַהֲתָנָא עַל פֶּרֶס  
 וְכִהְנִיָּא<sup>28</sup> צְדִיקָיָא נִשּׁוּ בְּסִתְרָא מִן אֲשַׁתָּא דִּי מִדְּבָחָא.  
 וְטַמְרוּהָ בְּסִיפֵי גוֹב יָבִישׁ דִּי בֵּה כִּסְיוֹ עַל דְּבֵרֶת דִּי לְכָל  
 גָּבֵר לֹא יָדִיעַ יֵהוּא אֲתָרָא. 20 וּבִתְרָ שְׁנִין שְׁנִיָּאן כְּדִי עַל  
 אֱלֹהָא טַב נְחֻמְיָה וְהוּא שְׁלִיחַ מִן מֶלֶךְ פֶּרֶס בְּגִיּוֹן דִּי כִהְנִיָּא  
 אֱלִין דִּי טַמְרוּ עַל אֲשַׁתָּא שְׂדֵר. 21 מְהוֹדְעִין לָהּ<sup>29</sup> דִּלָּא  
 הִשְׁכַּחוּ אֲשָׁא לָהֶן מִין עַבְיִין. וְאַמֵּר לָהוֹן לְמַמְלָא וּלְהִנְעָלָה.  
 וְכִדִּי מִסְקָא מִנְחָתָא אָמַר נְחֻמְיָה לְכִהְנִיָּא לְהִנְדָּאָה בְּמִיָּא  
 אַעְיָא וּמָה עֲלִיהוֹן. 22 כְּדִי עַבְדִּית וּבִתְרָ זַעֲרִי יַפֵּעַ שְׁמֻשָׁא דִּי

<sup>22</sup> Some native Semitic word may have been used.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. the standing phrase in Targ. 2 Sam. 7: 2, 7; Jer. 22: 14; Hag. 1: 4.

<sup>24</sup> Plur. in the wrongly copied Aram., רֵאשָׁא becoming רֵאשִׁיָּא.

<sup>25</sup> Perhaps better חֲנִיכָּת, as below.

<sup>26</sup> Grk. must have been τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς σκηνοπηγίας.

<sup>27</sup> This form of the superscription made the Grk. translator's error very natural.

<sup>28</sup> The "redundant" conjunction.

<sup>29</sup> A scribe of the Aram. wrote לָנָא (ἡμῖν) by mistake.



הָיָה בַעֲנֹן דִּלְקַת אִשָּׁא רַבָּא וּתְוָהוּ כְּלָהוֹן. <sup>23</sup> וַעֲבָדוּ  
 כְּהֵנִיָּא צְלוּ בְּהִתְאַכְלוֹת מִנְחָתָא. כְּהֵנִיָּא וְכְלָהוֹן מְשָׁרָא יוֹנָתָן  
 וַעֲנִין שְׁאָרָא כְּנִחְמִיָּה. <sup>24</sup> וְכִדְנָה הָיָת צְלוֹתָא: יְהוּה אֱלֹהָא  
 בָּרָא כָלָא. דְּחִילָא וְגִבְרָא צְדִיקָא וְחֲנָנָא. דִּי לְחוּד מְלָךְ  
 וְטַב <sup>25</sup> דִּי לְחוּד וְנֹן. דִּי לְחוּד וְכִי <sup>30</sup> וְאַחִיד כָּלָא וְחִי  
 לְעָלָם. דִּי פֶרֶק יִשְׂרָאֵל מִן כָּל בִּישָׁא. דִּי שֵׁם אֲבִהֶתְנָא  
 בְּחִירִין וְקִדְשָׁהוֹן. <sup>26</sup> קִבֵּל קֶרְבָּנָא עַל כָּל עַמָּךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל וְטַר  
 וְקִדֵּשׁ אַחֲסִנְתָּךְ. <sup>27</sup> כִּנֵּשׁ גְּלוּתְנָא פֶטֶר בְּנֵי חֲרִין לְדִי פְלָחִין  
 בְּעַמְמִיָּא. לְדִי בְּסֻרִין וּמְרַחֲקִין הַסְתַּכְּל. וְיִנְדְּעוּ עַמְמִיָּא דִּי  
 אֲנִי אֱלֹהֵנָא. <sup>28</sup> הֵעֵק עֲשֻׁקִיָּא וְוִדְנִיָּא בְּנִאוּתְהוֹן. <sup>29</sup> צוּב  
 עַמָּךְ עַל אַחַר קוּדְשָׁךְ הֵיךְ דִּי אָמַר מִשָּׁה. <sup>30</sup> וְזִמְרוּ  
 כְּהֵנִיָּא שִׁירְתָּא. <sup>31</sup> וְכִדִּי אֲכִיל קֶרְבָּנָא אָמַר נְחִמִיָּה לְהֶרְקָה  
 שְׁאָר מִיָּא עַל <sup>31</sup> כִּיפִין רַבְרַבִּין. <sup>32</sup> הָיָת דָּא וְדִלֵּק שְׂבִיב  
 לָהֶן מִן דִּי נִהַר לְקַבְּלָהּ נְהוּרָא מִן מִדְּבָחָא הַתְּבָטֵל.  
<sup>33</sup> הַתְּגִלִּי פְתֻגְמָא וְחֻוּי לְמֶלֶךְ פָּרַס דִּי עַל אַתְרָא  
 דִּי בֵּה טִמְרוּ אִשְׁתָּא כְּהֵנִיָּא בְּנֵי שְׂבִיתָא הַתְּחֻזִּי מִיָּא דִּי מְנָהוֹן  
 נְחִמִיָּה וְדִי עָמָה קִדְשׁוֹ קֶרְבָּנָא. <sup>34</sup> אֲדִין מְלָכָא וּמִתְבָּחֵן הָיָה  
 לָהּ פְתֻגְמָא אַסְחָר לְאַתְרָא בְּסִיג וְקִדְשָׁהּ <sup>32</sup>. <sup>35</sup> וְלְדִי [לָהּ] <sup>33</sup>  
 מְלָכָא נְכֻסִין שְׁנֵאִין נִשְׂא <sup>34</sup> וְיָהֵב הָיָה. <sup>36</sup> נְחִמִיָּה וְדִי

<sup>30</sup> Ahiqar, line 46.

<sup>31</sup> 'Eπλ was accidentally omitted in the Grk. by a scribe.

<sup>32</sup> Lat. and Syr. render *ιερόν* here by "temple."

<sup>33</sup> *לָהּ* and *לְדִי* resemble each other so closely that the latter was accidentally omitted, and great trouble resulted. The translator reproduced the defective text exactly, in meaningless Greek.

<sup>34</sup> "Took and gave" is a Semitic pleonasm. Cf. John 13: 26, *λαμβάνει καὶ δίδωσιν*, also Mt. 13: 31, 33; 21: 35, 39, etc. In Heb., Gen. 21: 14; Josh. 2: 4; 1 Sam. 6: 7, etc.



עֲמָה קָרוּ לְדָנָה נִפְטָר דִּי פִשְׁרָה דְּכּוּ וּלְוֹת שְׁנֵאִיא מִתְקַרָּא  
לָהּ נִפְטָאִי.

2:1 וּמִשְׁתַּכַּח בְּכִתְבֵּיא<sup>35</sup> עַל יִרְמְיָה נְבִיא דִּי הוּא אָמַר  
לְבָנֵי שְׁבִיתָא לְמִנְשָׂא מִן אִשְׁתָּא הֵיךְ דִּי מְהוּדַע. 2 וְדִי פִקֵּד  
נְבִיא לְבָנֵי שְׁבִיתָא כְּדִי יִהְיֶה לְהוֹן אוֹרִיתָא דִּי לֹא יִתְנַשּׁוּן  
פִּקּוּדֵי יְהוּדָה וְדִי לֹא יִטְעוּן בְּלִבְהוֹן חֲזִין צִלְמִין דִּי דִּהֲב וְדִי  
כֶּסֶף וְתִקּוּנָא דִּי עַל־הוֹן. 3 וְאַף אַחֲרֵינִיתָא אָמַר וְהוֹהֵר מִן  
לְמַעֲדָא אוֹרִיתָא מִן לְבָהוֹן. 4 וְהוּהוּ בְּכִתְבָא דִּי אָמַר  
נְבִיא וְחִזּוּנָא הָוָה לָהּ דִּי מִשְׁכָּנָא וְאַרְוֹנָא יֵאזְלוּן עֲמָה כְּדִי  
נִפְקִי<sup>36</sup> לְטוֹרָא דִּי מִשָּׁה סֵלֶק עֲלֵהּ וְחִזּוּנָא אַחֲסִינָתָא דִּי אֱלֹהָא.  
5 וְכְדִי נִפְקִי יִרְמְיָה הַשְׁכַּח מְעָרָא. וְלִמְשָׁכָנָא וְלִאֲרֹנָא  
וְלִמְדַבְּחָא דִּי בּוֹסְמֵיָא הִנְעִל לְחִמָּן וְתִרְעָא סִבֵּר. 6 וְנִפְקִין  
הוּוּ מִן אֱלִין דִּי אֲזָלוּ עֲמָה בְּדִיל דִּינִטְרוּן אוֹרְחָא וְלֹא יִכְלוּ  
לְהַשְׁכָּחָה. 7 וְכְדִי יָדַע יִרְמְיָה כֹּאֶה<sup>37</sup> בְּהוֹן וְאַמַּר לֵם וַיְהִי  
אַתְרָא לֹא יָדִיעַ עַד דִּי יִכְנַשׁ אֱלֹהָא כְּנִשְׁתָּא דִּי עֲמָה וַיְהִי  
חֶסֶד<sup>38</sup>. 8 אֲדִין יְהוּדָא יָחִיָּא וַיִּתְחַנּוּ יִקְרָא דִּי יְהוּדָה וַעֲנָנָא  
הֵיךְ דִּי עַל מִשָּׁה מִתְחַנּוּ. כְּדָא וְאַף שְׁלֵמָה בָּעָא דִּי אַתְרָא  
יִתְקַדֵּשׁ לְחֻדָּא. 9 וּמְהוּדַע דִּי הוּא בְּחִכְמָתָא דִּי לָהּ הִקְרַב  
דְּבִחָא דִּי חֲנֻכָּתָא וְדִי שְׂכָלְלוּת בִּיתָא. 10 וְכְדִי מִשָּׁה צִלִּי  
קָדָם יְהוּדָה וְנִחַתְתָּ אִשָּׁא מִן שְׁמַיָּא וְקִרְבָּנָא אָכַלְתָּ כֹּן שְׁלֵמָה

<sup>35</sup> The translator writes *ἀπογραφαῖς* here, and *ἀναγραφαῖς* in vs. 13, for the same Aram. word, presumably כתב.

<sup>36</sup> This participle with future signif. was read as past tense by the Grk. translator; or (very probably) his eye happened to catch the same words at the beginning of vs. 5. The same error in vs. 17.

<sup>37</sup> Ahiqar, line 83.

<sup>38</sup> Is. 55: 3; 2 Chr. 6: 42.



צְלִי קָדָם יְהוָה וְאַשְׁתָּא נַחֲתַת וְגִמְרַת עָלְתָּא. <sup>11</sup> וְאָמַר מֹשֶׁה  
עַל דִּי לֹא אָכְלוּ חֲטָאָתָא הַתְּגִמְרַת <sup>39</sup>. <sup>12</sup> וְכֵן שְׁלֵמָה עֲבַד  
תְּמַנְיָא יוֹמָיָא.

<sup>13</sup> וּמִשְׁתַּעֲיִן בְּכַתְבָּיָא וּבְדַכְרָנָיָא דִּי עַל נַחֲמָיָה כְּאֵלֵין.  
וְדִי לְמִיסַד בֵּית סִפְרִין כְּנִשׁ סִפְרָיָא דִּי עַל מְלָכָיָא וְנָבִיאָיָא  
וְדִי לְדוּיַד וְאַגְרַת מְלָכִין עַל קַרְבָּנִין. <sup>14</sup> כֵּן וְאַף יְהוּדָא  
לְאַלְן דִּי הַתְּבַדְּרוּ עַל קַרְבָּא דִּי הָוָה כְּנִשׁ לָנָא כְּלָהוֹן  
וְלִוְתָנָא אֲתִיהוֹן. <sup>15</sup> וְהֵן מְנַהֹן חֲשִׁחִין אֲנַתוֹן לְדִי מְתִיבִין  
לְכוֹן שְׂדֵרוֹ. <sup>16</sup> עֲתִידִין לְמַעַבְדַּ חֲנוּכָּתָא כְּתַבָּנָא  
לְכוֹן. שְׁפִיר יְהוּא <sup>40</sup> דִּי תַעֲבִדוֹן יוֹמָיָא. <sup>17</sup> וְאַלְהָא דִּי פִּרְקָא <sup>41</sup>  
כָּל עֲמָה וּמְתִיב אַחְסִנְתָּה לְכָלָא. מְלָכוּתָא וּכְהֻנָּתָא וְקַדְשָׁא  
<sup>18</sup> הֵיךְ דִּי מִלַּל בְּאוּרִיתָא. אַרִי סְבָרִין אֲנַחְנָא עַל אֱלֹהָא  
דִּי בְּפִרְיעַ יְרַחֵם עָלֵינוּא וַיְכַנֵּשׁ מִן תַּחוּת שְׁמַיָּא <sup>42</sup> עַל אַחְרָא  
קַדִּישָׁא. וְהוּא שִׁינְבָנָא מִן בֵּישָׁן רַבְרָבִין וְאַחְרָא <sup>43</sup> דְּכִי.

### First Letter

<sup>1:1</sup> To our brethren who are in Egypt, we the Jews of Jerusalem and of the Province of Judea send cordial greeting. <sup>2</sup> May God show you favor, mindful of his covenant with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, his faithful servants; <sup>3</sup> may he give to you all a mind to fear him and to do his pleasure with a whole soul and a willing spirit; <sup>4</sup> may he give you a heart [to understand] <sup>44</sup> his law and

<sup>39</sup> See note on the translation.

<sup>40</sup> Targ. Ruth 2: 22.

<sup>41</sup> The mistaking of this participle for the past tense of the verb led to serious confusion. See the note above, on vs. 4. The conjunc. in ומתיב (with future meaning) has the force of "also."

<sup>42</sup> See Jer. 10: 11.

<sup>43</sup> Heb. המקום, "the holy place."

<sup>44</sup> Accidental omission in the Aram. supplied by conjecture; see the note on the text.



his statutes and *to fulfil them*; <sup>5</sup>may he also hear your prayer and accept you, and not forsake you in an evil time.

<sup>6</sup>To proceed: We here are praying for you; <sup>7</sup>in the reign of Demetrius, in the year 169,<sup>45</sup> we the Jews *write* to you this letter.

In distress and the affliction which came upon us in those years after Jason and those with him withdrew from the holy land, and [*wicked men were sent*]<sup>46</sup> from the seat of government, <sup>8</sup>who burned the gate and shed innocent blood; we besought the Lord and were accepted, and we offered sacrifice and meal-offering, and lit the lamps and set forth the showbread. <sup>9</sup>Now therefore we desire that you keep the days of the Feast of Tabernacles of the month Chisleu.

### Second Letter

<sup>10</sup>In the year 188,<sup>47</sup> the men of Jerusalem and Judea and the elders of the Jews,<sup>48</sup> to Aristobulus, King Ptolemy's counsellor, who is also of the lineage of the anointed priests, and to the Jews who are in Egypt, send greeting and health.

<sup>11</sup>Rescued from dire straits by God's help, we give our utmost thanks to him, as to *One doing battle*<sup>49</sup> against a king; <sup>12</sup>for He drove out those who were waging war against the holy city.

<sup>13</sup>Now when the king had departed to Persia, taking with him an army thought to be irresistible, *he was struck down*<sup>50</sup> in the temple of Nanai, through a trick devised by her priests. <sup>14</sup>For it was to marry her that Antiochus came to the place, he and the Friends who were with him, in order that he might take away a large share of the temple treasure reckoned as a dowry. <sup>15</sup>When therefore the priests of Nanai's house had set forth the treasure, and he with a few others had come inside the wall of the temple enclosure, they shut the inner sanctuary as soon as Antiochus entered; <sup>16</sup>then opening a secret door in the panelled ceiling and hurling stones they struck down the king, and cutting *him* in pieces

<sup>45</sup> 144/143 B. C.

<sup>46</sup> The evident lacuna may have been either in the Aram. or in the Grk.

<sup>47</sup> 125/124 B. C.

<sup>48</sup> See the note on the text.

<sup>49</sup> Reading, with several recent commentators, *παρατασσομένω*.

<sup>50</sup> The (false) plur. number, both here and in vs. 16, was in the Aram. original.



they threw *his head* <sup>51</sup> to those who were outside. <sup>17</sup>Blessed in all things is our God, who *gives* <sup>52</sup> over the wicked to destruction.

<sup>18</sup>Since we are about to keep the Purification of the Temple on the 25th of Chislev, we have thought it well to notify you, that you also may observe *the days of the* <sup>53</sup> Tabernacles.

*Now concerning* <sup>54</sup> the fire, on the occasion when Nehemiah, who had built a sanctuary and an altar, offered sacrifice. <sup>19</sup>At the time when our fathers were carried captive to Persia, the faithful priests took away secretly some of the fire of the altar, and hid it in the bottom of a dry well, where they kept it concealed so that the place should be known to no man. <sup>20</sup>After many years, in God's good time, Nehemiah, who had received a commission from the Persian king, sent the descendants of those priests who had hidden the fire, in quest of it. <sup>21</sup>*Told by them* <sup>55</sup> that they found no fire, but a thick liquid, he ordered them to draw it out and fetch it. When therefore the sacrifice was ready to be offered, Nehemiah commanded the priests to pour the liquid over the wood and what was upon it. <sup>22</sup>When this was done, and presently the sun which had been in a cloud blazed forth, a great fire was kindled, so that all marvelled.

<sup>23</sup>While the offering was being consumed, the priests held a service of prayer; the priests and all, Jonathan leading and the rest responding, Nehemiah with them. <sup>24</sup>This was the prayer: O Lord God, Creator of all things; terrible and mighty, righteous and merciful; who alone art King and gracious, <sup>25</sup>who alone providest; who alone art just and almighty and eternal; thou who deliverest Israel out of every evil, who madest our fathers thine elect and didst sanctify them; <sup>26</sup>accept the sacrifice for all thy people Israel, guard and consecrate thy possession; <sup>27</sup>gather our dispersion, set free those who are in bondage among the nations; look upon those who are despised and abhorred, and let the Gentiles know that thou art our God. <sup>28</sup>Constrain the oppressors and the

<sup>51</sup> See note on vs. 13.

<sup>52</sup> Better participle than past tense (same form in unpointed text).

<sup>53</sup> The Grk. requires these words, and it is evident that they were omitted in the Grk only.

<sup>54</sup> The translator, not recognizing the superscription, made a very bad mess of this.

<sup>55</sup> Copyist's error in the Aram.



tyrants in their pride. <sup>29</sup>Plant thy people in thy holy place, even as Moses said.

<sup>30</sup>The priests also chanted the hymns. <sup>31</sup>When the offering had been consumed, Nehemiah gave command to pour the rest of the liquid *on* <sup>56</sup>great stones. <sup>32</sup>This was done, and a flame was kindled; but when the light from the altar shone against it, it all died out.

<sup>33</sup>Now the matter became known, and they told the king of Persia that in the place where the priests of the captivity had hid the fire there appeared the liquid with which Nehemiah and his companions consecrated the sacrifice. <sup>34</sup>Thereupon the king, after he had looked into the matter, fenced the place about and made it a sanctuary. <sup>35</sup>And *for its service* <sup>57</sup>the king assigned and gave a large sum.

<sup>36</sup>Nehemiah and those who were with him called the liquid Nephthar, the meaning of which is Cleansing; <sup>58</sup>but by most men it is called Nephthai.

<sup>2:1</sup>It is also found in the writings concerning the prophet Jeremiah, that he commanded the men of the captivity to take some of the fire (as has been shown); <sup>2</sup>and that he charged them, when he gave them the law, not to forget the statutes of the Lord, nor be led astray in their hearts when they should see images of gold and of silver and all the adornment upon them. <sup>3</sup>Other commands also he gave them, and warned them that the law must not depart from their hearts.

<sup>4</sup>There was also in the writing that the prophet, who was given a revelation, gave order that the tabernacle and the ark should accompany him, *when he should go forth* <sup>59</sup>to the mountain where Moses went up and saw God's possession. <sup>5</sup>When therefore Jeremiah went forth, he found a cavern, and there he brought in the tabernacle, the ark, and the altar of incense; and he made fast the door. <sup>6</sup>Some of those who had accompanied him went out to mark the way, but they could not find it. <sup>7</sup>When Jeremiah learned of this, he rebuked them, adding: And the place shall remain unknown until God shall gather his people together, and the time

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<sup>56</sup> The preposition fell out in the Grk.

<sup>57</sup> See note on text. Translator interpreted the rel. pron. as personal.

<sup>58</sup> Perhaps an Iranian word was in mind, see the commentaries. But the verse is obscure.

<sup>59</sup> See the note on the text.



of mercy shall come. <sup>8</sup>Then the Lord will show this, and the glory of the Lord and the cloud will appear, as it was shown to Moses.

Thus also Solomon prayed that the Place might be made uniquely sacred; <sup>9</sup>and it is told how he, in his wisdom, offered the sacrifice of dedication and completion of the house. <sup>10</sup>And as Moses prayed to God, and fire came down from heaven and consumed the sacrifice, so Solomon prayed to God and the fire came down and consumed the burnt offerings. (<sup>11</sup>And Moses said, Because the sin offering had not been eaten, it was consumed.<sup>60</sup>) <sup>12</sup>And Solomon in like manner kept the eight days.

<sup>13</sup>In the writings and records concerning Nehemiah are narrated the things above mentioned; and also, that to found a library he collected the books about the kings and prophets, and the writings of David, and letters of kings about sacred gifts.<sup>61</sup> <sup>14</sup>Thus also Judas collected for us all those writings which were scattered because of the war which came, and they are with us. <sup>15</sup>If you have need of any of them, send men to bring them to you.

<sup>16</sup>Since therefore we are about to keep the Purification, we write to you; you will do well to observe the days. <sup>17</sup>And God, who *rescues* <sup>62</sup> all his people, *will also restore* <sup>62</sup> to all his heritage: the kingdom, the priesthood, and the sacred things, <sup>18</sup>as he promised through the law. For we hope in God that he will speedily have mercy on us, and will gather us from every region under the heavens to the holy place. For he delivered us out of great evils and purified the sanctuary.

<sup>60</sup> Evidently a reader's comment on vs. 10a, to locate the occurrence (Lev. 9: 24; 10: 16 f.); inserted in the wrong place because 10a and 10b happen to end in the same way. Probably a Greek insertion, notice *ανήλωσεν-ἀνηλώθη*; I have nevertheless let it stand in the Aram.

<sup>61</sup> This "collection" is the history Chron.-Ezr.-Neh.

<sup>62</sup> Again mistrans. of Aram. participles; this time with the result of completely spoiling the fine conclusion of the letter.



# TYPES OF MESOPOTAMIAN HOUSES

## STUDIES IN ORIENTAL ARCHAEOLOGY III

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SINCE ANDRAE published his remarkable book *Das Gotteshaus und die Urformen des Bauens im alten Orient* in 1930, so much new material has come to light that a new study of some of the problems is justified. One of the most valuable of Andrae's contributions to our knowledge of Mesopotamian temples was to call attention to the type exemplified by the temples of Ishtar at Aššur. What interests us most at present is the fact that the building is a block which has a courtyard in front of it, not a central court within the block which is found in the type common at Babylon; that the main extension of the block is parallel to the courtyard, not at right angles to it; that the entrance to the main room is at one end, not in the middle of the side, so that the visitor upon entering finds himself in one corner of the room and must turn around to approach the cult image which is located at the back of the short wall farthest from the entrance, often even in a separate little room behind; and that there may be additional little rooms at the long side opposite the entrance or at the other short side, or even an anteroom in front of the main room. We might call this type the "around-the-corner type" on account of the turn which the visitor must make. The original form which we must postulate was a single room with the entrance in one of the ends of the long side.

Although Andrae saw at once that the same type is present in Zenjirli, it seemed to be rather exceptional and rare in comparison to the "broad" room with the entrance in the center of the long wall and the cult image directly opposite in the center of the other long wall, of which type Koldewey had found numerous examples at Babylon.<sup>1</sup> Following Andrae, Martiny has shown that the around-the-corner type is also found in the Assyrian private house,

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<sup>1</sup> R. Koldewey, *Excavations of Babylon* (Babylon) (1914) passim; Andrae, *Gotteshaus* 14 ff.; F. Wachsmuth, *Abh. Kunde Morgenland* 23.5 (1938) appeared after this study had been finished.



although often combined with an inner court.<sup>2</sup> He further amplified and strengthened his thesis that the around-the-corner type is characteristically Assyrian in a more recent publication.<sup>3</sup> The frequent use of it for temples and houses is indeed beyond question. I add as examples palaces at Khorsabad, Arslan-Tash and Til-Barsib.<sup>4</sup> It is true that the chief entrance is no longer in the corner, but in the center or near it; the important point, however, is that the throne is at one of the short sides so that to approach it, a turn is necessary.

The type occurs in the neighborhood of Aššur, namely at Tepe Gawra.<sup>5</sup> It was a surprise to find it as early as stratum XIII. The Eastern Temple consists of a large room with the entrance in one corner of the long side and a small room at the opposite short side; it thus exemplifies the type very well, although there are adjoining rooms at the other short side. The two other temples, the Northern and the Central one, are slightly different and rather complicated having a large central room with smaller rooms at each corner; the entrance is likewise in one corner of the long side and through one or more anterooms and thus of the "winding" type so characteristic of Oriental architecture.<sup>6</sup> Simpler examples of the around-the-corner type are found in the later strata VIII to II datable from the Uruk period down to the second millennium.

Recent excavations have proved that the type was by no means confined to Assyria. The temples of Ishtar at Mari, datable to the Early Dynastic period, belong to it as also those from Nuzi which are Hurrian.<sup>7</sup>

Of great importance is the occurrence of the type at Tell Asmar and at Khafaje, as was noticed by S. Lloyd.<sup>8</sup> The earliest shrine

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<sup>2</sup> *Festschrift für W. Dörpfeld* (1933) 78 ff. Cf. F. Matz, *Die frühkretischen Siegel* (1928) 91 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Die Gegensätze im babylonischen u. assyrischen Tempelbau* (*Gegensätze*) *Abh. Kunde Morgenland* 21.3 (1936); Andrae's reply *ZDMG* 91 (1937) 49 ff.

<sup>4</sup> G. Loud, *Khorsabad* (1936) 61, 67; F. Thureau-Dangin, *Arslan-Tash* (1931) 43; idem *Til Barsib* (1936) 15, 41, plan B room XXII.

<sup>5</sup> E. A. Speiser, *BASOR* 66 (1937) 3 ff.; idem, *Excavations at Tepe Gawra I* (1935) (*Gawra*) 17, 28 f., 183 and pls. III-VII, IX-XI: rooms 808, 613, 603, 517, 409, 401, 308, 201.

<sup>6</sup> Müller, *AM* 42 (1917) 150 f.

<sup>7</sup> Parrot, *Syria* 16 (1935) 12 ff.; 17 (1936) 3 ff.; 18 (1937) 55 ff.; R. Starr, *Nuzi* (1939) 62 ff., 518 f.

<sup>8</sup> *Mesopotamia* (1936) 89 f.



of the Abu temple at Tell Asmar, dating from the Jemdet Nasr Period, is very strange in shape, as the long walls are not straight, but broken lines; the altar or the pedestal of the cult image, however, is at the back of the short side in the rear, and entrance is gained through an anteroom in such a way that a turn of 180 degrees is necessary to get before the pedestal.<sup>9</sup> The subsequent shrines of the first phase of the Early Dynastic period show the familiar type with straightened walls, the entrance near the end of one of the long walls and the pedestal at the opposite short side.<sup>10</sup> The Square Temple built above during the second phase has three shrines of this type arranged around a central room.<sup>11</sup> The single-shrine temple of the third phase has the pedestal at one of the short sides, the entrance in the long side, although not in the end of it, and a small additional room.<sup>12</sup> In Akkadian times the temple consisted of two rooms in axis so that the entrance to the cella is in the short side opposite the cult image, but the entrance to the anteroom is in the long side, the original scheme thus being preserved.<sup>13</sup> Of the Sin temple at Khafaje seven phases have been discovered dating from the Jemdet Nasr to the first half of Early Dynastic III b; the temple consists of a courtyard and several rooms, the cella always showing the around-the-corner type.<sup>14</sup>

There are examples even in purely "Sumerian" territory: a prehistoric "Pfostenbau" in Uruk seems to show the type;<sup>15</sup> a later example is the temple of Nina at Tello, erected in the time of Ningirsu. The publications are inadequate, so that a statement of the bare facts alone is possible.<sup>16</sup> The shrine E-nun-mah at Ur consists of a block of rooms, two of which have the entrance in the end of one of the long sides and two others in one of the short sides, although not exactly centered; in one of the latter an altar is located near the end of the long side. These rooms are, therefore, closer to the around-the-corner type than to the broad room.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>9</sup> H. Frankfort, *Oriental Institute Communications (OIC)* 20 (1936) 12 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. 1 ff.

<sup>12</sup> Frankfort, *OIC* 17 (1934) 40 ff.

<sup>11</sup> H. Frankfort, *OIC* 19 (1935) 7 ff.    <sup>13</sup> Frankfort, *OIC* 19 (1935) 79 ff.

<sup>14</sup> Frankfort, *OIC* 19 (1935) 39 ff.; *OIC* 20. 18; *ibid.* 35 ff. and Chron. Table for the dating of these temples.

<sup>15</sup> 9 *Vorl. Ber. Uruk. Abh. Preuss. Ak. Wiss. Phil.-Hist. Kl.* 1937. 11, 20 f.

<sup>16</sup> H. de Genouillac, *Fouilles de Telloh* 2 (1934-6) 4 f., pls. 18 and XVIII; cf. Christian, *DLZ* (1938) 307 f.; the shape of the temple of Al-Ubaid is not certain *Ur Excavations* 1 (1927) 105 ff.

<sup>17</sup> Woolley, *Ant. J.* 3 (1923) 320 ff.



An unmistakable example is the shrine of Bursin in the temple of Nin-gal at Ur, dating from about 2200 B. C.<sup>18</sup> It consists of the main cella with two anterooms parallel to it; the two entrances to the main cella are in the ends of the long walls and a stele is set up close to the short wall in the rear.

The temples at Uruk antedating the Early Dynastic period surprise by their highly complicated plan.<sup>19</sup> The complication is increased by the fact that it cannot be made out with certainty, whether the central space was covered in or open to the sky. Two chief types can be distinguished. One type, represented by the "White temple," shows a long and narrow space flanked on either of the long sides by a number of small rooms. The large room in the center is proved to be the chief cult room by podia; since these are located in one of the halves of the room and since the chief entrance is in one of the long sides, the around-the-corner type is clearly recognizable. There are, however, secondary entrances in the short sides which are characteristic of another type, the "long room," as we shall see later. Should we ascribe this ambiguity to a mixture of types? An answer will be attempted later.

The other type differs in so far as rooms are added to one or to both of the short sides. A good example is the "Limestone Temple." There are numerous entrances in the long sides and some also in the short sides. The most characteristic feature is the symmetrical arrangement of these entrances as well as of the rooms; some rooms (221, 222) have niches which are exactly opposite the door, although a little off center, showing that axiality and visibility are aimed at; one of these rooms (221) is a "broad room."<sup>20</sup> This second type at Uruk thus turns out to be a modified around-the-corner type.

Let us now investigate private houses. Since cult image, throne, or hearth<sup>21</sup> are absent in private rooms, the only criterion of the around-the-corner type is the entrance in one of the ends of the long walls. The common opinion is that the normal type of room

<sup>18</sup> Ibid. 6 (1926) 366 ff.; cf. the shrine E-Nannar, ibid. 5 (1925) 352 ff.

<sup>19</sup> 3 *Vorl. Ber. Uruk* (1932) 16 ff., 22 ff., pl. 8; 6 *Ber.* (1935) 19 ff., pl. 3 and 7; 7 *Ber.* (1935) 6 ff., pl. 2; 8 *Ber.* (1936) 27 ff., pls. 18 ff.; 9 *Ber.* (1938) 19 ff., pls. 14 f.; cf. Wachsmuth, *AfO* 12 (1938-9) 118 ff.

<sup>20</sup> 6 *Ber.* (1935) 6 f., pl. 7; 7 *Ber.* pl. 2.

<sup>21</sup> Fixed hearths are found occasionally in Zenzirli and wholly absent in Mesopotamia; cf. Reuther, *OLZ* 1937.164.



in private houses is the broad room, that is, a room with the entrance in the center. There are indeed numerous examples; most of them are from Babylon and late in date;<sup>22</sup> houses at Ur from the time of the Isin and Larsa dynasties show this type, as does Woolley's model house in Gay Street. Looking more closely we notice, however, that the two main rooms only are broad rooms, whereas the others have the entrance in the corner.<sup>23</sup> At Tell Asmar some houses of the Akkadian period have broad rooms and around-the-corner rooms simultaneously, but others have around-the-corner rooms only.<sup>24</sup> The Akkadian Palace at Tell Asmar shows a great number of around-the-corner rooms and only two with the doors in the center of the long wall; only one can be called a broad room, however, since the other is a passage with four doors; it may be significant that the living room (16 E 16), characterized as such by a dais and niche, is the around-the-corner type with the dais at the short side.<sup>25</sup>

In the houses of the Early Dynastic period at Khafaje the rooms with one entrance in the center of the long side are far less numerous than those with the entrance shifted toward the corner.<sup>26</sup> Early houses with exclusively around-the-corner rooms have been discovered at Fara.<sup>27</sup> It was well possible, in some cases at least, for instance in the houses at Fara XVa and XVad, to put the door right in the center of the wall. We can also suppose that, if the people wanted broad rooms, they laid out the plans in such a manner that broad rooms were produced, as did the later generations at Ur and at Babylon. That they did not do so, proves that it did not occur to them.

This survey has shown that the around-the-corner type was much more widespread outside Assyria than was supposed, when Andrae wrote his thesis about its northern origin. Can we still uphold this thesis?

Before we answer this question, let us consider the other types

<sup>22</sup> O. Reuther, *Innenstadt von Babylon* 77 ff., 142; Koldewey, *Babylon* 228; F. Wachsmuth, *Der Raum* (1929) 24 ff.

<sup>23</sup> *Ant. J.* 7 (1927) 386 ff. pl. 51; Woolley, *The Sumerians* (1928) 156 ff.; id. *Mus. J.* 22 (1931) 263 ff.

<sup>24</sup> Frankfort, *OIC* 17. 1 ff.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. 23 ff.; cf. the ancient drawing Frankfort, *OIC* 19. 3.

<sup>26</sup> Frankfort, *OIC* 13 (1932) 65 and *OIC* 17. 69 f.

<sup>27</sup> E. Heinrich, *Fara* (1931) 12 ff., pls. 5-6.



of room. The broad type is known from an exceedingly great number of examples. Since enumeration of all of them would be cumbersome as well as unnecessary for our present purpose, a few points alone will be mentioned. Its very early occurrence is attested at Uruk, as we saw above. But we also saw that the broad room is rather rare, although not wholly absent, in the houses of the Early Dynastic and even in Akkadian periods at Tell Asmar and Khafaje. It is not until later times that it becomes more frequent. The palace E-Khursag of Ur-engur and Shulgi at Ur displays a clear broad room opening into the Northwest court.<sup>28</sup> It is exactly in the center and doubtless the chief room in this courtyard. Another interesting feature is the strict symmetry with which the chief rooms of this palace are arranged, but the chief rooms only, because those facing the broad room just mentioned and those in the southern part of the building have the entrances mostly in the corner; symmetry and axuality of doors rules also the Northwest courtyard as well as the lay-out of the temple of Nin-gal at Ur founded by Bursin and rebuilt by Enannatum of the Dynasty of Isin.<sup>29</sup> I abstain from a detailed analysis and mention only the axis leading from courtyard C 7 through to doors into the cult room C 27 and the tripartite arrangement of the rooms, B 15, 16, 17 and B 18, 19, 23, 24, 25 with a cross axis between B 18 and 26. In the tomb-building of the Third Dynasty, too, the chief "reception" rooms are broad rooms, whereas most of the others are closer to the around-the-corner type.<sup>30</sup> This feature is well established in the following periods. The audience-hall of Naram-Sin, son of Ibiq-Adad I of the Larsa period, is an excellent example;<sup>31</sup> here not only the main room, but also the anteroom, the chapel, and another room opening onto the courtyard are broad rooms, only one single room in the building having the door close to the corner. In the temple-palace complex of Ilushuilia at Tell Asmar,<sup>32</sup> one temple has four broad rooms facing the courtyard, and the other temple three broad rooms. The throne-room too is broad, but not the Great Hall. It is worthy of notice that the cella of one of the temples, but not the other, has an anteroom. Such duplication occurs already in the gateway to the court of Nannar at Ur, dating

<sup>28</sup> *Ant. J.* (1926) 382 ff. pl. 57.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.* 366 ff. pl. 44; Woolley, *Sumerians* 153.

<sup>30</sup> *Mus. J.* 22 (1931) 249 ff.; *Ant. J.* 11 (1931) 345 ff.

<sup>31</sup> Frankfort, *OIC* 19. 2 ff.

<sup>32</sup> Frankfort, *OIC* 16. 1 ff.



from the Third Dynasty.<sup>33</sup> Also one cella with anteroom and the other without are found in the temple at Ishchali.<sup>34</sup> The use of broad rooms is so common in southern Mesopotamia from now on, as we know from houses, palaces, and temples in Ur and Babylon,<sup>35</sup> that further enumeration is superfluous. It seems justifiable to say, in spite of the scantiness of material, that the broad room replaced the around-the-corner type in Southern Mesopotamia from the end of the third millennium onwards; there are some rooms with the doors in the corners even in neo-Babylonian times, but this arrangement is mostly due to lack of space, as in the rooms around courtyard 23 in the palace at Babylon, or the intention of bringing doors in opposite walls into axis, as in the temple of Ninmah.<sup>36</sup> Cases in which the possibility of locating the door in the center is not used are rare: the "Great House" in the Merkes, where, however, these rooms are secondary.

The broad room is much less frequent in Assyria; Martiny<sup>37</sup> leaves as the only example the temple of Aššur at Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta; whether he is right or not, the existence of the broad room cannot be denied and further discoveries will show whether it was actually so rare in Assyria, as it now seems; they will hardly, however, reverse the picture. The broad room is also found in the palace at Mari, dating from the end of the third millennium: <sup>38</sup> room 64 has a podium in the center of the long side and opposite the entrance, which is likewise in the center. Room 34, also the chief room of its complex, follows the same type. Another characteristic feature of the palace is the strict symmetry in the arrangement of the door in the chief rooms 64, 65, 34.

A special type of broad room must now be discussed. Those mentioned heretofore are all incorporated in a building with inner courtyard, but there exists also an isolated block consisting of only two broad rooms. This type also occurs in Southern Mesopotamia, an example being the two sanctuaries at the foot of the Zikkurat

<sup>33</sup> *Ant. J.* 9 (1929) pl. 39; cf. *ibid.* 5 (1925) 376 ff., 396.

<sup>34</sup> Frankfort, *OIC* 20. 74 ff., figs. 59 f.

<sup>35</sup> Koldewey, *Babylon* passim; *id.* *Die Königsburgen von Babylon* (1931) 1. pl. 2. Wachsmuth, *Der Raum* 14 ff.; Woolley, *Mus. J.* 22 (1931) pls. 31, 41; *id.* *Ant. J.* 11 (1931) 359 ff.; 14 (1934) 375 ff.

<sup>36</sup> Koldewey, *Babylon* 56 f. fig. 38; 288 fig. 238 rooms 5 and 24.

<sup>37</sup> *Gegensätze* 25 ff.

<sup>38</sup> Parrot, *Syria* 17 (1936) 17 ff. pl. 5; 18 (1937) 65 ff. pl. 8.



at Uruk dating from the second millennium.<sup>39</sup> E-Dublal-Mah in Ur shows this type too, but it was originally a gateway changed into a temple by the blocking of the door at the rear.<sup>40</sup> The temple of Enki built by Rim-Sin looks as if it were a combination of the isolated block and the courtyard type, inasmuch as the two cellas are completely separated from the outer walls and other rooms by a passage on all three sides.<sup>41</sup> The type is rare in any case, and apparently relatively late.

We come to the third type, the "long" room, that is a room with the entrance in the short side, and the chief place at the opposite short side. This type likewise was first identified at Aššur.<sup>42</sup> In this case too, Martiny tries to lower the date of its first occurrence in Assyria.<sup>43</sup> It does not matter very much in this context whether Martiny or Andrae is right, because examples earlier than the Assyrian ones existed in the Near East, as the following monuments show. Two have come to light at Mari; one is a separate temple and the other is a room in the palace (Nr. 132).<sup>44</sup> Whether it is a cult chamber or not, the podium at the short side opposite the entrance proves the room to be of the long type in any case. I find another instance of the long room in the temple at Ishchali, dating from the time of Hammurabi.<sup>45</sup> The sanctuary in the northwestern part consists of a courtyard surrounded by a number of rooms, most of them small, but one, namely that at the western side, large and with a niche opposite the entrance. The sanctuary is therefore of the normal type and we must conclude that the largest room was the cella which was covered over; now this room is a long one! It seems that the long room occurs as early as the Tell Halaf period, because such interpretation is most likely for an amulet from Arpachiyah;<sup>46</sup> it looks like a log cabin with beams laid horizontally and with the entrance at the short side. Equally interesting is a terracotta model from Al Ubaid which seems to prove the existence of this type even for Southern Mesopotamia.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>39</sup> 3 *Vorl. Ber. Uruk*, 31 ff. pl. 15.

<sup>40</sup> Woolley, *Ant. J.* 5 (1925) 376 ff., 396.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid. 10 (1930) 323 f. pl. 37; *Mus. J.* 21 (1931) 88, 91.

<sup>42</sup> *Gotteshaus* 22 ff.

<sup>43</sup> *Gegensätze* 18 ff., 37.

<sup>44</sup> Parrot, *Syria* 19 (1938) 22 f.; *ibid.* 18 (1937) 73 pl. 8. Room 65 is, however, around-the-corner.

<sup>45</sup> Frankfort, *OIC* 20. 76.

<sup>46</sup> Mallowan, *Iraq* 2 (1935) 30 f. figs. 15, 51 Nr. 4, pl. 6 Nr. A 11.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid. 30 f. fig. 17.



The entrance must have been in the short side, because there is no trace of it in the long one.

We have not yet mentioned the conspicuous occurrence of the long type at Tepe Gawra. It is exemplified by a number of buildings in strata XI and VIII, the latter belonging to the Uruk and Jemdet Nasr periods and recognized as such at once by Speiser.<sup>48</sup> The complex groundplans show that the type is already very developed; in the temples, the central hall is flanked by siderooms which protrude in front producing a kind of lobby; the strict symmetry is significant. Speiser mentions as related the temples in Uruk, namely the prehistoric ones and that of Cassite times.<sup>49</sup> But the prehistoric temples do not represent the pure long type, as we saw (p. 000), because the main entrance is on the long side. Furthermore, the temples in the earlier stratum XIII at Tepe Gawra likewise following the around-the-corner type are so similar that there must be a connection between the types of XI, VIII and XIII. Except for the location of the entrance, the only difference is that the side rooms in XIII are not adjoining, but interrupted by an outer niche, and that the entrances to them are wider. What then is the connection between these types at Uruk and Tepe Gawra? I would offer the following hypothesis in the hope that it will be verified by later finds: The long type as well as the around-the-corner type existed in Mesopotamia from the earliest times onward, naturally at first in the simplest form, as a single room. The type of the central courtyard with rooms surrounding was likewise in existence; it is found as early as Gawra XV, as the newest discoveries have shown.<sup>50</sup> Its shape is oblong and the rooms differ in size and shape so that they produce an irregular outline. A synthesis takes place: Since the single room is insufficient for the enlarged cult, the central court-type is used; the central place is covered in, the rooms become more regular and fall in line, the rule of symmetry begins to give the building a more dignified appearance. Both types of entrance are taken from the two single-room types: the around-the-corner entrance predominates, but the long type is also present although secondary. The result is the type represented at Uruk. The origin of the type at Gawra XIII may

<sup>48</sup> *Gawra* 1. 24 ff. 147 f. pls. 9-12, 22; *BASOR* 62 (1936) 10 f.; Bache, *ibid.* 57 (1935) 12 f.

<sup>49</sup> *1 Vorl. Ber. Uruk* (1929) 30 ff.; Martiny, *Gegensätze* 19.

<sup>50</sup> E. A. Speiser, *BASOR* 66 (1937) 15.



be similar except for the entrance, which is of the around-the-corner type only. It seems, however, possible that the similarity is due to convergent evolution and that the development of the types Gawra XIII and XI and VIII differed from that at Uruk. I come to this conclusion through the following fact: The arrangement of the siderooms at Uruk is centripetal in such a manner that the rooms have a vertical orientation to the central hall, especially in the "White Temple," whereas the siderooms at Gawra are parallel to it. Such arrangement is found in the tripartite "liwan" which we will discuss below; the examples are later, it is true, but we must bear in mind how extremely limited our knowledge of the Near East is. The Gawra XIII type might thus be a fusion of the tripartite liwan furnishing the parallel arrangement of three rooms and of a type related to the Uruk type: the long entrance was changed into an around-the-corner one and the siderooms become connected with the central hall so that a centripetal arrangement was produced instead of the former parallel one. The type of Gawra XI-VIII originates from the type of XIII by means of new strengthening of the long type, by which the entrance is shifted to the short side again. Furthermore, the building is now a well-fixed and well-balanced unit displaying perfect symmetry, whereas type XIII is rather indefinite, loose, and variable. Such developments as postulated for types at Uruk and Gawra seem very complicated, but the types are products of a long evolution of which most of the links are missing. Let us hope that the original and intermediate types will be discovered soon.

The Cassite temple at Uruk looks like a derivation from the Gawra VIII type: the open lobby is covered in and has become an anteroom located inside; massive tower-like projections replace the projecting siderooms which now are inside the whole block. It must remain an open question, where this derivation took place. The origin of the later Assyrian long type, that of the temples at Khorsabad, likewise cannot be fully elucidated at present.<sup>51</sup> Here the long type is incorporated into the central court type, occupying one side of it, not fused with it as at Uruk and Tepe Gawra. The same incorporation took place at Ishchali. I see no reason why the simple long room should not have existed in northern Mesopotamia all the time, just as the around-the-corner type was used for the

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<sup>51</sup> G. Loud, *Khorsabad* 1 (1936) 80 ff.



temple of Ishtar from the beginning of the third to the later part of the second millennium. The temples of Adad and Ninurta at Khorsabad are actually such simple long rooms.<sup>52</sup> A new introduction from outside is, however, not excluded, and such an innovation might have afforded the stimulus to the new synthesis combining it with the central court. Another type of layout is exemplified by the "Round house" of Gawra XI:<sup>53</sup> the chief room in the center, an unmistakable long room, is surrounded by others which, as secondary ones, do not follow a definite type but vary in size and shape according to purpose and available space. We may speak of agglomeration of rooms, since there is no central court. On the other hand, a strong tendency to symmetry is obvious, although the symmetry is not perfect.

As to the geographical distribution of the long type, we can state that it is primarily found in Assyria, although it is not the prevailing one, and that it is rare and obviously intrusive in southern Mesopotamia. This leads us to the problem of the origins of the types with which we are dealing in this paper. If any of them can claim to be northern according to Andrae's terminology, then it seems that the long type has the strongest claims. What do we mean by "northern"? The type is certainly northern in regard to southern Mesopotamia. Since it seems, on the other hand, that it was introduced into southern Mesopotamia once, although not for the first time, by the Cassites who came from a region north of Mesopotamia, it is possible that it also came to Assyria from the north. Its origin may, therefore, be sought for in the highlands north of Mesopotamia or even farther.

Before we discuss these northern examples we must see whether there are long rooms in other parts of the East. Indeed, more and more turn up in Syria and Palestine. Garstang uncovered at Jericho in an "early Neolithic" layer a building with a porch which he calls a "megaron."<sup>54</sup> Sukenik found clay ossuaries in a chalcolithic necropolis at Hederah in Palestine which unmistakably imitate long rooms.<sup>55</sup> Later examples are megara from Megiddo

<sup>52</sup> Ibid. 101 f. 107 f. fig. 98, rooms 166 and 173.

<sup>53</sup> Speiser, *BASOR* 62 (1936) 11.

<sup>54</sup> *Liv. Ann.* 23 (1936) 69 f.; Vincent, *Rev. Bibl.* 48 (1939) 94.

<sup>55</sup> *JPOS* 17 (1937) 15 ff. Analogies for the curving walls: Behn, *Präh. Z.* 11-12 (1919-20) 85 ff. 95 ff.; F. Oelmann, *Haus und Hof im Altertum (Haus u. Hof)* (1927) 45 ff.; Rhomaïos, *Arch. Delt.* 1 (1915) 240 f.



datable to the 20th century,<sup>56</sup> the tower-like building at Shechem of the second part of the second millennium<sup>57</sup> and a house in Abu Hawan dated 1400-1230.<sup>58</sup> The tripartite buildings at Tell en-Nasbeh, Gerar, and Ain Shems<sup>59</sup> show the "liwan" type, the history of which has been traced so brilliantly by Oelmann.<sup>60</sup> The original unit is a rectangular long room with one of the short sides wide open. Two or three units can be put together to form a block to which other rooms may be added at the back. The examples at Tell en-Nasbeh and Gerar would show a developed, but still simple stage, whereas the buildings of this type Zenjirli are more complex because of the partition of the flanking rooms and the addition of a tower. That they belong to the long type is, nevertheless, clear. An example of the single liwan occurs in Cyprus in the Middle Cypriote III period. It is, however, almost square and incorporated into the type with the central court.<sup>61</sup> A different line of development of the long room is represented by Solomon's temple at Jerusalem<sup>62</sup> and that at Tell Tainat dating about 800.<sup>63</sup> Both buildings display a tripartite scheme of anteroom, long central room, and holy of holies which has a close analogy in the Assyrian temples at Khorsabad; the colonnaded porch of the Syrian example reminds one, on the other hand, of Greek types. The temple of Gaza in which Samson found his death was apparently of the Syrian type with porch, as was ingeniously assumed by Macalister many years ago.<sup>64</sup> The long room is likewise used in the stables and in the adjacent building at Megiddo; in the latter building, however, combined with other rooms to form a block.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Glueck, *AJA* 44 (1940) 139.

<sup>57</sup> Welter, *Arch. Anz.* 1932. 294 ff.; C. Watzinger, *Denkmäler Palästinas* 1 (1933) 59 fig. 20; Thiersch, *ZAW NF* 9 (1932) 76.

<sup>58</sup> Hamilton, *QDAP* 4 (1935) 11 f. pl. 11; Vincent, *Rev. Bibl.* 44 (1935) 420.

<sup>59</sup> Badé, *Excavations at Tell-en-Nasbeh* (1928) 31; Flinders Petrie, *Gerar* (1928) pl. 9; Thiersch, op. cit. 75 ff.; Watzinger, *Denkmäler* 58, 101 f. figs. 37 f.; E. Grant, *Ain Shems* 1 (1931) plan; cf. V. Müller, *AJA* 36 (1932) 415 f.

<sup>60</sup> *Bonn. Jahrb.* 127 (1922) 217 ff.; cf. Wachsmuth, *Raum* 76 ff.

<sup>61</sup> E. Gjerstad, *Studies in Prehistoric Cyprus* (1926) 27 ff.

<sup>62</sup> Watzinger, *Denkmäler* 1. 89 ff. Cf. K. Möhlenbrink, *Der Tempel Salomos* (1932).

<sup>63</sup> McEwan, *AJA* 41 (1937) 9.

<sup>64</sup> R. S. St. Macalister, *The Philistines* (1914) 123 f.

<sup>65</sup> R. Lamon and G. Shipton *OIP* 42 (1939) 32 ff. fig. 49.



The long room occurs also in Egypt. It is found in a building at Abydos dating from the beginning of the Ancient Empire and considered by von Bissing as a temple.<sup>66</sup> Some later temples and the holy of holies in many of the famous Egyptian temples show the same type.<sup>67</sup>

But here the problem obtrudes itself, as to whether we are entitled to claim a connection between all these long rooms found over such wide areas stretching from Central Europe to Egypt and Assyria. It might also be questioned whether the fact that the entrance is in the long or in the short side or in the corner is so important that any conclusions as to ethnic or cultural relationship can be drawn. The best answer to these questions seems to me the following. First, we must distinguish between humble dwellings in minor villages and well developed types of higher standard as we find them in Mesopotamia. In the first case, the shape of the room and the location of the door might depend on individual or utilitarian grounds. In the primitive village of Dullenried in southwestern Germany dating from about 3000 B. C., we find for example side by side houses with the entrance in the shorter side, near the center of the longer side, close to the end of the longer side and with an entrance in either of the shorter sides.<sup>68</sup> Of two early houses at Megiddo consisting of a rectangular room and an adjoining apsidal room, the one has the entrance in the long and the other in the short side;<sup>69</sup> the reason is that they are located on an open square, but one facing it with the long side and the other with the short side, as the configuration of the ground demanded. Lack of space seems to be the reason that the temple of Ea at Khorsabad is of the around-the-corner type and not of the long type as all the others in the complex.<sup>70</sup> A predilection for one of the possible types is, on the other hand, apparent even in neolithic settlements, as the subsequent villages in the "Federsmoor"<sup>71</sup> or at Jericho<sup>72</sup> prove; in the latter place we find the following

<sup>66</sup> Flinders Petrie, *Abydos* 2 (1903) pl. 50; F. W. von Bissing, *Aegypt. Kunstgeschichte* (1934) 32 fig. 221.

<sup>67</sup> G. Maspéro, *Manual of Egypt. Archaeology* 85 ff.; G. Leroux, *Les Origines de l'Édifice hypostyle (Origines)* (1913) 141 ff.; E. B. Smith, *Egyptian Architecture* (1938) pls. 12, 33, 38, 43, 51, 52, 56, 59, 61, 62.

<sup>68</sup> H. Reinerth, *Das Federseemoor* (1936) 59 ff.

<sup>69</sup> R. Engberg and G. Shipton *SAOC* 10 (1934) fig. 2.

<sup>70</sup> G. Loud, *Khorsabad* I. 88, 108 f.

<sup>71</sup> H. Reinerth, *op. cit.* 56 ff.

<sup>72</sup> *Syria* 16 (1935) 354 ff.



sequence from the bottom upwards: rectangular houses (6 x 4 m and 5 x 6 m), curved ones and square ones (4 x 4 m).

Purposeful choice of a definite type is beyond question in higher civilization; in Greece, temples differing from the megaron-type are exceptional as are temples with the broad room in Assyria, whereas all the temples of Babylon of Nebuchadnezzar's time show this broad room. On account of these facts there cannot be any doubt that the orientation of the room is of importance and that the location of the door is due to a particular feeling of space revealing a specific mentality. It is a totally different impression which we get when on entering the room, we see the cult image directly ahead of us, but at the back wall, so that we must cross a considerable distance to stand in front of it; or whether it is close to us, as in the broad room; then there is considerable space to our left and our right in such a broad room, whereas the walls of the Greek megaron are close to our sides and the only free space left ahead of us draws us forward.<sup>73</sup> I ask my readers to compare the impressions they had when they entered a Christian church through the short side and saw the altar far in the background, with those experienced at the sight of the Lincoln Memorial at Washington, which is a broad room, although not a simple one because of the two aisles separated by columns from the center. In the around-the-corner type, we find a solid wall in front of us and at our right side; we thus feel compelled to make a turn to the free space at our left and now discover the cult image in the distance at the back wall which is thereby carefully hidden from any onlooker outside.

We may now undertake to find the centers of origin for the various types. It is clear, after what has been said before, that all statements will be proffered as hypotheses only and with the greatest reservation.

We must first discuss another type which occurs in the East besides those we have already mentioned, although it is less frequent. I refer to the square room. We may begin with Egypt, where it is frequently found in temples and houses, but associated with other rooms, the most common combination being that of a broad room followed by a square room.<sup>74</sup> It cannot be determined,

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<sup>73</sup> Cf. Schweitzer in *Handbuch d. Archæologie* 1 (1939) 376.

<sup>74</sup> L. Borchardt, *Zeit. Bauwesen* 66 (1916) 509 ff.; H. Schaefer u. W. Andrae, *Kunstl. Alt. Orients* 53, 81, 97; H. Rieke, *Der Grundriss d. Amarna Wohnhauses* 24 ff.



however, whether this incorporated square room goes back to an original square type used as a single unit or is derived from the long type by shortening, because we find the early examples of the broad room followed by long and not by square rooms.<sup>75</sup> Going over to the Aegean area, we find the square type occurring in the Helladic civilization, as Valmin has pointed out.<sup>76</sup> We may look to Anatolia for its origin, inasmuch as it does not belong to the culture complex connected with the Greeks, but to that which has Anatolian affinities.<sup>77</sup> Indeed, we find the square type in Anatolia in spite of the fact that so little excavating has been done there. Examples have turned up in Alishar and at Boghazkeui, dating from the second millennium<sup>78</sup> and from Caria which date from the first.<sup>79</sup> It is also found in Persia: in the earliest settlements at Tepe Hissar from the fourth millennium, in Susa where building is datable to the twelfth century;<sup>80</sup> the other examples are Achaemenian, namely the tower-like tombs at Parsargadae and Naqsh-i-Rustam, the central rooms in the palaces at Persepolis and the fire-temple at Susa; the later fire-temples are likewise square.<sup>81</sup>

Square rooms are very rare in Mesopotamia. It is doubtful, moreover, whether the square shape is intentional or merely due to the lack of space. Secondary rooms which are square or nearly square cannot, therefore, be counted as falling into our category of intentional square rooms. Even the few examples of important rooms seem to owe their shape to the fact that there was not enough

<sup>75</sup> Leroux, *Origines* 140 ff.

<sup>76</sup> *Ärsberättelse Lund* 1934-5. 2, 24. Cf. C. Blegen, *Zygouries* (1928) 10 fig. 9; H. Goldman, *Excavations at Eutresis* (1931) 73; A. Wace and M. Thompson, *Prehistoric Thessaly* (1912) 6.

<sup>77</sup> Haley and Blegen, *AJA* 32 (1928) 141 ff.; F. Matz, *ZEtn* 66 (1934) 426; S. Fuchs, *Die griech. Fundgruppen d. frühen Bronzezeit* (1937) 25 ff.

<sup>78</sup> H. v. d. Osten, *OIP* 29 (1937) figs. 35, 348, 383; *OIP* 30 (1937) fig. 7; Bittel, *Abh. Preuss. Ak. Wiss. Phil.-Hist. Kl.* 1935. 2, 8; id. *MDOG* 75 (1937) 19.

<sup>79</sup> *BCH* 60 (1936) 300 fig. 13; *Annuario Sc. It. Atene* 4-5 (1921-2) 442 fig. 49. The temple at Muzazir may have been square, if the interpretation of the roof as pyramidal is correct: Leroux, *Origines* 173. I am unable to accept Herzfeld's ideas: *Arch. History of Iran* (1935) 14 f.

<sup>80</sup> E. Schmidt, *Tepe Hissar* (1937) 27, 38 fig. 63; J. de Morgan, *Dél. en Perse. Mem.* 8 (1905) 34 f.

<sup>81</sup> Perrot-Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, 5. 507 ff. 706 ff.; Wachsmuth, *Raum* 103 ff.; Herzfeld, *op. cit.* 66; Godard, *Athar-E-Iran* 3.



space for an elongated one: so the reception room (7) in the tomb of the third dynasty at Ur and that room in the temple of Ningal at Ur which is located close to the center and flanked by two smaller rooms.<sup>82</sup> Even these rooms are not mathematically square; this holds also for rooms in the early temples at Uruk, in the White Temple and in building D.<sup>83</sup> Going west again, we find the square type represented by a chapel in Carchemish dating from the "Late Hittite" period and by Nabataean temples, the latter being very late and related to the Persian examples.<sup>84</sup> That the type is much earlier, however, is proved by its occurrence in Jericho in the Early Bronze stratum.<sup>85</sup> Other examples are later and fill the gap: buildings at Tell Beit Mirsim, at Tell Taanach, and on Cyprus.<sup>86</sup>

The square type is certainly a very simple one and has its origin in remote times, of which we know almost nothing. We shall not deal, therefore, with the possible development from a circular type.<sup>87</sup> We may also omit the examples occurring in Europe in earlier and in later times,<sup>88</sup> and restrict ourselves to the Near East. It is doubtless a very ancient type here, as its occurrence since the fourth millennium proves. I look, therefore, to a center of distribution located in the Near East, contrary to my former opinion. Scanty as our material is, it seems to point, nevertheless, to the highlands stretching from Anatolia to Persia, as the original center. The arguments are the following: the Egyptian type seems to be of independent origin and for this reason does not count; the Greek examples have Anatolian affiliations; the Anatolian ones of the second millennium belong to average owners, who were most likely of native stock; the Achaemenian ones are pre-Persian too: the tower-type reproduces an old wooden type. The picture we get

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<sup>82</sup> Woolley, *Ant. J.* 11 (1931) 345 ff.; id. *Mus. J.* 22 (1931) 252 f.; id. *Sumerians* 153.

<sup>83</sup> 6 *Vorl. Ber. Uruk* 20 pl. 7.

<sup>84</sup> Woolley-Lawrence, *Carchemish* 1 (1914) Sketch plan; Oelmann, *Arch. Anz.* (1921) 237 ff.; Savignac and Horsfield, *Rev. Bibl.* 44 (1935) 244 ff.

<sup>85</sup> *Syria* 16 (1935) 354.

<sup>86</sup> Watzinger, *Denkmäler* 1. 57 fig. 6 pl. 9; Albright, *AASOR* 17 (1938) pls. 55 f.; Gjerstad, op. cit. 28; *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition* 3 (1937) 93 ff., pl. 8.

<sup>87</sup> Oelmann, *Haus u. Hof* 90 ff.; Bersu, *Germania* 21 (1937) 156.

<sup>88</sup> Richthofen, *Präh. Z.* 25 (1934) 188, 225; Ebert, *Reallexikon* 13. 57 ff.; Oelmann, *Germania* 17 (1933) 169 ff.; J. Strzygowski, *Alt slavische Kunst* (1929) 26 ff.; Thede Palm, *Alt wendische Kultstätten* (1937); V. Müller, *AJA* 36 (1932) 142.



from Palestine in later times is such that we see influences coming in from all sides; we are, therefore, hardly inclined to assume the creation of the type here.

We come back to the long room of which the earliest examples in the East are the amulet from Arpachiyah and the neolithic megaron from Jericho; both may be dated as early as the fifth millennium. The distribution in Mesopotamia suggested a northern origin, as we have seen. The tomb of Cyrus is much too late to play a rôle in the discussion; it might, nevertheless, be taken as proof that the Persians brought it from a center farther north.<sup>89</sup> Examples in Eastern Anatolia are not numerous. A building in Tarsus dating from the early Bronze Age seems to be of the tripartite liwan type.<sup>90</sup> A later and certain example is the chief room in temple V at Boghazkeui.<sup>91</sup> The long rooms in Western Anatolia are earlier and more numerous, occurring in Lesbos and Troy I, here in the developed form of the megaron, that is with a porch.<sup>92</sup> They are found in great number in Greece—the earliest coming from neolithic Thessaly—in Macedonia, Thrace and then farther west as far as Germany.<sup>93</sup> Although the earliest of them—Troy and Lesbos—are datable about 3000 and are thus considerably later than the Eastern ones, a derivation from the East seems unlikely, because the native types of the highlands seem to be the square type, as pointed out, and the agglomeration type. The latter consists of two or more rooms of different sizes which have the doors where they are most convenient and thus indiscriminately in the shorter or longer sides, so that we cannot speak of fixed long or broad rooms. Early examples from Persia are found in Persepolis and Tepe Hissar and from Anatolia in Alishar and Bogazkeui.<sup>94</sup> In case we assume a connection between the Western and the Eastern

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<sup>89</sup> Herzfeld, *Iran. Felsreliefs* (1910) 177 f.

<sup>90</sup> Goldmann, *AJA* 44 (1940) 61 ff.

<sup>91</sup> K. Bittel, *Die Ruinen von Boğazköy* (1937) 61 f.

<sup>92</sup> Blegen, *AJA* 41 (1937) 18 ff.; W. Lamb, *Excavations at Thermi* (1936) 211 f.

<sup>93</sup> G. Childe, *Dawn of European Civilization* (1939) (*Dawn*) 61, 76, 122, 131, 323; D. S. Robertson, *Handbook of Greek and Roman Architecture* (1929) 21 ff.; Heurtley, *Prehistoric Macedonia* (1939) 47; V. Müller, *AM* 42 (1917) 140 ff.; Reinerth, op. cit. 74 ff.; W. Radig, *D. Wohnbau i. jungsteinzeitl. Deutschland* (1930) 66 ff. 89.

<sup>94</sup> E. Schmidt, *Tepe Hissar* 27, 29, 31; id. *OIC* 21 (1939) 121; Andrae in *Handbuch d. Archäologie* 1 pl. 115, 2; H. v. d. Osten, *OIP* 30 fig. 36; Bittel, *Abh. Preuss. Ak. Wiss. Phil.-Hist. Kl.* 1938 1. 41, 43 pls. 1, 6, 9.



long rooms, a common source in European Russia or the adjoining Eastern lowlands is most likely. A long room has indeed been discovered in Timonovka in Russia;<sup>95</sup> it is the oldest ever found and dates from upper palaeolithic times. The assumption seems bold, but it can be ventured that this old example is close to the original center.

The long type spread from this center into the Near East probably in several waves (Pl. 1): the Cassites seem to have introduced it anew, as did also the Indo-Aryan Persians. Similarly, the examples in Syria and Palestine do not seem to have developed from a single prototype on the spot; there is hardly a connection between the prehistoric types and those beginning about 2000.

By its spread the long type was subjected to various influences causing various modifications. The roof became flat in arid, and pitched in moist climates.<sup>96</sup> That such alteration of the roof does not affect the type is clearly shown by the Greek megaron: it was introduced as a house with pitched roof into Greece by the immigrants of the early second millennium; some time afterwards the native flat roof was used for the type of the Mycenaean palace, which is derivative of the original type. The Dorians brought the pitched roof into Greece a second time; the later canonical type of the temple combined both the flat and the pitched roof. In severe climates the simple closed room was preferred, exemplified by the tomb of Cyrus; in most favorable climates a porch was added as in Troy, Greece, and parts of Europe; in warmer climates, the whole side with the entrance was left open and the liwan originated.<sup>97</sup> As civilization progressed and the need for more rooms grew, the long room was subdivided cross-wise and a backroom was added or two or more rooms were put side by side, the first development being characteristic of Europe, the second of the Orient. Here blocks of two or more liwans are found in Zenjirli, Gerar, Tell en Nasbeh and later at Hatra.<sup>98</sup> The tripartite arrangement is often symmetrical with a larger room in the center and two subordinate

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<sup>95</sup> E. Golomshtok, *TAPS* N. S. 29, 2 Nr. 3 (1938) 399 ff.

<sup>96</sup> About the influence of the climate cf. Oelmann, *Haus u. Hof* 6; Th. Busink, *Prothuron* (1936) 5 ff.

<sup>97</sup> Oelmann's different opinion is not corroborated by the finds: *Haus u. Hof* 56 ff. 63 f. The Mesopotamian reed huts are not primeval, but were preceded by differently constructed huts elsewhere.

<sup>98</sup> Leroux, *Origines* 96 f.; Oelmann, *Haus u. Hof* 66 ff. 82.



flanking rooms. A related, but a little more sophisticated type is that at Tepe Gawra with two projecting wings. This principle of symmetry seems to be Asianic on the following grounds: aesthetic principles are easily recognizable in the decorative arts; the symmetrical one manifests itself best in the antithetical group; the antithetical group is widely found on Asianic monuments; furthermore, the antithetical group is a closed composition; the closed composition seems to be typical of Anatolia, which is Asianic and seems to have spread from there to Greece and elsewhere.<sup>99</sup> The closed composition is also specifically appropriate for stamp seals; we may better say: stamp seals and closed composition are based on the same principle of the closed field; the stamp seal is most frequent in the highlands, whereas the cylinder seal for which the endless frieze is appropriate is typically Mesopotamian, although both types overlap territorially. We thus conclude: the principle of symmetry is Asianic. The presence of "Asianics" in northern Syria and Assyria is proved beyond doubt.<sup>100</sup>

The original long room is highly "individualistic," being largely used as an isolated building, especially so in Europe (witness the Greek temple, but also the three megara in Troy II which are located side by side, each being complete and having its own walls).<sup>101</sup> The agglomeration of a number of rooms to form a block as in Zenjirli seems to be Asianic once more, as was pointed out. At Zenjirli and Tepe Gawra, however, the block of rooms remains isolated. But the long room was also fated to be incorporated into a larger unit, namely into the central-court type. Examples are the central complex in the north side of the large "temple complex" at Ischchali and the Assyrian temples at Khorsabad.

Koldewey has proffered a very ingenious hypothesis about the origin of this central court type.<sup>102</sup> First, an open space is enclosed by a fence to contain a shelter for the dwelling and to protect the property and the animals. As more closed space for living or storage is needed, other rooms are added to the original shelter in

<sup>99</sup> V. Müller, *Präh. Z.* 19 (1928) 385 ff.; E. Kunze, *Altkretische Bronze-reliefs* (1931) 178 ff.

<sup>100</sup> E. A. Speiser, *Mesopotamian Origins* 155 ff.; id. *BASOR* 13 (1933) 13 ff.; C. U. A. Kappers, *An Introduction to the Anthropology of the Near East* (1934) 22 f.; Honigmann, *Realencycl. Kl. Alt.* 4 A, 2. 1565 f.

<sup>101</sup> Childe, *Dawn* 39.

<sup>102</sup> *Tempel v. Babylon u. Borsippa* (1911) 14 f.



such a manner that they form a ring along the fence with the center left open. Mohammed's house at Medineh shows this development nicely, containing as it does first three isolated complexes growing into a continuous ring of rooms around the four walls, as the number of the followers and wives are increased.<sup>103</sup> Koldewey's theory which sounds very plausible has been corroborated by the newly found houses of Redau Sherqi.<sup>104</sup> Now, the idea of enclosure seems to us so simple that we are inclined to assume that it might have originated independently in many places. If we study the material, however, we see that many early settlements are without any enclosing wall. No traces of such walls are reported, for instance, for the primitive settlements in the Fayum and at Merimde-Benisalame in the Delta, nor for Teleilat Ghassul.<sup>105</sup> The same is true of Europe; none of the many villages of the Stone Age around the Federsee in southern Germany had any enclosing wall, which feature appeared here first in the later Bronze Age.<sup>106</sup> In this case, too, the Orient seems to have furnished the idea to Europe, because the Oriental examples are earlier; the Temple Oval at Khafaje dates from the Early Dynastic period, but the idea must be much earlier, if we accept Koldewey's idea that the central-court type is derived from such original enclosing walls; the earliest examples of it occur in stratum XVI at Mersin and in stratum XV at Tepe Gawra, both dating from the Tell Halaf period, somewhat later ones being the early temples at Uruk, in the event that they show the influence of the central court.<sup>107</sup> It seems that highlanders once more played an important part. In a mountainous country with plenty of stone available, the idea obtrudes itself to surround the settlement on a hilltop with an enclosing wall. When such highlanders settled in an open country like Mesopotamia, they retained the custom which gave them such good protection against the marauding beduin. Then with the rise

<sup>103</sup> Cf. H. Thiersch, *Pharos* (1909) 228.

<sup>104</sup> 9 *Vorl. Ber. Uruk* (1938) 36 pl. 9.

<sup>105</sup> G. Caton-Thompson, *The Desert Fayum* (1934) 89 ff.; Menghin in *Proc. I. Congr. Preh. Sc.* 177 ff.; Mallon, *Teleilat Ghassul* 33.

<sup>106</sup> Reinerth, *Federseemoor* 55 ff.; other examples are earlier, but not before 3000 B. C.

<sup>107</sup> Frankfort, *OIC* 16.62 ff.; *OIC* 19.32 f.; Lloyd, *Mesopotamia* pl. 4; Garstang, *Liv. Ann.* 26 (1939) 42; we must bear in mind that Cilicia has closer connections with Syria than with the rest of Anatolia in many periods.



of a higher and more sophisticated civilization, the central court was developed. There is no doubt that the latter development took place in Mesopotamia and spread from there to Anatolia, Palestine and Crete, as I have pointed out elsewhere.<sup>108</sup>

We now take up the around-the-corner type (Pl. 2). Andrae declared it to be northern and originating in the highlands. His reasons were that it occurs in northern Mesopotamia and that the special location of the entrance is due to a northern climate for which it is appropriate to keep the hearth as far as possible from the door. There are objections to this theory: first, a hearth is nowhere found in Assyria, but only in Zenjerli; it might, therefore, be a later addition and not obligatory in the original type.<sup>109</sup> Second: when Andrae proposed his theory, the geographical distribution was such that the type seemed to belong to the north; at present, however, we see that the long room has the best claims to being northern and that the around-the-corner type is frequent also in southern Mesopotamia. But we must consider also the occurrences of the latter outside Mesopotamia. It is found in Anatolia; the chief rooms in most of the temples at Boghazkeui might be interpreted as such, since they have the image at the short back wall and the entrance in the corner of one of the long walls;<sup>110</sup> some of the Paphlagonian tombs of the first half of the first millennium show the entrance in one of the long sides, mostly close to the corner, and a little niche in the distant short side.<sup>111</sup> The type occurs also in the Aegean area,<sup>112</sup> and in Egypt (where it is attested by a hieroglyphic sign), a house at Ma'adi, an early house model from El Amrah, and the palaces of the second dynasty

<sup>108</sup> Cf. Delougaz *SAOC* 7 (1933) 30; V. Müller, *AM* 42 (1917) 101 ff., 109 ff.; id. *AJA* 36 (1932) 409 f.; 37 (1933) 599 f.

<sup>109</sup> Cf. Reuther's objections in *OLZ* (1937) 164. The hearth is often close to the door in houses of the real North: H. Shetelig and H. Falk, *Scandinavian Archaeology* (1937) 318; cf. H. Hansen, *Early Civilization in Thessaly* (1933) 64 f. and *Ipek* 1934. 170.

<sup>110</sup> V. Müller, *AM* 42 (1917) 136 ff.; the reader will realize that I changed my opinion about this and some other features; Bittel, *op. cit.* 47, 60 f.; cf. also the buildings. Puchstein, *Boghazköi* 96 pl. 33 and *MDOG* 75 (1937) 3.

<sup>111</sup> R. Leonhard, *Paphlagonia* (1915) 258, 265, 271.

<sup>112</sup> Leroux, *Origines* 104 f.; Dawkins *BSA* 11 (1904-5) 263, 270 fig. 4 Nr. 2; C. Blegen, *Korakou* (1921) 76 f. fig. 110; Jannoray, *BCH* 61 (1937) 315 f. fig. 15; Rhomaïos, *Arch Delt* 1 (1915) 231, 240 f.; Buschor, *AM* 55 (1930) 16 f.



at Abydos.<sup>113</sup> Going north from Egypt, we encounter the type in Teleilat Ghassul, in the Early Bronze layer of Jericho, at Beit Mirsim and Garizim dating from the Middle Bronze Age, and at Rabbath Ammon datable to the Early Iron Age.<sup>114</sup> Going north we find the type at Ras Shamra, where the temple of Ba'al is an oblong room with the entrance in the long side and a podium close to one of the short sides.<sup>115</sup> From here the examples at Zenjirli, Sakje-Geuzi, and Tell Halaf<sup>116</sup> lead us back to Mesopotamia.

This survey proves the wide distribution of the around-the-corner type. Does it allow any conclusion as to center of its origin? It might seem at first glance that its occurrence coincides with that of the long type and that, therefore, a northern origin would likewise be possible; the southernmost examples in Egypt and Palestine could be explained in the same way, namely as northern intrusions. But there are differences: the long type is more frequent in the northern parts of Mesopotamia and the Aegean; furthermore, its migration from north to south is beyond doubt in the Aegean, if not in Mesopotamia. A northern origin for it is, therefore, most probable. As to the around-the-corner type, on the other hand, such increased frequency in the northern regions cannot be claimed, even if we are cautious and take into account the haphazard nature of our material. It is thus justifiable to say: a northern origin could be assumed only if strong reasons demand it. Such strong reasons are lacking, however, and there is, on the other hand, an inner argument against northern origin, namely the fact that the type is closely connected in Aššur with the Semitic Ishtar<sup>117</sup> and that it is frequent in Akkadian territory itself in early times.

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<sup>113</sup> Leroux, *Origines* 135 f.; F. Griffith, *Hieroglyphs* (1898) Nr. 30, 146; Menghin, *Cair M* 5 (1934) 111 f.; Randall MacIver, *El Amrah and Abydos* (1899) 42 pl. 10 Nr. 1-2; Ayrton, Currelly, Weigall, *Abydos* 3 (1904) pl. 5-8; v. Bissing, op. cit. 17, 45 f. 242; C. Schuchhardt, *Die Burg i. Wandel d. Weltgeschichte* (1931) (Burg) 4.

<sup>114</sup> A. Mallon, *Teleilat Ghassul* 1 (1934) 33; R. Koepfel 2 (1940) 12, 38; Garstang, *Liv. Ann.* 23 (1936) 73 pl. 41a; Albright, *AASOR* 17 (1938) 20, 32 pls. 50, 56; I explain the curious plans of the houses pl. 50 by assuming that S 4 D is "ideally" a small room the front wall of which has been omitted; Watzinger, *Denkmäler* 23 f. fig. 11, 69 fig. 25; Glueck, *AASOR* 18-9 (1939) 247.

<sup>115</sup> Schaffer, *Syria* 12 (1931) 8 f., 14 (1933) 122, 19 (1938) 318 pl. 35.

<sup>116</sup> Oelmann, *Bonn. Jahrb.* 127 (1922) 189 ff.; Wachsmuth, *Raum* 76 ff.; M. v. Oppenheim, *Tell Halaf*, 79 ff.; Weidhaas, *ZA NF* 11 (1939) 159 ff.

<sup>117</sup> G. A. Barton, *Semitic and Hamitic Origins* (1934) 29, 65.



Scholars may disagree as to whether the center from which the Semites spread is to be looked for in northern Syria or in Arabia, but it is certain that this center was not in the north during the times with which we are concerned.<sup>118</sup> It would be unjustifiable, on the other hand, to ascribe the type solely to the Semites, since it can hardly be proved that they settled in Crete in neolithic times. The distribution of the type can best be explained by assuming it to be original in the East Mediterranean area, which includes Anatolia and the regions along the sea south as far as Egypt. It might have been introduced into Mesopotamia by the Semites. The original around-the-corner type is an isolated unit. If more space is needed, the procedure differs from that used for the liwan in which two or three units are put together. The around-the-corner type is enlarged by subdivision or addition of secondary rooms, the original room always remaining the most important and dominating one. There are a number of possibilities for such enlargement. A small room at the short side distant from the door might be cut off or added, as at Teleilāt Ghassūl, and at Aššur. At the latter place, other rooms are added at the other short wall and at the long wall, examples being found in the consecutive temples of Ishtar, and for rooms along the long wall only at Beit Mirsim. An anteroom also can be added. Of such there seem to be two types: that with a winding entrance, exemplified by the earliest temple of Abu at Tell Asmar, and another type in which the anteroom is parallel: Tepe Gawra XIII, second stage of the Sin Temple at Khafaji, and the temple of Ishtar dating from the time of Tukulti Ninurta I in Aššur. This anteroom is a closed room in Mesopotamia because of the rare use of columns. In the west, on the other hand, a colonnaded porch is favored, as in Paphlagonia, at the Tell Halaf, and at Zenjirli. In the latter two places a further addition are the towers and the flight of steps at the façade. Both features occur, however, at Aššur too, although in a rudimentary form: temple of Ishtar E. Colonnaded porches are common in Anatolia as well as in Egypt.<sup>119</sup> Whether there is a connection is hard to say; the examples in Zenjirli and Tell Halaf certainly go together with the Anatolian examples. The tower is an ancient feature in

<sup>118</sup> Cf. Frankfort, *Antiqu.* 8 (1928) 226 ff.; A. Montgomery, *Arabia and the Bible* (1934) 1 ff.; Barton, *op. cit.* 4 ff.; G. Contenau, *Manuel d'Arch. Or.* 1 (1927) 122 ff.; Schott, *Festschrift f. H. Hirt* 1 (1936) 95; Keith in H. Field, *Arabs of Central Iraq* (1935) 75.

<sup>119</sup> Leroux, *Origines* 139 ff.; Weidhaas, *ZA NF* 11 (1939) 143 ff.



the lands along the Mediterranean shore. The independent "Migdol" is already found in Egypt in the third millennium;<sup>120</sup> the tower is incorporated in the houses at Rabbath Ammon certainly for defensive purposes, and the same is true for the towers at Tell Halaf and Zenzirli; it is used at the latter place not only in the around-the-corner type, but also for the liwan, thus proving its original independence. The origin of this tower is a problem which cannot be solved at present. The origin in Egypt, as assumed by Schuchhardt, does not seem likely. Examples of a flight of steps are too rare and scattered over too large an area for a decision to be made about the center of origin, assuming that there was one. They occur also at Kish, at Mari, on Cyprus, and in Crete.<sup>121</sup> It is likewise better to leave open the question whether steps leading up to a throne or the podium of the cult image are related to the steps in front of entrances; we find such steps in Egypt, in Palestine, in Assyria, at Tell Asmar, and in Phrygia, to cite some examples.<sup>122</sup> I shall not be surprised, however, if this feature turns out to have come from the highlands and to be connected with the motive of the terrace, the Ziggurat, and the enigmatic steps on mountains in Anatolia.<sup>123</sup> One element, on the other hand, can be traced back to its source with certainty, namely the symmetrical arrangement of the two towers flanking the porch in the developed "Hilani." We have shown above that this principle of symmetry is Asianic. It follows from the foregoing discussion that it is rather

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<sup>120</sup> Schuchhardt, *Burg* 6; Evans, *Palace of Minos* 2 (1928) 133, 139, 299.

<sup>121</sup> E. Mackay. Rep. on the *Excavations of the 'A' Cemetery at Kish* (1925-9) 91 pls. 22, 24 f.; Parrot, *Syria* 18 (1937) 69 pl. 8; V. Müller, *AJA* 36 (1932) 412 f.

<sup>122</sup> J. Capart, *Primitive Art in Egypt* (1905) 249 fig. 187; C. Firth and J. E. Quibell, *The Step Pyramid* 1 (1935) pl. 63; *Fouilles Inst. Franç. Du Caire* 2 *Deir el Medineh* (1923-4) pl. 29; S. A. Cook, *Religion of Anc. Palestine* (1930) 25; A. T. Olmstead, *Hist. Pal. Syria* (1931) 157 fig. 77; Dougherty, *AASOR* 5 (1923-4) 63 fig. 19; Andrae, *Gotteshaus* 22; Loud, *Khorsabad* 114 ff.; Frankfort, *OIO* 17.43 fig. 38; Perrot-Chipiez, op. cit. 5. 147 ff.

<sup>123</sup> Perrot-Chipiez, op. cit. 2. 142, 410; 3. 246; H. May, *OIP* 26 (1935) pl. 4; S. Lloyd, *Mesopotamia*, pl. 4; E. Heinrich, *Schilf und Lehm* 27, fig. 11; Andrae, *Gotteshaus* 2 ff.; Leonard, *Paphlagonia* 233 f.; a different opinion is expressed by Oelmann, *Haus und Hof* 14 f. There is a difference whether the terrace has the purely practical purpose to raise the building above the damp ground or whether it is a high structure conspicuous by itself. Cf. R. de Mequenem, *Gaz. Beaux Arts* 18, Nov. 1937, 201 ff.



hazardous to call the Tell Halaf-Zenjirli type Mitannian,<sup>124</sup> since nearly all elements had been common to western Asia for a long time and since the dating the Tell Halaf buildings from the time of the Mitanni is by no means certain.<sup>125</sup> It is not untenable, on the other hand, that this special sub-type was created in the kingdom of the Mitanni from various elements, the Aryan Mitanni rulers being responsible only for giving the order to native architects.

The isolation of the type persists in all afore-mentioned examples in spite of all variations. There is no lower time limit for it in the western parts of Asia, since the type is taken up by the Christian church, as R. Bernheimer has shown.<sup>126</sup> The time limit for Assyria seems to be the end of the second millennium,<sup>127</sup> although this is a conclusion *e silentio* only. For the more southern part of Mesopotamia a still higher time limit must be assumed. The development is exemplified by the temple of Abu at Tell Asmar; the earliest shrines are isolated units, whereas the square temples dating from the second phase of the Early Dynastic period incorporated the type into a larger unit with a central room. An earlier stage is preserved in the Sin Temple VI at Khafaje, which shows rooms at one side of the court only.<sup>128</sup> The around-the-corner type thus had the same fate as the long type which we discussed above. It is unnecessary to assume that the incorporation of the around-the-corner type took place only once; on the contrary, the isolated type and transformed type may have survived for some time and there might also have been regional differences, the Akkadian territory for instance preserving the earlier type for a longer time. It is idle, however, to speculate about these problems since our material is wholly insufficient.

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<sup>124</sup> Wachsmuth, *Anch. Jahrb.* 46 (1931) 32 ff.; A. Götze, *Hethiter Churriter u. Assyrer* (1936) 110, 182; E. Unger, *Altindogerm. Kulturgut in Nordmesopotamien* (1938) 6; Weidhaas, *op. cit.* 159.

<sup>125</sup> V. Bissing, *AfO* 6 (1930-1) 178 f.; Christian, *ibid.* 9 (1933-4) 14 ff.; Meissner, *ibid.* Beiband 1. 71 ff.; the author accepts the later date.

<sup>126</sup> *AJA* 43 (1939) 647 ff.; late examples: Watzinger, *Denkmäler* 2 (1935) figs. 37 f. 48.

<sup>127</sup> Martiny, *Gegensätze* 37.

<sup>128</sup> It does not matter that the central court seems to have been covered in the houses at Tell Asmar according to Frankfort (*OIC* 17.16); the type is the same. A different type in Aššur has the central court put behind the around-the-corner room: Andrae, *D. wiedererstandene Assur* (1938) 81.



The reason for the adoption of the around-the-corner type seems to have been to secure privacy. By shifting the door to the corner, a place remote from it, and thus secluded, is produced: anybody passing by and looking through the door sees a blank wall opposite and not the remote and inviting corner; and people in this corner cannot see outside, but feel secluded.<sup>129</sup> The stress laid on seclusion in house types is so common in the Orient that it is hardly necessary to dwell on it. The winding entrance is characteristic of both Mesopotamia and Egypt; the cult image is removed for the main entrance in the Egyptian temple by arranging courtyards and rooms between it and the holy of holies; the courtyards may even be doubled, as in Egypt (although here perhaps for reasons of greater splendor only) and Asia, examples being the temple at Jerusalem, the temple of Aššur at Aššur and, later, the temple of Jupiter Heliopolitanus at Baalbek.<sup>130</sup>

An attitude that is the very opposite of seclusion is characteristic of the broad room. The cult image or throne is seen from without and the two short sides are not so far from the door that they give real privacy. That the location of the cult image in the axis of the door is of paramount importance, is shown by those examples in which the door is shifted a little from the center and the niche for the image still is in axis.<sup>131</sup> Since symmetry, however, is found in so many instances, this principle too must be of outstanding importance. Moreover, the fact that the type is mostly used for ceremonial rooms, that is, cult rooms, reception rooms, and throne rooms, whereas many of the secondary rooms in the same buildings follow the around-the-corner type, confirms the importance of symmetry, since it is clear that a ceremony gains in display and dignity if the display is symmetrical. These arguments lead us to the assumption that symmetry might be responsible for the origin of the type. Although I thought for a long time that the around-the-corner type was a hybrid product produced by the mixture of the broad and the long types, I now propose to consider both the long and the around-the-corner types as original and to explain the broad type as originating from a fusion of the long and the

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<sup>129</sup> The seclusion is enhanced if the short wall is elongated and curved around the door, as in some examples from Crete and Egypt.

<sup>130</sup> Möhlenbrink, *op. cit.* 51 f.; Schwenzner, *AfO* 7 (1931-2) 239 ff.; Th. Wiegand, *Baalbek* 1 (1921) pl. 14.

<sup>131</sup> Uruk, Building B = 6 *Vorl. Bericht* pl. 7; *ibid.* Tieftempel = 3 *Bericht* 15; Koldewey, *Babylon* 56, 230.



around-the-corner types; the around-the-corner type was changed by shifting the door to the center to produce symmetry and by shifting the cult place opposite it to make it visible from without, as it is in the long type.

How early this blending took place, we do not yet know because of lack of material; the earliest examples come from the prehistoric temples at Uruk; they are already combined with the court type, and it may be that they originated with it, since the examples of isolated broad rooms are rare and may be later products for individual reasons. The special history of the type, namely increase in frequency and addition of an anteroom, has been discussed sufficiently. I should like to assume that the same development took place in Palestine, Egypt, and Greece. In Egypt the broad room was known at the beginning of the Dynastic period, as its hieroglyphic use shows.<sup>132</sup> Is this change due to the Asianic influence at the end of the Predynastic period?

The results for Mesopotamian architecture and history are the following: The original types come from two regions, namely from the highlands and the lowlands, so to speak. From the highlands or by way of them came the long type, the idea of the circular enclosure and the predilection for symmetry; and from the lowlands, the around-the-corner type. Both types persisted as such, although not permanently and not for the same length of time in the north and the south, whereas the broad type won superiority in the south only. The creative strength of fusion is, nevertheless, well demonstrated.

These results seem to be in keeping with former results. The rôle which the highlanders played in the creation of Mesopotamian civilization is more and more recognized. Speiser and others have shown it on linguistic grounds; it becomes increasingly more certain that agriculture and metallurgy, too, originated in the highlands; even the domestication of animals seems to have been accomplished north of Mesopotamia.<sup>133</sup> If Childe, on the other hand, is right in that the higher standard in metallurgy and civilization developed in Mesopotamia and not in the highlands, our assumption of the creation of the central court type and the broad room would support such views. That Mesopotamian sculpture and the

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<sup>132</sup> Dussaud, *Syria* (1935) 349; Watzinger, *Denkmäler* 2. figs. 17, 31; Leroux, *Origines* 135; Griffith, op. cit. Nr. 193; C. Weikert, *Typen d. arch. Architectur i. Griechenland u. Kleinasien* (1929) 66 ff.; V. Müller, *AJA* 36 (1932) 409; 37 (1933) 600.



decorative arts likewise originated from the fusion of principles coming from the highlands and lowlands, can also be demonstrated, as I expect to show elsewhere.

With regard to the solution of the problem as to who settled in Mesopotamia first, the highlanders or the lowlanders, our special subject cannot contribute much, since the beginnings of architecture in Mesopotamia are still too obscure. The geographic conditions demand in my opinion the assumption that both groups lived and mingled there from earliest times. I cannot but imagine that, as soon as the country became inhabited, tribes from all sides pushed into it. Later waves followed in rhythmic intervals, as later history shows, so that the constitution of the population changed and that the proportion of the two groups varied.<sup>134</sup> It seems that a new great invasion of highlanders took place at the beginning of the Uruk and of the Early Dynastic period.<sup>135</sup> The forming of the broad room, therefore, may be attributed to the earlier invasion and their increase in frequency to the second. Likewise the frequency of the around-the-corner type in Tell Asmar is well explained by the fact that it occurs in Akkadian, that is Semitic, territory. But the continued increase of the broad room in frequency can also be substantiated by historical development. We find an increase of the Semitic element, it is true, but also a reaction of the Sumerian one in the so-called Neo-Sumerian period. Furthermore, after Mesopotamian civilization had been created, it became a new pattern superior to the original highland and lowland, or Asianic-Semitic patterns; such new patterns follow their own lines of development and display a certain resistance to influences; we know that in case of mixture, not all traits of the former constituents are preserved, but that some disappear, whereas others become dominant. The central court and the broad room may be such traits; they are certainly conspicuous and appropriate creations, so that their success is not surprising. A last point may be mentioned in conclusion: Assyrian civilization is often spoken of as having a strong highland ingredient; this fact is also supported by our analysis, if we are right in tracing the long type back to people coming across the highlands.

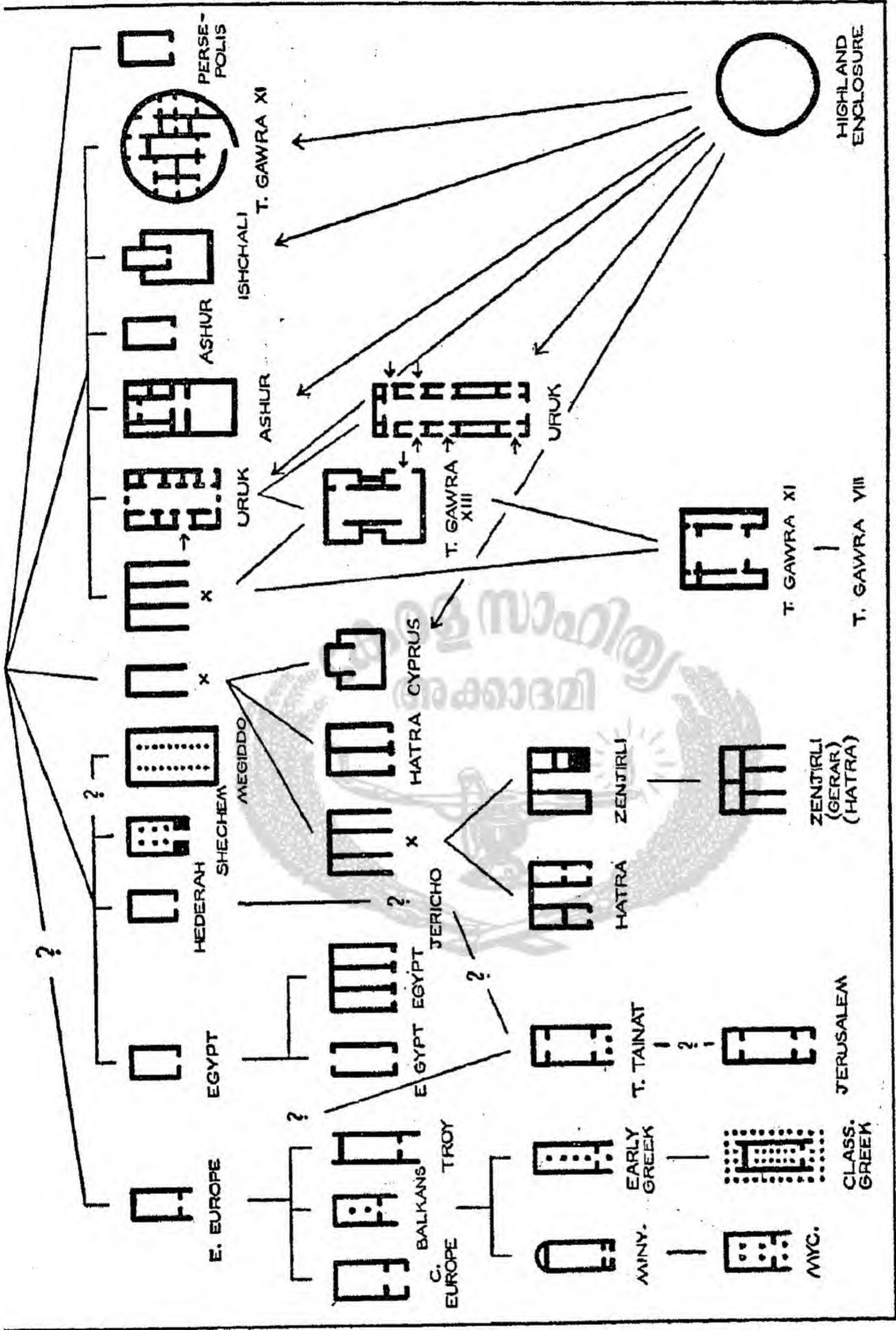
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<sup>133</sup> G. Childe, *Man Makes Himself* (1936) 75 ff. 130 ff.; Peake-Fleure, *Corridors of Time* 3 (1927) 16 ff. 29 ff.; Adametz, *ZfZüchtung* B. 31 (1934) 147 ff.; Frankfort, *SAOC* 4 (1932) 52 ff.

<sup>134</sup> G. Luckenbill, *AJSL* 40 (1923) 1 ff.; C. S. Coon, *Races of Europe* (1939) 87 f.

<sup>135</sup> Cf. V. Müller, *JAOS* 57 (1937) 84 f.





Not all examples mentioned in the text are reproduced. Complicated types are slightly schematized.  
? = affiliation doubtful. X = type postulated. ( ) = type related. → = side entrance.

PLATE I.







# THE LARYNGEAL HYPOTHESIS AND INDO-HITTITE, INDO-EUROPEAN VOCALISM

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IN A RECENT issue of *Classical Weekly*, vol. 33, pp. 134-7, Professor Sturtevant, who with his late colleague Sapir must rank as the chief exponent of the laryngeal hypothesis in this country, stressed the desirability, not of rewriting IE grammar in the light of Hethitology and the laryngeal hypothesis, but of tracing its evolution from an older IH and PIH phonology and morphology now beginning to be revealed to us. The present writers, as exceedingly late-comers to the laryngeal hypothesis, set out to attempt one sector of this field, the vocalism, achieving no more than a synthesis of existing opinions with some modifications, the examples being in the main drawn from previous work, many of them from Sturtevant himself. In the course of our attempt to renew and systematize the prehistory of IE vocalism, certain unanticipated inferences as to PIH syllabic structure, consonantism, etc., forced themselves upon us; these too we shall set forth briefly and dogmatically, offering a clear target for fire from any quarter, that the several doctrines of the laryngeal hypothesis as we conceive it may stand or fall according to their merits.

1. The vocalism of PIH is unknown. It may have been rich and variegated (although there is no reason to suppose that long vowels occurred), or it may have consisted in a single short vowel, presumably *e*; <sup>1</sup> but whether it was variegated or monotonous, the juxtaposition of certain inherited PIH consonants, so-called laryngeals, introduced a variegated vocalism in IH.

2. There were probably four <sup>2</sup> PIH laryngeals for which we may

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<sup>1</sup> For practical purposes it is convenient to use only the vowel *e* in writing PIH forms, whether or not this reflects the actual vocalism at that period.

<sup>2</sup> So Sapir, *Lang.* 15. 181-2, fn. 2 (1939) and Sturtevant (paper read Dec. 1939 at Philadelphia meeting of LSA), as also Gray, *Foundations of*



tentatively accept the symbols used by Sapir and Sturtevant, though we feel that their phonetic interpretation must be revised:

1. ', voiceless palatal<sup>a</sup> spirant.<sup>3</sup>
2. :, voiced velar spirant.<sup>b</sup>
3. x, voiceless velar spirant.
4. γ, voiced<sup>4</sup> palatal spirant.<sup>c</sup>
  - a. Sapir, "voiceless glottal stop with palatal coloring" (but how can the voiceless glottal stop have any coloring?).
  - b. Sapir, "voiceless glottal stop with velar coloring."
  - c. Sapir, "voiced velar spirant."

*Language*, p. 445 (1939), using symbols virtually identical with those of Cuny-Kuryłowicz. Möller, *Die Semitisch-vorindogermanischen laryngalen Konsonanten*, passim (1917), recognized five (!) laryngeals. Cuny, *Revue de phonétique*, 1912, p. 101-132, Kuryłowicz, *Études indoeuropéennes*, p. 30 (1935), and Couvreur, *De Hittitische H*, p. 295, 297 ff. (1937) only three (though Kuryłowicz, *l. c.*, does not entirely exclude the possibility of a fourth variety [= Sapir-Sturtevant :]; and the veteran Pedersen, in his latest work, *Hittitisch und die anderen indoeuropäischen Sprachen*, p. 180 (1938), like de Saussure himself (although with different distribution), only two, all with symbols as shown below:

S—S	de Sauss.	Möller <sup>a</sup>	Cuny	Kuryłowicz	Couvreur	Pedersen
1.	'	'A, h	ə <sub>1</sub>	ə <sub>1</sub>	'	H <sub>1</sub>
2.	?	{ A	{ A, H	{ ə <sub>2</sub>	{ h	H <sub>2</sub>
3.	w	{	{	{	{	
4.	γ	Q	γ	ə <sub>3</sub>	'	(= H <sub>1</sub> )

<sup>a</sup> It is difficult to fit Möller's five laryngeals into a scheme representing current forms of the theory.

<sup>3</sup> Suggested by Dr. George Trager at the meeting of the American Oriental Society, New York 1940.

<sup>4</sup> In Sapir-Sturtevant's phonetic interpretation of the laryngeals, that PIH *w* was voiceless, whereas γ was voiced, seems to follow from a convention of Hittite orthography, the general significance of which was first perceived by Sturtevant (HG 66 and fn. 78), whereby, in the case of the stops, the Hittite cuneiform syllabary usually writes *a-ta*, *a-da* in words whose IE cognates have intervocalic *d* or *dh* (voiced), but *at-ta*, *ad-da* in words whose IE cognates have intervocalic *t* (voiceless). Generalizing from this principle, Sturtevant deduces that the IH sound underlying Hit. *a-ha* must have been voiced, but that underlying Hit. *ah-ha* voiceless. To be sure, every instance of apparently intervocalic position for *h* in Hittite, whether written singly or doubly, must be either purely orthographic (due to the exigencies of a clumsy syllabary), or due to specifically Hittite, and late cross analogies, as intervocalic laryngeals must have been already lost



Our revised phonetic interpretation of  $\text{:}$ ,  $\text{'}$ , and  $\gamma$  is based largely on theoretical considerations. (1) Since the ultimate conversion of  $e$  to  $a$  when adjacent to  $\text{:}$  or  $x$  (cf. § 5 below) is undoubtedly due to the velarity of these laryngeals, surely  $\gamma$ , if velar, should have had the same or a similar effect upon  $e$ . Now, as long as Sapir held that  $\gamma$  did change adjacent  $e$  to  $o$  (cf. footnote 6 below), he could with at least partial propriety consider  $\gamma$  as a velar; but if we follow Sturtevant and others in ascribing to  $\gamma$  no effect upon adjacent  $e$ , we must surely give up its supposed velarity. (2) For  $\text{'}$  to have palatal coloring it must have been a spirant. (3) The assumption that  $\text{:}$  was voiced is an integral part of our hypothesis as to the origin of the aspirated stops in IE, cf. § 5 below.

3. The vowel-coloring effects of the laryngeals cannot be considered apart from the vowel-reducing effect of the IH stress accent, which in early IH frequently involved extremely violent contrasts of stress in successive syllables.<sup>5</sup> The inherited PIH  $e$  of every unfavorably placed syllable was at least partially reduced (for such a reduced  $e$ , at least until the vowel-coloring effects of the laryngeals began to operate, we use Hirt's symbol  $\epsilon$ ), sometimes going on immediately to be totally reduced, so that some (not all) instances of total reduction must have taken place very early in IH. PIH appears to have had both voiced and voiceless stops (as

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by middle IH times, cf. § 4. But a comparable situation may exist in the case of some apparently intervocalic stops, cf. Hit. *mekki*- "great" :: IE *\*meg*—; while the rule seems valid for the stops, dittography seems to have no significance for consonants which are not stops, and the application of the rule to the laryngeals, which according to our present belief are all spirants ( $x$  and  $\gamma$ , the laryngeals producing  $h$  in Hittite, are spirants in the Sapir-Sturtevant phonetic interpretation also), seems questionable. Pedersen, *l. c.*, p. 189, qualifies Sturtevant's law by holding that every apparently intervocalic Hit.  $h$  is written doubly, except when the preceding vowel is long.

<sup>5</sup> Of PIH accentuation we know only that it did not involve violent stress contrasts. It may have had mild stress contrasts, insufficient to produce phonemically significant vocalic reductions, and it may be that the IH stress accent differed only in its greater violence, not in placement, from its PIH forerunner. Broadly speaking, once the IH system got fairly under way, and for some time thereafter, it did not tolerate full (i. e., unreduced) vocalism in more than one syllable of a word—certainly not in the immediate preaccentual or postaccentual syllable. To be sure, hundreds of our IE and IH reconstructions appear to violate this rule. In large part, these may be explained as later analogical restorations, cf. § 13 below.



it had voiced and voiceless laryngeals), but no aspirated stops, and no consonant clusters (i. e., two or more "sounds never syllabic" in succession); every instance of an IH sequence interior vowel (*e*) + any laryngeal (*X*) + any other consonant (*t*), as *-eXt-*, presupposes PIH dissyllabic *-eXet-*, with total reduction of the vowel of the original second syllable; similarly, every instance of IH *(- )tXe-* presupposes PIH dissyllabic *(- )teXe-*.

4. Three fundamental developments in early IH, of great significance for the later stages of the vocalism, must have occurred in the following chronological order: (1) the earliest instances of total reduction, and apparently the consonantal effects described in § 5 below; (2) the loss of such laryngeals as had remained in intervocalic position after (1); and (3) the acquisition by such laryngeals as remained after (2) of a vowel-coloring power which affected adjacent *e* and *o*. These vowel-coloring effects, and for the moment we limit ourselves to unreduced PIH *e*, we must now consider, bearing in mind that all other changes in IH, Hittite, and IE vocalism are subsequent to the three developments just mentioned.

5. We accept the dogma that IH ' and  $\gamma$  immediately preceding inherited PIH *e* or immediately following it tautosyllabically maintained *e* as such<sup>6</sup> in IH; but under the same circumstances IH : and *x* converted inherited PIH *e* to IH *a*. In part this situation is transparently continued in Hittite, wherein IH *x* and  $\gamma$  appear as *h*. The Hittite development of ' and : is less certain, and as we shall see it will not do rashly to assume their disappearance in late IH. In IE, on the other hand, every initial antevocalic laryngeal

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<sup>6</sup> Sapir, *l. c.*, held that  $\gamma$  converted PIH *e* to IH *o* (so also Cuny, Kurylowicz, Gray, for their  $\text{e}_3, \text{e}_3$ , Möller for his  $\gamma$ , Couvreur for his ' ). Now, it is clear that in middle and late IH an *o* did occur, but Pedersen<sup>a</sup>, whom we here follow (as perhaps also Sturtevant), holds that every IH *o* originated from IH *e* (or *a*) by qualitative ablaut, a specifically middle and late IH and IE process (cf. § 10), which despite its importance for later periods, had not gotten under way in early IH and in any event had nothing to do with the presence or absence of laryngeals as such. (That most instances of IH, IE *o* originated by qualitative ablaut from earlier *e* is universally conceded.)

a. Since Pedersen does not quite accept Sturtevant's inferences from the single or double writing of apparently intervocalic Hittite *h* (fn. 4 above), and since he does not believe that any laryngeal had power to convert earlier *e* to *o*, it is obvious that for him ' and  $\gamma$  are identical (= his  $H_1$ ).



was lost, while every tautosyllabically following laryngeal was lost with compensatory lengthening of the preceding late IH vowel. The fate of final postvocalic laryngeals in Hittite and IE is not too clear, but should theoretically be determined by sandhi conditions, with disappearance before a following initial vowel, or in pause. And, at least in IE, the latter treatment was analogically generalized.<sup>7</sup> Meanwhile, laryngeals in IH postconsonantal position had certain effects upon a preceding stop as well as upon a following vowel; our hypothesis is that a voiced laryngeal voices a preceding voiceless stop in IH but aspirates a preceding voiced stop in IE, whereas a voiceless laryngeal unvoices a preceding voiced stop in IH but aspirates a preceding voiceless stop in IE,<sup>8</sup> as shown in the Table, B3, below.

<sup>7</sup> Sapir, *Lang.* 15. 182 fn., can hardly have been correct in holding that -κ of Phrygian βουό-κ "woman" contained a postvocalic final laryngeal.

<sup>8</sup> Such Skt. roots as *bhr̥* "bear," *dh̥r̥* "hold," i. *hr̥* "take" (the last conjectured by Whitney himself [Roots 207] to be a "variant" to *bhr̥*); *bhas* "devour," *ghas* "eat," etc., or such IE reconstructions as *\*leu-* "wash," *\*pleu-* "float," lead to the conclusion that many IE "roots" (which were unquestionably semantic units for the IE period) are at bottom PIH complexes consisting of prefix + root; it follows, then, that IE root-initial *bh-*, *dh-*, *gh-* are to be analyzed into PIH syncopated prefix + root-initial, and that the IE aspiration represents the PIH root-initial, which must therefore have been one of the laryngeals. Preliminary tests of this hypothesis seem to yield fairly satisfactory etymological results, all the more as forms deriving from the postulated simplex have occasionally been found. Though of course far more extensive tests must be made, for the moment we present the following apparent instances: (1) PIH *\*γere-* "hold, grasp" etc. (?); simplex in Hit. *har(k)-* "have," reduplicated in Hit. *har-harān* "holder," as also perhaps in Goth *arbi*, OIr *orbe* "inheritance" (an old cpd. not necessarily connected with Lat. *orbis*, Arm. *orb*, etc.); with prefixes *be-*, *de-*, *ge-* over virtually the entire IH area. (2) PIH *\*γeye-* "be in a state of motion, move, live"; simplex in Hit. *huwai-* "grow" (and/or *huwai-* "go," etc.); with *s-* extension in Hit. *hwes-* "live" and IE *\*(γ)ue-s* in Skt. *vāsati*, Goth. *wisan*; with prefix *be-* (and sometimes root extension) in IE *\*bheye*, *bheyā*, etc.—so that in NE *be*, *was* we have not a suppletive paradigm, but the same root with diverse formatives. Elsewhere an initial voiced aspirate is due to syncope within the root, cf. PIH *\*déye-tei* > *\*deyti* > *\*dōti* "gives" :: *\*deyé-ye-tei* (whether the interpolated *-ye-* is root-final reduplication, or a suffix, we are not able to say) > *\*dyeyti* > *\*dhēti* "puts." That the voiceless laryngeal unvoices a preceding voiced stop seems indicated by PIH *\*de'e* "direction" or the like (?) > IH *\*dé'e* > *\*dē'* > IE *\*dē* in Lat. *dē-nique* (*ō-* ablaut variant in *dō-nec*) :: IH *\*de'é* > *\*d'e* > IE *\*te* in Lat. *te-nus*. The voiced nature of the second laryngeal seems best illustrated by PIH *\*yepe:ed*—, cf. § 7, B 2b;



6. The vowel-coloring effect of the laryngeals, as also certain other developments outlined immediately above, may be tabulated as follows:

A. Initial Antevocalic Laryngeal		B. (Originally) Intervocalic Laryngeal			C. IH Final Postvocalic Laryngeal	
		1. With IH partial reduction in 2d syl.	2. With early IH total reduction in 2d syl.	3. With early IH total reduction in 1st syl.		
PIH IH		PIH IH	IH	PIH IH IE	PIH IH	
1. 'e- 'e-	Hit e- <sup>9</sup> IE e-	-e'et- <sup>12</sup> -ébt-	-e't-	Hit -ēt- <sup>14, 15</sup> IE -ēt- <sup>15</sup>	te'e t'e the de'e d'e te	Hit -ē <sup>19</sup> IE -ē
2. :e- :a-	Hit a- <sup>10</sup> IE a-	-e:et- <sup>12</sup> -ébt-	-a:t- <sup>16</sup>	Hit -āt- <sup>14</sup> IE -āt-	te:e t:a da <sup>17</sup> de:e d:a dha <sup>17</sup>	Hit -ā <sup>18</sup> IE -ā
3. xe- xa-	Hit ha- IE a-	-eæet- <sup>12</sup> -ébt-	-aæt- <sup>16</sup>	Hit -aht- IE -āt-	teæe tæa tha <sup>17</sup> deæe dæa ta <sup>17</sup>	Hit -ā <sup>18</sup> IE -ā
4. γe- γε- <sup>11</sup>	Hit he- IE e-	-eγet- <sup>12</sup> -ébt- <sup>11</sup>	-eγt- <sup>11</sup>	Hit -eht- IE -ēt- <sup>15</sup>	teγe tγe de deγe dγe dhe	Hit -ē <sup>18</sup> IE -ē

there is no need to make the Greek word a loan-word from Hittite; also in the substantive forming suffix PIH \*te:e > IH \*té:e > \*tá: > IE \*tā in Lat. -tās (*gravitās*, -tātis) :: IH \*te:é > \*t:a > IE \*da (with abl. var. *do*, cf. fn. 17, in Lat. -dus [*gravidus*]).

<sup>9</sup> in this position was certainly not lost even in the latest IH, since it is preserved in Luwian pl. 3 *hišhiyanti* "bind" :: Hit. *išhiyanti* id., possibly akin to Hit. *ešhaš* "master" :: Lat. *erūs*, id. Indeed, though it is generally held by laryngealists that initial ' was lost in Hittite, its one time presence may be reflected in such initial dittographies as sg. 3 *e-eš-zi* "is" :: Gk. *ἐστ*; so too Sapir, *Lang.* 15. 180, fn. 1.

<sup>10</sup> Presumably : in this position was also retained throughout IH, though the evidence is here less cogent than for ' ; Luwian, like Hittite, writes *a-ap-pa* (not *happa*) :: Hit. *a-ap-pa*. The argument for PIH : as distinct from *x* rests (1) on etymologies in which Hittite and IE seem to agree in having initial *a-*, and (2) on others in which they seem to have interior -āt-; for examples, cf. 9, A2, B2 below. Sapir and Sturtevant accept these etymologies and infer : from them; Kuryłowicz, *l. c.*, only hesitantly admits the possibility of : (his *a*<sub>4</sub>); Pedersen, *op. cit.*, p. 188 and Couvreur *RHA* 5. 132 ff. (1939) deny the supporting etymologies flatly.

<sup>11</sup> So theoretically; in most actually attested instances the Hittite and IE continuants of the IH forms with initial γ evolve not from γε-, but from its abl. var. γo- > Hit. *ha-*, IE *o-*, and similarly in the other positions here treated.

<sup>12</sup> Theoretically we have to reckon with possible earliest IH accentuations -éXet-, -eXét-, -eXet-, and -eXet-<sup>2</sup>, but only the first of these cases has



7. We restate here examples for (A) initial antevocalic and (B) tautosyllabic postvocalic (in virtue of early IH partial reductions) positions (material is scanty for the other positions considered):

A 1. PIH sg. 3 \*'ese-tei<sup>13</sup> "is" > IH \*'esti > Hit. *ēszi* (the

been treated here. In the case of the early total reduction of the vowel of the original second syllable the laryngeal remained intact, ultimately (probably much later) to exercise a vowel-coloring power, but when only partial reduction was reached in early IH the intervocalic laryngeal disappeared shortly thereafter, not remaining long enough to directly influence the vocalism, leaving what was still (for the time being) a disyllabic hiatus sequence -éēt-.

<sup>13</sup> Whether the ultimate contraction of dissyllabic -éēt- to monosyllabic -ēt- occurred in later IH, or independently in Hittite and IE, is uncertain; we incline to the latter view, and Hittite internal dittographies may favor it, if we compare the interpretation of initial dittographies suggested in fn. 9 above.

<sup>14</sup> Here too Hittite internal dittographies (e.g., inst. sg. -e-it, prt. pl. 3 -e-ir) need not necessarily be interpreted as indicating vowel length, but may reflect the one time presence of the laryngeal.

<sup>15</sup> Whether individual instances of Hittite or IE -ēt- arise from IH eXēt, cēt (with partial reduction) or from IH eXt with total reduction) cannot always be determined unless there is some trustworthy cognate showing an unmistakable origin (e.g., IE -ēt- answering to Hit. -eht- would be referred to IH -eyt- with total reduction).

<sup>16</sup> Alternation in IH itself between partial and total reduction in such sequences where the laryngeal involved is : or x gives rise to the instances of ē/ā ablaut in IE (cf. Hirt, *Idg. Gr.* 2 § 192), e.g., IH \*pexög- > \*peög- > IE \*pēg- as in Gk. πηγ-νυμι, Lat. pēg-ī :: IH \*pexg- > \*paxg- > IE \*pāg- as in Lat. *pāgus*.

<sup>17</sup> So theoretically, as far as we can now judge; actually IH stem final -a has probably returned analogically to the e/o thematic paradigm, as witness the complete absence of stem final -a in historical IE.

<sup>18</sup> Thus PIH \*deye- "give" > IH \*déye- > \*dey- > Pre-Hit. *dē-* in *te-hhi* beside *tāi*. What would doubtless be our best evidence for the Hittite treatment of postvocalic final : and x, namely the expected counterpart of the IE ā- stem substantives, is obscured for us by a (specifically Hittite) morphological change, i.e., their analogical falling together with the counterpart of the IE so-called o- stems. Such ipv. sg. 2 forms as *alappah*, etc. do not prove the retention of final x and γ as phonologically regular in Hittite, but are rather due to paradigmatic pressure. The only Hittite noun stem with final -h is the sb. *iškaruh*, of unknown origin, but apparently an extraneous loan-word.

<sup>19</sup> Three points in this reconstruction require comment: the initial laryngeal (a), and the e's of the second (b) and the third (c) syllables.

a. We accept the general dogma of the laryngealists that every PIH and IH word began with a consonant; in the case of Hittite and IE words



macron in Hittite forms indicates double writing) :: IE \**esti* > OLith *ēst(i)*, etc.

2. PIH \**:elebey*—<sup>20</sup> “white” (?) > IH. \**:elby*—> \**:alby*—> Hit. sb. *alp-as* ‘cloud’ :: IE \**albh*— as in Gk. *ἀλφός* “dull white leprosy,” Lat. *albus* “white.”

3. PIH sg. loc. \**xentei*<sup>21</sup> “in front” > IH \**xenti* > \**xanti* > Hit. *hanti*<sup>22</sup> :: IE prp., pvb. \**anti* > Gk. *ἀντί*, Lat. *ante*, etc.

4. PIH \**yeset*— “bone” > IH \**yest*— (with ablaut variant \**yost*—<sup>6</sup> > Hit. *hastai* :: IE \**ost*— > Gk. *ὀστέον*, etc.)

B 1. There is no entirely satisfactory example of tautosyllabic post-vocalic ‘ with cognates in Hittite and IE; the two following possibly belong here:

- a. Probable PIH case ending \**-e’et-* > IH \**-e’t-* (with total reduction)<sup>23</sup> > Hit. sg. inst. *-ēt* :: IE abl. *-ēd*, cf. OLat. *facilumēd*.<sup>24</sup>

apparently beginning with *e-*, this initial consonant must of course have been ‘.

b. The second syllable of the reconstruction must contain *e* in order to explain the corresponding pl. 3 PIH \**esentei* and its continuants Hit. *asanzi*, IE \**senti*, etc. (so, too, Kuryłowicz writes *ē,ese-*). This and many similar cases have driven us to our denial of consonant clusters for PIH, cf. § 3 above.

c. We are most skeptical as to the existence of “primary endings” or pre-forms of them in PIH, but as we hope to deal with this morphological point in the near future, and since the point as such has no bearing on the present investigation, we have, for schematic reasons, written *-tei*, preferring to avoid such reconstructions as Kuryłowicz’s \**pip<sub>2</sub>eti* (*op. cit.*, p. 55), the several elements of which cannot have been synchronous. Belief in PIH vocalic monotony seems implicit in all the presentations of the laryngeal hypothesis, and hence its protagonists cannot fairly operate with PIH syllabic *i*, *u*, etc., but must,—like orthodox Hirtians,—derive every later syllabic *i*, *u*, etc., from PIH diphthongs the consonantal member of which was *i*, *u*, etc.

<sup>20</sup> The double dash is used for parts of words without reference to the historical or prehistorical composition of these words. For the later IE aspiration of this word, cf. fn. 8 above.

<sup>21</sup> It will be realized that this PIH reconstruction involves no true consonantal cluster, anteconsonantal *en-* being as truly a diphthong as *ei-* or *eu-* in the same position.

<sup>22</sup> Analogical for expected \**hanzi* (HG 119, 119a).

<sup>23</sup> Of course, it is possible that we have to deal here with partial reduction IH *-eēt-* which would have produced the same results in Hittite and IE.

<sup>24</sup> With abl. var. *-ōd* as in OLat. *Gnaivōd*, CLat. *Gnaeō* :: Lith. “gen.”



- b. PIH \**e'ep*— “take” (with initial reduplication)<sup>25</sup>  
 > IH \**e'p*— > Hit. sg. 3 *ēpzi* :: IE *ēp*— in Lat. prt.  
 sg. 1 *co-ēpi* “began.”
2. a. PIH \**te:ei*— “steal” > IH \**te:i*— > \**ta:i*— > Hit.  
 sg. 3 *tāyezzi* :: IE \**tāi*— > Skt. *tāyus* “thief,” pre-Gk.  
 sg. 1 \**τᾱτάω* > Att. *τητάω* “deprive of.”
- b. PIH \**γepé:ed*— “attendant” > IH \**γopé:d*—  
 > \**γopá:d*— > \**γopād*— (with late IH analogical  
 restoration \**γepād*—, cf. § 13 below, ablaut variant  
 \**γopād*— > IE \**opād*— > Dor. Gk. *ὀπαδός*, Att. *ὀπηδός*  
 “attendant”) :: (with different accentuation) \**γép:ed*—  
 > IH \**γép:od*— > \**γép:od*— (with ablaut  
 variant \**γobod*— > Hit. *hapatis*).<sup>26</sup>
3. PIH \**mexele*— “fruit-laden branch” > IH \**mexle*—  
 > \**maxle*— (with ablaut variant \**maxlo*— > Hit. *mahlas*  
 “branch of grape-vine” :: IE *mālos* (m.) and \**mālom*  
 > Dor. Gk. *μᾶλον* “apple”).
4. PIH \**meγey*— and \**meγet*— “measure” > IH \**meγy*—,  
 \**meγt*— > Hit. sg. dat. *mēhweni* “time” :: IE \**mēt*—  
 “measure” > Lat. sg. 1 *mētior*, etc.

8. Theoretically, at least, comparable effects must have been exercised by the laryngeals upon the reduced vowel *o*, differentiating it into *o<sub>e</sub>*, *o<sub>a</sub>*<sup>27</sup> (for convenience we will write *o*, *o<sub>a</sub>*). Both

*vīlko*. To be sure it is only in the *e*-stems (for the now outmoded designation ‘*o*-stems’) that this case ending was used in IE and here contraction with the stem final *-e* (and its abl. var. *-o*) produced circumflex intonation, indirectly attested in Lithuanian.

<sup>25</sup> Simplex in Lat. *ad-īpiscor*, etc., cf. IE \**ēs*. “sit” :: \**es*. “be,” both from PIH \**ese*.

<sup>26</sup> Thus the Hittite word exhibits the same consonantism as the Semitic *‘bd*, and in this word, at least, the Semitic and IH words must go back to a common ancestor.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Hirt, *Idg. Gr.* 2 § 102. Hirt here asserts, as formerly, the theoretical necessity of recognizing *three* reduced vowels *a*, *e*, *o* but maintains that practically only two need be recognized; *o* as the reduction of *e* and *a*; *o<sub>e</sub>*, of *o*. However, though a reduced *a* seems everywhere to have fallen together with a full grade *a*, a reduced *e*, though sometimes appearing as *a* also (so Lat. *carpō*, *quattuor*), appears elsewhere as *i* (Gk. *πίσυρες*, *τίθημι*). It seems better to observe the theoretical distinction, though we may freely concede that analogical restorations, etc. frequent enough in the case of the full grade vowels, operated even more unrestrictedly in the case of the reduced vowels. As for a reduced *o* (the best example is Gk.



of these have been inordinately subject to analogical interference of one sort or another, but where such did not take place, in historical times the latter ( $\delta_a$ ) falls together everywhere with full grade  $a$ , the former appears in some areas as  $a$ , elsewhere  $i$ .

9. Thus as against the earlier and at least theoretically monotonous PIH vocalism  $e$ , IH had almost from the beginning the fourfold vocalism  $e, a, \delta, \delta_a$ . But from fairly early IH times this vocalism underwent further variegation (now termed "Ablaut"), presumably due to accentual factors of some sort, but having no relation whatever to the presence or absence of laryngeals as such.

10. *Qualitative ablaut*. This consisted in a change of IH  $e$  to a new vowel, middle and late IH  $o$  (a change sometimes compared to the development of Russian  $\ddot{o}$  [ $i\ddot{o}$ ] < earlier  $e$ ), but nothing is known of the determining factors under which this change occurred, although a pitch accent may well have been involved.<sup>28</sup> Frequently forms with older  $e$  continued in more or less parallel use beside others with newer  $o$ , the rules (if any) for the distribution of  $e/o$  largely escaping us. Probably IH  $a$  was also changed to  $o$  by the same factors.<sup>29</sup> Reduced vowels which had not, by

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$\nu\acute{\xi}$ ), we cannot have this until we have a full grade  $o$ , in our chronology a development yet to be described, hence we should ascribe every reduced  $o$  (=  $\nu$ ) to *late* reduction.

<sup>28</sup> Some, reasoning from a supposed correlation between the distribution of  $e/o$  in certain forms and certain contrasting semantic functions of these forms, have affected to see primary sound-symbolism in the  $e/o$  ablaut. But until a very strong case can be made out for such a view, this seems hazardous; it is safer to hold that accentual factors alone (even when we cannot entirely determine their nature), first engendered the  $e/o$  variation in a purely mechanical way. Once it had been thus engendered, however, in a few much used forms happening to have contrasting functions, a sort of *de facto* sound-symbolism would perhaps exist in these forms, and the road to analogical imitation and consequent general functionalization would lie open. Of course, it is possible that the PIH monotonous vowel was not as frontal as is generally supposed, and that  $e$  as such invariably resulted from contact with a palatal laryngeal just as did  $a$  from a velar; the 'ablaut'  $o$  might then have arisen as a compromise sound without regard to accent.

<sup>29</sup> Most scholars concede the  $a/o$  ablaut (cf. Hirt, *l. c.*, 2 § 189 ff.), though the examples are admittedly few in number and most of them are not wholly convincing. Pedersen apparently accepts it, since when he discusses apparently initial  $o$  (which for him as for us can only arise by ablaut), he writes not  $H_1o$  or  $H_2o$ , but  $Ho$ . On the other hand, Couvreur in effect denies



analogical interference, been restored to full grade probably remained unaffected.

11. *Later quantitative reductions.* Meanwhile the IH stress accent continued to operate in the general direction of reduction, the material for its operations largely furnished by new polysyllabic formations which had arisen since PIH times. Even the new ablaut *o* could be reduced to *ɔ* (Hirt's symbol). As at an earlier period, both partial and total reductions occurred, though the conditions for distribution can no longer be determined. Presumably every instance of total reduction presupposes earlier partial reduction, the final stages probably coming as late as IE times: PIH pl. 3 \*'esetei > IH \*'əsénti<sup>30</sup> (with ablaut variant \*'əsónti > Hit. *asanzi*) > IE \*sénti (with ablaut variant \*sónti).

12. *The lengthened grade.* In early instances of total reduction, syllabic loss produced no vocalic change in any other syllable of the sequence, cf. the development of PIH \*'esetei > IH \*'esti > IE \*esti. In the case of late total reductions, however, such syllabic loss caused earlier *e/o, a* of a preceding syllable to be lengthened. Thus the early (or middle) IH sequences underlying the so-called *s-* aorist stems \*ghrébhəs-, \*uégħəs- (2 syllables), on undergoing total reduction in comparatively late IH, > IE \*ghrēbhs-, \*uēgħs- (1 syl.); cf. Hit. prt. sg. 3 *karipas* ([krēps], although there is always the possibility that Hittite actually exhibits the two-syllable form with reduced vocalism of the final syllable) "devoured" :: OCS sg. 1 *grěsɔ* "seized," *věsɔ* "transported," Lat. pf. sg. 1 *vēxi* "transported," all of which have corresponding presents with short interior vowel.

13. In late IH, accordingly, a fairly variegated vocalism had evolved; short *e, o, a*, reduced *ɛ, ɔ, əa*, long *ē, ō, ā*. Now, the violent stress accent which had produced so much of this variegation

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the ablaut *a/o*, holding that if, e. g., *ha* > *ho*, the *a*-timbre of the laryngeal would have immediately restored *ha*.

<sup>30</sup> Others, as Kurylowicz, apparently prefer to derive Hit. *asanzi* from an IH \*'sónti with totally reduced vocalism of the first syllable and subsequent (Hittite) vocalization of ' itself! But if ' disappears in an accentually favorable antevocalic position, as in sg. 3 \*'ésetei > Hit. *ēszi*, how can it have maintained itself in so unfavorable a position as in the supposed pl. 3 \*'sónti? For us, at least, it is increasingly clear that the laryngeals are "sounds never syllabic," and we cannot subscribe to Pedersen's free use of vocalized laryngeals (*H*).



must have been losing some of its force, and as the peculiarly anhomologous placement of this accent had brought about so many vocalic alternations between obviously related words and forms, all manner of analogical restorations and compromise forms sprung up, some of them destined to survive. Thus the earliest IH sequence *\*pedes*, with accent *\*pédēs*, must have become early IH *\*pédōs* (abl. var. *\*pódōs*), or by later total reduction, *\*pédōs* abl. var. *\*pódōs*, whereas with accent *\*pedēs* it must have become early IH *\*pédēs* (abl. var. *pódōs*), or by early total reduction, *\*pédēs* (abl. var. *\*pódōs*); the coexistence of these numerous alternants gave rise in late IH, as even more in IE, to such compromise forms as *\*pedes*, *\*podes*, *\*pēdes*, *\*pōdes* (or abl. var. *-os* in any of them), which could not possibly have maintained themselves under the accentual conditions prevalent during early IH times. So general were such disturbed forms that in late IH times, and after, the placement of the accent is no longer of significance.

14. *IE vocalism; the new lengthenings.* IE further modified the inherited late IH vocalism *e, o, a, ɔ, ɔ̃, ɔ<sub>a</sub>, ē, ō, ā* by a series of lengthenings involving the further loss of laryngeals. The IH sequences *-e't-*, *-a:t-*, *-axt-*, *-eyt-* appear in IE (cf. Table 1 above) as *-ēt-* (abl. var. *-ōt-*), *-āt-*, *-āt-*, *-ēt-* (abl. var. *-ōt-*) respectively, by earlier or later compensatory lengthening for the lost laryngeal. Concurrently also, in the early IH sequences reduced vowel + laryngeal + consonant (*ɔXt*), the eventual loss of the laryngeal engendered a compensatory lengthening of the reduced vowel to a quasi-normal short vowel (cf. Sturtevant, *Lang.* 14. 246 and fn. 21) which in most of the continuant languages eventually fell together with IH, IE *a*, but in one branch of IE (Indo-Iranic) is so far distinct from *a* that it must have been distinct in IE also, whereas in Greek the evidence seems to favor a variegated timbre for the reduced vowel, for which we may still use the traditional name "shwa (indogermanicum)," e. g., PIH *\*pe:etere* (4 syll.) "father" > IH *\*pɔ<sub>a</sub>:tēr* (two syll.) > IE *\*patēr* > Skt. *pitā* :: Gk. *πατήρ*.

15. Thus IE arrived at a considerably variegated vocalism consisting of normal short *e, o, a; ɔ, ɔ̃, ɔ<sub>a</sub>* and their lengthening, the quasi-normal short *ə*; and long *ē, ō, ā* (although these last, as we now see, had arisen in at least two different ways and at different times). Descriptively, this is much the same as the vocalism proper with which most Indo-Europeanists operated in the period 1880-1925, prior to the rise of Hethitology.



## A STUDY OF THE PARTICLE *YEN*

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### B. ITS FORM

#### *Pronunciation of the Character*

WE BEGAN our study of the particle *yen* with the observation that most dictionaries attribute a double pronunciation to the character with which it is written.<sup>1</sup> As *yen*<sup>1</sup> it stands for an interrogative word, "how? why?"; as *yen*<sup>2</sup> it represents the final particle whose meaning we have construed to be equivalent to that of a very general preposition, such as *yü* 於, plus a third person pronoun. This correlation of meaning with tone is maintained, among others, by Legge in the vocabularies of the *Chinese Classics*, 1861-72; Lobscheid in *A Chinese and English Dictionary*, 1871; Gabelentz in *Chinesische Grammatik*, 1881; Giles in his *Chinese-English Dictionary*, 1892; and Couvreur in his *Dictionnaire Classique* (3rd. ed.), 1911. All these are supported by the great *K'ang-hsi Dictionary*, 1716, and present what we may call the accepted view.

But the distinction is not always made. Mateer's *Course of Mandarin Lessons*, 1892, gives on p. 445 the pronunciation *yen*<sup>1</sup> for the "final affirmative particle" and "initial interrogative particle." Soothill's *Pocket Dictionary* (10th ed.), 1917, does the same, despite the author's assertion in his preface that "Dr. Giles' Dictionary is responsible for sounds and tones." If these citations are not mere typographical errors, we have here the traces of a "one-tone tradition" to which we shall return later.

Most startling, perhaps, to the conservative student of Chinese will appear the references made in Williams' *Syllabic Dictionary*. In the edition of 1874, pp. 1082/3, we find *yen*<sup>1</sup> given as the pronunciation of the "final affirmative particle," and *yen*<sup>2</sup> given for the "initial interrogative" and the "final adverb." Williams based his work on the *Wu-fang yüan-yin* 五方元音, first published in 1700, and the two editions of the latter in the Library of Congress, which the writer has been able to examine, show that there is no question of a typographical error here. The *Wu-fang yüan-yin*

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<sup>1</sup> 焉. See JAOS 60. 1-22.



definitely gives an exact reversal of the accepted view. This is perhaps reflected in Haenisch, *Lehrgang der chinesischen Schriftsprache* II, p. 61, where *yen*<sup>1</sup> is given as the pronunciation of the final particle.

Now it is of course obvious that our problem is not merely one of tone, since both the first and the second Mandarin tones are developed from the same *p'ing* tone of earlier Chinese. What we are concerned with is the character of the initial. The symbol *yen*<sup>1</sup> means that the ancestor of this word had a voiceless initial, that in Ancient Chinese as evaluated by Karlgren its pronunciation was *·iän*. The symbol *yen*<sup>2</sup>, on the other hand, points to *jiän* in the 6th century language. According to present theories, the archaic forms of these words would show still greater divergence, since the first is presumed to be an original *·iän*, while the second is believed to have lost an initial sonant stop, commonly a *d-* or *g-*. The *Analytic Dictionary* offers no opinion as to the quality of this stop, but clear evidence can be found that it was a guttural. *Kuang-yün* lists two characters compounded of *yen* and the mouth (No. 30) and woman (No. 38) radicals respectively, both of which have Anc. C. pronunciation *xiän*. There is also listed a compound with the tree radical (No. 75) pronounced *yan* < \**g*-. We have therefore to start with two vocables, whose history we may tentatively set down as

- a) \**·iän* > *yen*<sup>1</sup>
- b) \**giän* > *jiän* > *yen*<sup>2</sup>

Either of these, apparently, may be the interrogative word, and either of them may be the final particle.

On this question we have an interesting note by Wang Yin-chih 王引之, who published in 1798 a study of about 170 particles.<sup>2</sup> To the section on *yen*, in II. 16, he prefixed the following paragraph:

The chapter on Sounds and Words in the *Home Instructions* of Mr. Yen<sup>3</sup> states: "In the various word-books the character *yen*, whether as name

<sup>2</sup> *Ching Chuan shih tz'ü* 經傳釋詞, edition of the Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1932. A partial translation of this appears in Julien, *Syntaxe Nouvelle*, pp. 151-231.

<sup>3</sup> *Yen shih Chia-hsün* 顏氏家訓, by Yen Chih-t'ui 顏之推. A short note on the author is in Giles *BD* No. 2463, where the dates A.D. 531-595 are assigned to him. The birth-year is corroborated by the *Li-tai ming-jen*



of a bird or as grammatical particle, is given the sound *·iän*. Ever since Ko Hung's *Garden of Useful Words*<sup>4</sup> a distinction in pronunciation has been made according to meaning. In the sense of 'how?' or 'why?' the sound should be *·iän*. . . . (Examples cited) . . . When it rounds out the phrase or is a helping-word, its pronunciation should be *jiän*.<sup>5</sup> . . . (Examples cited) . . ."

A continuation of this, which Wang Yin-chih does not include, reads

"In the area south of the (Yangtze) river this distinction is made at the present time, and things are extremely clear. North of the (Yellow) river, however, there is confusion into a single sound. Even though that represents an adherence to the ancient reading, it is not appropriate for this modern age."

Wang Yin-chih's own comment on the first part now follows:

I note that in the chapter of the *Book of Rites* entitled "A Question about the Three Years" a sentence reads 先王焉爲之立中制節. In

*nien-p'u*, (CP ed.) II. 14, but I do not find authority for the death-year, the *Nien-p'u* stating in its appendix merely that he was over 60 when he died. Liu Fu's *Wen-hsüeh nien-piao* 文學年表 (Peiping, 1935), on the other hand, gives the dates A. D. 529-591, with a question-mark against the death-year. Yen's home was in the south of present Shantung, where his ancestors had been scholars for generations. He collaborated with Lu Fa-yen on the *Ch'ieh-yün* 切韻, the first pronouncing dictionary of which we have record. Official biographies are given in the history of the Northern Ch'i, *chüan* 45, (K'ai-ming edition of the 25 histories, p. 2257.3), and in the *Pei Shih*, *chüan* 83 (KM25: 3002.3).

<sup>4</sup> For Ko Hung 葛洪 see Giles BD No. 978. Official biography in the Chin history, *chüan* 72 (KM25: 1271.4), states that he died at the age of 81 *sui*. Liu Fu gives the dates A. D. 254-334. His home was in present Kiangsu, south of the Yangtze, near Nanking. The book referred to was entitled 要用字苑, (Giles has cited it wrongly), and held a minor place among Ko Hung's voluminous writings, being mentioned neither in his official biography nor in the autobiography that forms the last chapter of his best-known work, *Pao-p'u-tzū* 抱朴子. Its first official mention is found in the T'ang catalogue (KM25: 3261.3), where it is described as in one *chüan*. Thereafter it seems to have disappeared, but during the last dynasty Ma Kuo-han 馬國翰 tried to restore it from quotations, and succeeded in getting together 34 paragraphs, which are published in the collection called 玉函山房輯佚書. I have not had access to this, but find a quotation from the preface in which the editor describes Ko Hung's work as one that "changed the old to conform with the popular" (變古入俗). Apparently Ko Hung would not hesitate to include "It's me" if popular usage justified it.

<sup>5</sup> 於愆反, 矣愆反.



Hsün-tzū's quotation of this in his chapter "On the Rites" 安 (Mandarin *an*, Anc. C.  $\cdot\hat{a}n < * \cdot\hat{a}n$ ) has been substituted for *yen*. Since *an* and *yü* (Anc. C.  $\cdot iwo < * \cdot io$ ) have the same initial,<sup>6</sup> this shows that the particle *yen* may also be read  $\cdot i\ddot{a}n$  (於愆反), and that this pronunciation is not limited to the character in its meaning of "how" or "why." If it is sometimes read *jiän* (矣愆反), that is because of varying "lightness or heaviness" in the dialects, and does not involve any distinction in meaning. I shall therefore here follow the ancient reading (i. e. use  $\cdot i\ddot{a}n$  exclusively).

The point on which both of the above writers agree is that there was no original distinction between pronunciations of the character *yen*. Since we find the character used in very early literature to stand for both an interrogative and a final particle, it would follow that these were originally pronounced alike. This was suggested long ago by Gabelentz in § 820 of his grammar, which begins: "Die Finale *yên* (*yen*<sup>2</sup>), ursprünglich wohl = wie, oder: so, und mit dem Fragworte *yên* (*yen*<sup>1</sup>) identisch oder doch verwandt, . . ." For this original word both Wang and Yen accept the reading  $\cdot i\ddot{a}n$ , while variant pronunciations are attributed to dialect mixture. We shall have reason later to doubt the complete accuracy of this view, but shall let it stand for the moment.

### *Fusion Words*

If we have been correct in our interpretation of the meaning of the final particle *yen* as composed of a preposition plus a pronoun, we might well expect to find in the form of the word similar evidences of a composite nature. The functions which we have described might suggest to a classical student something like a case-form, probably an ablative case, of a pronoun. But Chinese is not in general characterized by inflection, and we have very little basis for making distinctions in case except as classifications of word order.<sup>7</sup> We do, however, have considerable evidence of another

<sup>6</sup> I suggest this free translation of 一聲之轉, which appears frequently in Wang's book, as well as in other philological literature. While the literal meaning is "A and B are turned out of one sound," the examples given generally show variation in the final parts.

<sup>7</sup> A familiar attempt to see case distinctions in the first and second personal pronouns is Karlgren's "Le Proto-chinois, langue flexionnelle," in *Journal Asiatique*, 1920, pp. 205-232. The same ground was covered earlier by Dr. Hu Shih in articles reproduced in the first collection of 胡適文存, II. 7-22. That the results have not been everywhere convincing is shown by Bodde's note appended to his recent *Statesman, Patriot, and*



process, namely, the telescoping of two separate syllables into a new word which may retain some of the phonetic characteristics of both. We shall call the resultant from the process a "fusion word," and because the subject has not hitherto received much attention, we shall be obliged at this point to digress into an inquiry on the general conditions of fusion in Chinese.

The one fusion-word in classical Chinese which may be said to be generally recognized as such is *chu* 諸, Anc. *tsiwo*, standing for the contraction either of 之於 or 之與, Anc. *tsi · iwo* and *tsi iwo* respectively.<sup>8</sup> Another is 耳, Anc. *ńzi*, standing for the contraction of 而已, *ńzi · i*.<sup>9</sup> A third one, 弗, Archaic *piuət*, from 不之, *piu ti*, has been pointed out by Professor Boodberg.<sup>10</sup> Apart from such isolated instances, however, no recognition of fusion as a widely operative process has been given. Even where the equation  $C = A + B$  is recognized, we are not always sure whether the writer views this as a real linguistic change, or merely as a kind of orthographic shorthand whereby one character does duty for two syllables. For a history of the language, the difference here is of course very important, and in the sense in which we use the word, the writing of one character for two syllables, if it was ever in vogue, would not constitute a fusion at all. The fusion-word develops first as a single speech syllable, and only later is it symbolized by a single written character.

Of the three fusions suggested above, the simplest is the second. It is very easy to see how the pronunciation of *ńzi-i* might develop into *ńzi*, and since length is not usually phonemic in Chinese, how

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*General in Ancient China*, pp. 70-2. Gabelentz set himself the question "Gibt es Casus?" and answered it in § 370-380 of the *Chinesische Grammatik*. His five categories depend, in the last analysis, on position.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Karlgren, *Analytical Dictionary*, p. 336. In the vocabulary to his translation of the *Analects*, Legge defined *chu* in a way that suggests a recognition of fusion. Also Gabelentz, in his grammar, pp. 297-9. But there is no hint of this in the dictionaries of Giles or Couvreur.

<sup>9</sup> This contraction was first pointed out to me by my friend Dr. Hans Stange. I think it was recognized by Prof. Haenisch, though I do not find it so described in his *Lehrgang*. It is referred to by Wang Li 王力 (in his very useful *中國音韻學*, I. 107.

<sup>10</sup> "Some Proleptical Remarks on the Evolution of Archaic Chinese," *HJAS* 2 (1937). 337, note 10. The arguments for this were given in great detail by Dr. Ting Sheng-shu in *Studies Presented to Ts'ai Yuan P'ei on his 65th Birthday*, II. 967-996, Academia Sinica, Peiping, 1935.



this in turn might be written with a single sign whose established pronunciation was *ńíi*. But it is to be noted that the second element is *\*zi*, and one may wonder whether the fusion could have taken place before the change *\*zi > i*. There is nothing impossible in the assumption that *ńíi-zi* might become *ńíi*, through loss of the first vowel and assimilation of the second initial. But this is a more complex step, and the probabilities of a fusion are obviously greater after the known change of *\*zi > i* had taken place. In a preliminary hypothesis, therefore, we should tend to consider this a relatively late fusion.

Our knowledge of the chronology of early Chinese is at the present time extremely sketchy. If we could date the change *\*zi > i*, we should have a tentative *terminus a quo* for the fusion. But unless other materials are discovered, it is more likely to be the fusion that will provide the *terminus ad quem* for the change of *\*zi > i*. This is indeed one of the valuable results that a study of fusion words may be expected to yield. For the purposes of this paper we shall refer to the following texts on the assumption that they are, by and large, in a rough chronological order:

*Shu*: The genuine portions of the *Shu-ching*, with the statistics shown in Legge's vocabulary, and in the concordance compiled by Ku Chieh-kang and published by the Harvard-Yenching Institute.

*Shih*: The *Shih-ching*, with the same aids.

*Lu*: The *Analects* and *Mencius*, with Legge's vocabularies.

*Tso*: The *Tso Chuan*, with the index compiled by Fraser and Lockhart, and the concordance published by the Harvard-Yenching Institute.

In these texts we find the following situation as regards our first element *ńíi* (A), our second element *i* (B), and our hypothetical fusion *ńíi* (F):

	A	B	A-B	F
<i>Shu</i>	"comparatively infrequent"	a few times, but not as final particle	never	never
<i>Shih</i>	"often"	23 times, but not as final particle	never	never
<i>Lu</i>	very frequent	frequent	very common	13 times, once in <i>Analects</i> and 12 times in <i>Mencius</i>
<i>Tso</i>	very frequent	frequent	over 43 times	never



The most important observation to be made from the foregoing is that F does not appear until the association A-B has become common. That this is a necessary condition is obvious, and the demonstration of it may be regarded as contributory evidence for the theory that F is actually derived from A-B. In the *Tso* dialect, it will be noted, F is not found, even though A-B has become established. The divergence in dialect between *Lu* and *Tso* has been forcefully argued by Karlgren in a study of a few grammatical words,<sup>11</sup> that has merely scratched the surface of this very interesting subject. The divergence is again underlined by the data given above, which suggest that some factor, possibly the incomplete change of *zi* to *i*, hindered the fusion.

Before leaving this first example, we must take note of the tonal phenomena. In ancient Chinese the element A has the first tone, B the second, and F the second. We know very little about tones in the period of the texts cited, but the progress of the present fusion can hardly be understood without recognizing them as a factor. The only distinction between A and F appears to be tone. B has disappeared in the fusion, but in so doing has changed the tone of A to its own. We are not prepared to state any rule as yet, but might expect that a consideration of sufficient examples would show a regularity such as, F always has the tone of B, or F has the tone of the stressed syllable in A-B.

The use of 諸 to represent a fusion is clearest when it is a matter of the pronoun *tísi* and a final interrogative particle. As noted above, this second element is taken by Karlgren to be 與 *iwo*, which again is believed to represent archaic *ziwo*. The situation is therefore similar to that of our first example, and the fusion *tísiwo* might be expected with the greatest likelihood relatively late, after the change *\*ziwo* > *iwo*. The usual definition suggests a different second element, one that is independently much more common than *iwo*, namely 乎, Anc. C. *γuo* < *\*g'uo*. Karlgren presumably decided against this on the ground of the greater improbability of contraction here, and certainly the reduction of a word beginning with a fully voiced and aspirated initial, such as *g'*-, involves a rather large transformation. But this objection does not apply to *γuo*, as an initial voiced larygeal seems no more of a bar to fusion than the voiceless stop seen in *tísi·iwo* > *tísiwo*.

<sup>11</sup> "On the Authenticity and Nature of the Tso Chuan," *Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift* XXXII, 1926: 3, 65 pp.



The data supplied by the texts are as follows, A being *t̄sí*, and B either *iwo* or *γuo*:

	A	B	A-B	F
<i>Shu</i>	frequent	<i>γuo</i> once	never	never
<i>Shih</i>	frequent	<i>γuo</i> rarely	never	never
<i>Lu</i> ( <i>Anal.</i> )	frequent	both frequent	both occur	over 5 times
( <i>Menc.</i> )	frequent	both very frequent	both occur	"saepissime"
<i>Tso</i>	frequent	<i>γuo</i> frequent, no <i>iwo</i>	7 times	14 times

While the picture is necessarily very sketchy, the reader will not fail to be struck with its general resemblance to the previous table. F occurs only where A-B is established, and it is more common in the Lu dialect than elsewhere. It seems in that dialect to be the contraction of either *iwo* or *γuo*, while in the Tso dialect it must be taken as the contraction of *γuo*. All of these words are in the first tone, so that we cannot add anything to our information about tonal behavior.

The third of the fusions mentioned is of a different sort, consisting in the elimination of all of the vocalic part of the second element, with retention of its initial. Boodberg remarks that the fusion could have happened only at the time when the archaic pronunciation of the two graphs had evolved into the comparatively simple phonemes *piəu* and *t̄i*. On the chronological scale that we have been using, this still indicates a relatively early period, and the fusion is most understandable for a time *before* \**t̄i* had moved in the direction of Anc. C. *t̄sí*. The situation shown in the texts tends to support this. For *piuət* is common in *Lu* and in *Tso*, but it also occurs 28 times in *Shih*, and 68 times in the genuine portions of *Shu*. Legge remarks, indeed, that its frequency in the latter text is one of the characteristics of that work. But this is not all, for although our A and B in this case are probably the two commonest words in Chinese, we cannot find them in the association A-B. The Harvard-Yenching concordance to the *Tso Chuan*, *Kung-yang*, and *Ku-liang* has about 5000 citations containing *piəu*, which is frequently followed by a personal pronoun in the anteposition usual to early Chinese syntax. But in not a single case is this pronoun *t̄i*, the place of such a combination being apparently regularly taken by the fusion *piuət*. All of this is evidence for the very early rise of a monosyllabic form.



To the three examples discussed we may add a fourth rather obvious fusion, namely 盍, Anc. C.  $\gamma\hat{a}p < *g'\hat{a}p$ , in the sense of "why not?," equivalent to 何不, Anc. C.  $\gamma\hat{a} p\hat{a}u < *g'\hat{a} pu-$ . The mechanics of this are similar to those involved in the previous one, consisting in the reduction of the second element to a mere stop sound, which then serves as a final for the first syllable. The occurrence of F in the texts is shown in the following table:

	A	B	A-B	F
<i>Shu</i>	18 times	305 times	never	never
<i>Shih</i>	132 times	c 600 times	4 times	never
<i>Lu</i>	frequent	frequent	a few times	9 times
<i>Tso</i>	frequent	frequent	7 times	40 times

The reader cannot fail to be struck again by the general similarity in distribution displayed by all four of these hypothetical fusions. The background for them is admittedly obscure and full of conditions on which we have no positive knowledge. But a clarification of the background can be made only gradually, by putting together various observed tendencies, and in the present case one may discern a tendency toward chronological sequence of three events: the use of A and B in the language, the association of A-B, the rise and spread of F.

The last two fusions suggest the operation of some factor comparable to a stress accent, for a reduction such as  $g'\hat{a} pu-$  to  $g'\hat{a}p$  can most easily be conceived as assisted, if not actually motivated, by a stronger emphasis on  $g'\hat{a}$  than on  $pu-$ . Our means for testing such a condition are very limited, but the metres of the *Shih-ching* may afford some help.<sup>12</sup> As indicated above, the combination A-B occurs only 4 times in that text. It could not, for syntactic reasons, form the last two syllables of a line, but the other two positions seem equally appropriate for it. Actually it is found three times in a 4-syllable line, always as the second and third syllables of the line. This suggests the accentuation  $'g'\hat{a} ,pu-$ . The fourth occurrence is in Ode 115, in the line 何不日鼓瑟, which was read in some such way as  $g'\hat{a} pu- \text{ niet } kuo \text{ s\hat{e}t}$ . The three stanzas of the ode, totalling 24 lines, are perfectly symmetrical except for this one, which suggests that the first two syllables were combined in one beat with the accentuation  $,g'\hat{a} pu- \text{ 'niet } \dots$ . Thus all the evidence,

<sup>12</sup> See my "Metrical 'Irregularity' in the *Shih ching*," HJAS 4 (1939). 284-296.



small as it is, points to a stress on the first element, and helps to explain the form of the resulting fusion-word.

The association *piəu ti* is not found in the Odes, as we have noted, but analogous combinations can be cited. The negative *piəu* is generally unstressed in the *Shih*. Out of 506 occurrences, excluding the sacrificial section, it is found only 90 times as the second syllable in a 4-character line, that is, it is predominantly in the first and third unstressed positions. Of the 90 lines having *piəu* as second syllable, many rhyme on the third syllable, and may therefore well have *piəu* unstressed. But even if we refuse to make this allowance, the fact remains that in 32 of the cases where *piəu* appears to be stressed, it is followed by an anteposed personal pronoun. This situation may be viewed from another angle. The combination 不我 and a verb, *piəu ngā . . .*, is found 38 times in the *Shih*, *ngā* being an anteposed pronoun. In 32 of these cases the stress, as assumed by our hypothesis, is on *piəu*, and only in 6 cases on *ngā*. The weight of evidence indicates then that while the negative was unstressed when preceding a verb directly as a sort of prefix, it became stressed when a pronoun intervened. If this was generally true, it is clear that the accentuation of *piəu ti*, before its fusion to *piuat*, was most probably on the first syllable.

There is another line of investigation that may also throw light on the development of fusion words. In his discussion of the word *yâp*, Wang Yin-chih remarks that while it is usually equivalent to "why not?," it is occasionally a simple "why?".<sup>13</sup> Now it would be a little startling, to say the least, if in a given language the same word might mean either "why?" or "why not?". The two examples cited by Wang are from Kuan-tzŭ and Chuang-tzŭ respectively:

- a) 盍不出從乎      Why not go along?
- b) 盍不爲行      Why not perform deeds?

In both sentences the first two characters mean "why not?," as Wang shows from the opinions of early commentators. And since the second character in each case is indisputably "not," it follows that the first must mean "why?". This argument seems unanswerable, and on the ideographic basis it probably is so. But it is only a further illustration of the danger into which students of

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<sup>13</sup> *Op. cit.*, IV. 7-8.



Chinese have been, and continue to be, led by a too ardent admiration of the system of writing.

If we turn our attention to the sound of these words rather than to the symbols with which they were written, we see a different picture. For the expression "why not?" is here *g'âp pu-*, and although *pu* corresponds to "not," it does not follow that the subtraction of *pu-* from the sound complex will leave *g'âp*. And this is no paradox, but a simple and usual phonetic phenomenon, which the reader may test for himself. If he starts with two evenly-stressed syllables such as *ga pu*, and pronounces them repeatedly with increasing emphasis on the first and increasing indifference to the second, he may easily find himself saying *gappu* and eventually *gap*. These are the stress conditions that we have shown to be the very likely creators of the fusion word *g'âp*. And the citations given us by Wang, far from confusing the picture, provide us with a most interesting glimpse of the intermediate stage between complete separation and complete fusion. This stage, which we may denote as AB, should be strong evidence in any particular case of the correctness of the formula  $F < A + B$ .

Another intermediate case came to the attention of Legge, who in his vocabulary to Mencius defined *t'siwo* as follows: "Generally, 諸=之乎. Yet once we have the 乎 expressed, and 諸 remains =之." The phenomenon here, though differing in details, is of the same order as the foregoing one. *T'si* and *γuo* enter a fixed association in which we may suppose the stress to be on the second syllable. We cannot prove this from the *Shih*, but a consideration of other patterns makes it the most probable assumption. Now there is a strong tendency in Chinese, which has not yet received proper attention, toward the assimilation of vowels in a dissyllabic structure. The innumerable compounds of the "pell-mell" type, among others, show this fondness for alliteration.<sup>14</sup> We should therefore be quite ready to expect a development of *t'si γuo* into *t'siwo γuo*, and Legge's example, instead of showing an incorrect or inconsistent use of the character 諸, catches the fusion *t'siwo* at a half-way stage. The same thing is found 7 times in the *Tso Chuan*,

<sup>14</sup> Boodberg, in the article cited, suggests that many of these compounds are the result of "dimidiation," that is, the break-up of *klang* into *kanglang*, for example. However this process is to be conceived, its end-result would still bear evidence to a partiality for alliteration.



which we have seen to be on the whole more conservative than *Lu* in regard to fusions.

*Is yen a fusion?*

We may now return to take up the question whether the form of *yen* can be explained by such processes as have been described. From the semantic point of view *yen* fits very well into the picture. We have seen the fusion of a third person pronoun with a negative particle and with an interrogative particle, also the fusion of an interrogative pronoun with the negative particle. The contraction of a preposition and its pronoun object into a monosyllabic form is quite to be expected, and *yen* may well be an F. But if so, the problem is to discover the A and B. The semantic equivalents that have been suggested for *yen* are 於之, 於是, and 於此, Anc. C. *·iwo tsí*, *·iwo zíě*, and *·iwo ts'íě*. None of these can by any stretch of the imagination be thought of as yielding a fusion *·iän* or *jän*.

Since *yen* has persistently been shown to include the various functions of 於, *·iwo*, one would be led to note that in the form *·iän* its initial is the same as that of the preposition. This is not an impressive fact, and may be due to pure coincidence, but it allows at least for the possibility that *·iwo* may be the first element. If so, the second element ought to be (-)an, that is, it should supply at least an *a* vowel coloring and a final nasal, and may include other elements that have disappeared. This *an* would presumably be a pronoun.

If *yen* is composed of two elements in that order, we can more readily understand the view that the interrogative and final were not originally distinguished according to initial. For to the second, "there," from *in* or *by* plus *it*, would correspond for the first one, "why? how?," *in* or *by* plus *what?* In other words, the first element being the same in both, whatever distinction was made would be in the second element, and would correspond to the difference between a demonstrative and an interrogative pronoun. It should be remarked here that this kind of difference is not as strongly marked in Chinese as one might think. In the modern language, beside *na*<sup>3</sup>, "what?" and *na*<sup>4</sup> "that," where tone does serve to distinguish, there are such expressions as 幾個 *chi*<sup>3</sup> *ko*. "how many?" or "some," where only position or context can differentiate.



One of the well-known facts about the preposition *·iwo* is that it possesses a twin with which it has been more or less inextricably tangled at various times in the history of the Chinese language. This is the perposition 于, Anc. C. *jiu* < \**gjiu* or *giu*, whose relationship to *·iwo* has been discussed at considerable length by Karlgren.<sup>15</sup> If we conceive that *·ian* may be a fusion of *·iwo* and a hypothetical *an*, it would be most natural to look for a parallel fusion of *jiu* with the same *an*. An exactly proportional form would be *jiän*, and this we have already seen to be a variant pronunciation of the character with which we started! The orthodox explanation of this variation we have seen to be open to suspicion. If we start with *Kuang-yün*, we are obliged to recognize that the character *yen* is assigned two pronunciations, *·iän* and *jiän*: the first standing for a word "how?" and also for the name of a bird, which is obviously the word for which the graph was first designed; the second standing for a particle "in it" or "there." This means that one graph has been employed for two words which are neither homophonous nor synonymous. In the symbolism suggested by Boodberg, we have

$$G < \begin{matrix} S^1P^1 \\ S^2P^2 \end{matrix}$$

On the other hand we have the view, as already indicated, that "how?" and "there" represent a later semantic differentiation from one original word, that is, the *G* was applied originally to a single *S*. There seems to be no doubt that, all other things being equal, the second situation is more plausible. But there remains the fact that with this *S* were associated a *P*<sup>1</sup> and a *P*<sup>2</sup>. To account for this we must either return to the position that *·iän* and *jiän* are two words closely synonymous, or take the view that they are dialect variants of one word.

Precisely the same situation, it will be found, is true of the pair *·iwo* and *jiu*. That certain texts use exclusively one or the other points to a difference in dialect. In the *Tso Chuan* however, where their distribution is about equal, Karlgren finds them to be "not always synonymous," though in certain senses they "are used promiscuously."<sup>16</sup> If *·iän* and *jiän* are fusions involving *·iwo* and *jiu* respectively, it would be quite natural for them to share in the confusion.

<sup>15</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 41-49.

<sup>16</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 42, 43.



But we can do much better than speculate. If we were left free to imagine a fusion between *jiu* and *an*, we might construct a tentative form *jiuan*. *Kuang-yün* gives among the characters with this pronunciation 爰, Karlgren, *Anal. Dict.* No. 1343, *jiwən* < \**g-*. And the first of the definitions usually given for this makes it equivalent to 於是, "in it" ! It appears to be an exact synonym of *yen*. Whatever may be our conclusion regarding the pair *·iän/jiän*, represented by one written character, we cannot escape the pair *·iän/jiwən*, written with two entirely different characters, yet practically synonymous. Their relationship to the pair *·iwo/jiu* can now be tested by their distribution in the texts, and the facts are shown in the following table:

	<i>·iwo</i>	<i>jiu</i>	<i>·iän</i>	<i>jiwən</i>
<i>Shu</i>	rare and late	411 times	3 times, late	7 times
<i>Shih</i>	16 times	over 300 times	18 times	50 times
<i>Lu</i>	frequent	does not belong	frequent	none
<i>Tso</i>	875 times	768 times	886 times	none

The correlation is not perfect, but it is suggestive. Compared with the tables previously given, the present one shows the same progressive extension in the use of a fusion word. Where *jiu* predominates, the form *jiwən* does also; where *jiu* is absent, there is no *jiwən*. But in the *Tso Chuan* the form *jiwən* has died out completely, while *jiu* is still alive. This would be disturbing, if the answer were not already given in Karlgren's study of the prepositions. He says:<sup>17</sup>

When examining their concrete senses, one soon finds that *·iwo* and *jiu* are by no means always interchangeable in the *Tso Chuan*. In the combinations 於是, "there, then," and 於此, "here," there is always *·iwo*, never *jiu*. . . . In other cases the laws are not so absolute. . . .

That is to say, the clearest distinction in use between the two prepositions is found precisely in the combination of preposition and pronoun to which we have found *yen* equivalent. Here the *Tso Chuan* uses only *·iwo*, and correspondingly we find only *·iän*.

One final point may be mentioned. Whatever may be the complicated relationships between the words here studied, it is clear that in the *Shih* both *·iwo* and *·iän* are, so to speak, in their infancy. And just here, in Ode 186, is repeated twice an expression

<sup>17</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 42.



that, so far as this writer is aware, is unknown elsewhere. It is 於焉, *·iwo ·iän*, at the beginning of two lines. Legge, following one commentator, gives it the sense "in this, here," remarking that the second syllable alone would give the same meaning. Another commentator interprets it as "in what? where?". Here is the same riddle of the part being equal to the whole that we have already noted in two instances. On the ideographic basis it cannot be solved without attributing to the Chinese a most capricious set of ideas. But if the characters are only an imperfect reflection of sounds, they give us here a picture of the intermediate, assimilating stage in the progress of *·iwo an* to *·iän*.

### Conclusion

It must be admitted that the foregoing discussion has not proved very much, in the sense of establishing incontrovertible facts. Its purpose has been chiefly to explore certain lines of methodology. Nevertheless, the probability has been shown to be very strong that *yen* is morphologically related to a pair of prepositions. What the exact nature of this relationship is, we may not know without much further study. But it is clear that the investigation of strictly limited text material has many interesting possibilities, and even an apparently insignificant result may at some later date prove illuminating. For, as Boodberg has remarked, until very recently Chinese semantics could be said to have been non-existent.<sup>18</sup>

In the light of other observable phenomena, it seems most likely that *yen* contains an element *\*an*, which was perhaps a very early pronoun of some sort. It is true that such a pronoun has not as yet been identified, but this is no absolute bar to assuming it if circumstances compel. Besides *yen* there is another word in which it may well be preserved. Classical Chinese has a pair of words whose ancient sounds show a clear connection: 如, *ńziwo*, 若, *ńziak*. Both are transitive verbs meaning "resemble, be like," and fully justify us in setting up a root *\*ńzi* with that significance. A third very common word is 然, *ńziän*, which cannot be used as a transitive verb, but whose meaning is always equivalent to that of a verb plus an object, "be like this, be so." It will be immediately apparent that this word, too, can best be explained as a fusion, and if this is so it leads us back to the same hypothetical *an* that offers the best explanation of *yen*.

<sup>18</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 354.



## *Samādhi* “HOSTAGE,” AND RELATED MATTERS FROM KAUṬILYA

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THE WORD *samādhi* is one of the most familiar nouns in the Sanskrit lexicon. Its standard meaning is “concentration, concentrated trance”—the self-hypnotic state induced, for instance, by what are called *yoga* practices. This is commonly supposed to be derived from more fundamental meanings like “setting upon or together, fixation, establishment, concentrated attention,” which are easily derived from the meaning of the verb *sam-ā-dhā*, “to fix or settle upon or in or together with.”

In a seminar recently conducted on the Kautīliya Arthaśāstra,<sup>1</sup> I was struck by the occurrence of this word (in S<sup>1</sup> and S<sup>3</sup> 32.4; J 20.19; G [part 1] 82.7) in a compound *samādhi-mokṣa*, where no meaning hitherto recorded in our dictionaries seems to fit. The translators render “breaking of treaties of peace” (St; similarly M), while Gc says “freeing of hostages.” But neither “treaty” nor “hostage” is a meaning heretofore recorded for *samādhi*. The compound is contained in a list of the duties of the envoy (*dūta*), and the context throws no light on it. A little search, however, soon revealed a later passage in K which throws a good deal of light on it.

I refer to the seventeenth Chapter (*adhyāya*) of the seventh Book (*adhikaraṇa*), which contains two Topics (*prakaraṇa*),<sup>2</sup> which are

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<sup>1</sup> I shall abbreviate this as K. On its editions, translations, and commentaries see my article, “The latest work on the Kautīliya Arthaśāstra,” JAOS 48 (1928). 289 ff. I shall refer to Shama Sastry’s first edition (1909) as S<sup>1</sup>; his third edition (1924) as S<sup>3</sup>; Jolly’s edition and notes as J; Gaṇapati Sastri’s as G; the fragmentary ancient commentary called *Nayacandrikā* (edited by Udayavīra Sastri and printed in the second volume of Jolly’s edition) as N; Gaṇapati’s modern Sanskrit commentary as Gc; Shama Sastry’s (the name is here printed as one word) translation (3d ed., 1929) as St; Meyer’s German translation as M. References to the text are to page and line of the several editions.

<sup>2</sup> The division of the text of K into “Topics” is independent of that into ‘Books’ and ‘Chapters,’ and the “Topics” are numbered consecutively from the beginning to the end (1-150). When, as here, a Chapter contains more than one Topic, the subjects of all the Topics contained in the



numbered 122 and 123. The heading (*sūtra*<sup>3</sup>) of this Chapter reads in all editions *saṁdhikarma, saṁdhimokṣaś ca*. No one will doubt that these are the separate titles of the two Topics contained in the Chapter. Where is the dividing line between them? None of the editions makes any break in the text; we may suppose therefore that the mss. on which they are based made none. But N makes Topic 122 end after the words *na caikaputram iti* (S<sup>1</sup> 313.13, S<sup>3</sup> 315.14, J 189.7, G [part 2] 353.6); at this point N has a colophon, *iti saṁdhiprakaraṇam*. And Gc, too, recognizes the end of Topic 122 here, for he says: "the word *iti* marks the end of the Topic 'treaty-making.'"<sup>4</sup> I think we may safely assume that Topic 123 begins with the next line.

Indeed, we may go farther, and infer that both N and Gc knew a form of the text which inserted here a new "heading" (*sūtra*), giving the subject of the ensuing Topic 123. For they both quote such a *sūtra* (cf. footnote 3), although no printed text of K, not even G, puts one into the text at this point.

According to Gc (first line of comm. on p. 354 of part 2), this "heading" of Topic 123 is *saṁdhimokṣaḥ*. This, it will be noted, agrees with the second part of the heading of the Chapter, as I have cited it above, in all printed texts.

But N differs from this. It quotes the heading of Topic 123

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Chapter are, in all the printed editions, given in a single heading at the beginning of the Chapter. But in the original, or at least an older, form of the work it appears (as I shall show presently) that this was not the case; that, on the contrary, a separate heading was given for each Topic at its beginning. Sometimes one Topic covers several Chapters. Then the usage of the editions varies, and is sometimes inconsistent. See for example the very first Topic, embracing Chapters 2-4 of Book 1 (of which Chapter 1 is only a table of contents and is not counted as a "Topic"); here S and J give the Topic-heading before Chapter 2 once for all, and no heading for Chapters 3 and 4, but G provides headings also for the latter, taken from their colophons. This practice seems elsewhere to be followed in S and J also; see Topic 116, which includes Chapters 9-12 of Book 7.

<sup>3</sup> This word seems to be constantly used by both N and Gc as a technical term for the "heading" or title of a "topic" (*prakaraṇa*). For one instance out of very many, see Gc (part 2) 292. 9; N 16. 16. I do not find this meaning of *sūtra* in the Sanskrit dictionaries. Perhaps, however, this practice means only that N and Gc, like St (p. xx), regarded the whole of the text of K as no more than a commentary (*bhāṣya*) upon the 150 Topic-headings, which alone were therefore the *sūtra* or basic work! So far as I know, no other modern has accepted this view.

<sup>4</sup> *itiśabdaḥ saṁdhikarmaprakaraṇasamāptidyotakaḥ*.



here as *samādhimokṣaḥ*. According to the editor's note, this is inconsistent with N's own version of the *sūtra* at the beginning of the Chapter, where, the editor specifically says, the reading is *saṃdhimokṣaḥ*. (Or does the editor merely mean that this is the reading of Jolly's edition, in the second volume of which is printed his edition of N? If so he expresses it badly.) I shall show later why I think we must assume that N's reading alone is right, and that in all the editions *samādhimokṣaḥ* must be substituted for *saṃdhimokṣaḥ*.

For the moment this need not be decided. There is no doubt, however, that the opening sentence of Topic 123, which immediately follows, supports N. It reads, in all texts of K, without variant: *abhyuccīyamānaḥ samādhimokṣaṃ kārayet*, "becoming powerful enough (Gc *upacitāśaktisiddhiḥ*; similarly N), he shall instigate *samādhi-mokṣa*." The meaning of this term, particularly of *samādhi*, is what I am primarily concerned with establishing in this paper.

This expression in the text, the opening sentence of the Topic, whether or not found also in the heading, may surely be assumed, not unreasonably, to indicate the subject-matter of the Topic which it introduces. Now it happens that that subject matter is strikingly unified. It deals exclusively with fraudulent ways in which a king who has given a hostage to another king may enable that hostage to escape. This makes it at least a natural *prima-facie* guess that *samādhi-mokṣa* means something like "freeing of hostages," or possibly "getting free from (the condition of) hostageship, or from the having-given-hostages," and consequently that *samādhi* means either concretely "hostage," or, as a noun of action, "the act of giving hostages" or "the state of having given hostages." The first of these alternatives is, in fact, the interpretation given by both N and Gc. N (interpreting the "heading," *sūtra*) says: "*Sam-ādhi* means one, such as a son, who has been handed over; (so called) because he is *pledged* (*ādhiyate*), that is, taken in order to create confidence, by uniting (*saṃbhūya*), that is, by agreement between the two parties."<sup>5</sup> Gc says: "*Sam-ādhi* means one who is pledged (*āhitaḥ*) in order to create confidence, by uniting (*saṃbhūya*), that is, by agreement between the two parties,

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<sup>5</sup> *saṃbhūyobhayasaṃvādenādhiyate viśvāsārtham āpyata* [text *āpptyata*] *iti samādhiḥ putrādir arpitaḥ*.



namely the one-who-wants-to-win (*viḥigīṣu*, regular term for K’s ‘hero,’ the Machiavellian ‘Prince’) and his enemy.”<sup>6</sup>

Gc even goes so far as to make the word *saṁdhi*, in his version of the heading (*saṁdhi-mokṣaḥ*), mean the same thing: “One, such as a son, who is pledged for the purpose of a treaty (*saṁdhi*), is here termed a ‘treaty’ (*saṁdhi*) by extension.”<sup>7</sup> This seems rather violent; but I think it would be justified if the true reading of the heading were that found in Gc. The actual contents of the following “Topic” make it scarcely possible to take the heading as meaning anything far removed from this.

Yet no modern, Hindu or western, except Gaṇapati, seems to have taken it, or the first sentence of the Topic, so. The translators render *abhyuccīyamānaḥ samādhimokṣam kārayet*: “Whoever is rising in power may break the agreement of peace.” So St; J by silence implies a like interpretation; and so essentially M (“die Auflösung des Vertrags” is his rendering of *saṁdhi-mokṣa*). Now, while it is true that the dictionaries fail to record *saṁdhi* in the sense of “hostage” or “the furnishing of hostages,” I am equally unable to find in them any warrant for its meaning “agreement of peace” or “treaty, Vertrag.” Etymological guesswork would certainly support the former quite as well as the latter, as was sufficiently shown by the glosses of N and Gc. I shall offer further etymological comments below. Unless, then, some new evidence from Sanskrit usage can be adduced for the meaning “agreement” or the like, this interpretation can hardly be defended.

Such evidence was undoubtedly felt as furnished by an earlier passage in this same Chapter of K, in Topic 122, the subject of which, we remember, is *saṁdhikarma*, “the making of agreements.” It begins thus: *śamaḥ saṁdhiḥ samādhir ity eko ’rthaḥ. rājñāṁ viśvāsopagamaḥ śamaḥ saṁdhiḥ samādhir iti* (S<sup>1</sup> 311.13, S<sup>3</sup> 313.13, J 188, 2, G 349. 2). This has always been interpreted—not only by the translators, but by the commentators, N and Gc—as meaning: “The words *śama*, *saṁdhi*, and *saṁdhi* all have one and the same meaning. They all mean the entrance into a state of confidence on the part of kings.” (Gc defines *viśvāsopagamaḥ* by: *viśvāsaḥ paṇabandhaviṣayo niścaya upagamyaṭe ’neneti*. Cf. footnotes 5

<sup>6</sup> *śatruviḥigīṣubhyāṁ saṁbhūyobhayaśaṁvādena viśvāsārtham āhitaḥ saṁdhiḥ*. Both this and N’s gloss are obviously etymologizing; they try to render separately *saṁ* and *ā-dhi* (root *dhā* with *ā*).

<sup>7</sup> *saṁdhyartham āhitaḥ putrādir iha saṁdhir ity upacaryate*.



and 6; this is the Leitmotif of the Chapter.) If that is so, since *saṃdhi* in this context unquestionably means “agreement, treaty (between states),” it would seem to follow that *samādhī* means the same thing. The assumption is that K’s text definitely states that, in its usage, these three words are interchangeable synonyms.

It may seem rash to propose a different interpretation from this which has been so universally accepted. Yet I am obliged to do just that, for the following reasons.

First, we must consider not only *samādhī* but the other supposed synonym of *saṃdhi*, namely *śama*. Can the author have meant that *śama* is synonymous with *saṃdhi* in the sense of “agreement, treaty, alliance”? What *śama* means in K is made extremely clear by Chapter 2 of Book 6, which is Topic 97, and is entitled *śama-vyāyāmikam*, “on tranquillity and strenuosity.” At the beginning of this Chapter the two terms discussed in it are thus defined: *śamavyāyāmau yogakṣemayor yoniḥ. karmārambhāṇām yogārādhanā vyāyāmaḥ. karmaphalopabhogānām kṣemārādhanā śamaḥ*. That is: “Tranquillity and strenuosity are the (respective) source(s) of exertion and peaceful possession<sup>8</sup> (*yoga* and *kṣema*; in inverse order). Strenuosity is the accomplishment by exertion of the undertaking of activities. Tranquillity is the accomplishment by peaceful possession of the enjoyment of the fruits of activities (once attained).” From this—and the following Topic contains nothing to suggest a modification of it—it seems clear that *śama*, “tranquillity,” contains no suggestion of “agreement, treaty, bargain,” or “alliance” (*saṃdhi*). What point would there be in K’s deliberately blurring the meaning of this clear and simple term, which (with its opposite, “strenuosity”) he thought important enough to deserve a whole Chapter? And surely it would be confusing the meaning to call “tranquillity” a synonym of “agreement.”

If, then, K at the beginning of Topic 122 says that *śama* and *saṃdhi* (and also *samādhī*) have just one *artha*, it seems to me that he must have meant not one “meaning,” but one “purpose”—another, and a very familiar, meaning of *artha*. And, he adds, that *purpose* (not “meaning”) is *rājñām viśvāsopagamaḥ*, “the arriving at confidence on the part of kings”; more freely, making

<sup>8</sup> Gc: *apūrvālābho yogaḥ, tasya vyāyāmaḥ kāraṇam; ārjitānām nirvighnopabhogāḥ kṣemaḥ, tasya śamaḥ kāraṇam*. Our fragment of N does not contain this passage.



the other fellow feel safe with you (while you privately get ready to cut his throat). It is simply for this purpose that one either practises "tranquillity" (lying low, seeming to be free from any ambition and quite satisfied with things as they are); or, secondly, makes a treaty with the power he fears; or, thirdly, furnishes hostages to him. (The latter two may be combined; see below.) All these various methods have the same goal, to lull him into a feeling of security (*viśvāśopagama*). The particular subject of Topic 122 is "the making of agreements," *saṁdhikarma*; but its opening sentences remind the reader that the only political reason for making them is precisely that, to make the enemy think you are not a menace. The Topic goes on to say that agreements between rival powers may be based on simple words, oaths, guarantors, or "receipt" (of hostages; *pratigraha*, see below). In the last instance it is sought to make the enemy's confidence especially strong by combining "agreement" with "receipt (of hostages)." In all cases it is clearly understood that you will break your agreement the minute it suits your convenience.

The word *saṁdhi* occurs once again in Topic 122 (S<sup>1</sup> 312. 11, S<sup>3</sup> 314. 11, J 188. 15, G 351. 1). The text is discussing the advantages and disadvantages of giving one or another kind of hostage, and says: *apalyasaṁdhaḥ tu kanyāputradāne, dadat tu kanyāṁ atisaṁdhatte*; "Now when offspring are given as hostages, as to the giving of a daughter or a son, rather the one who gives a daughter gets the better of (his enemy)." <sup>9</sup>

The only other occurrence of the word *saṁdhi* in K, as far as I have discovered from Shama Sastry's *Index Verborum* (Mysore, 3 vols., 1924-5), is that referred to above in my second paragraph. The context throws no light on the meaning, and we have no ancient commentary on the passage, but "freeing of hostages" (with Gc) fits certainly at least as well as "breaking of treaties of peace" (St; similarly M).

The only verb form from *saṁ-ā-dhā* recorded in the *Index Verborum* as occurring in K gives us no help.<sup>10</sup> Nor is it often

<sup>9</sup> So Gc, and apparently N, whose gloss is not quite clear (possibly corrupt, as much of its text certainly is). This is surely more plausible philologically than "In case of an agreement based on offspring (as hostages)," though the essential meaning is the same.

<sup>10</sup> It occurs in the third line from the end of Book 7 (S<sup>1</sup> 319. 2): *sarvopāyān saṁādadhāt*, "he shall apply (make use of) all the (political) methods (means)."



used in the sense of "pledge" (as a hostage, or the like) in other Sanskrit works. In fact I know of no case where it has precisely this meaning, and have found only one passage where it comes fairly close to it. This is Mbh. (Calc.) 7.4253 (quoted in BR.): *evam tvayi samādhāya dharmarājam*, "Thus having entrusted to thee Dharmarāja (Yudhiṣṭhira)." Arjuna speaks to Kṛṣṇa, entrusting Y. to his care before setting out to kill Jayadratha. There is no question, of course, of hostageship; but it may be noted that *samādhāya* is here a synonym of *nikṣipya*, used in the same context a few lines before (4250: *tvayi cāham . . . nṛpam nikṣipya*); and it is well known that *ni-kṣip* is familiarly used in the sense of "pledge, pawn."

More important is the well-known use of *ā-dhā*, verb, and *ādhi*, noun, in the sense of "pledge, deposit, (put up as) security (for a debt)." <sup>11</sup> The noun, *ādhi*, in particular, is the regular word for this in legal literature. The verb *ā-dhā* seems to be not so commonly recorded; but it is very important that it occurs twice in the very same Chapter of K which we are discussing, and obviously in the sense of "pledge, deliver as hostage." All commentators and translators so understand it, and the interpretation cannot possibly be questioned. The instances are *ādhātum* S<sup>1</sup> 312.15, S<sup>3</sup> 314.15, J 188.19, G(2) 351.5; and *ādadhyāt* (*ātmānam ādadhyāt, na caikaputram*, "he shall give himself as a hostage, rather than his only son"), S<sup>1</sup> 313.12, S<sup>3</sup> 315.13, J 189.7, G(2) 353.5.

Since *samādhi* is a root noun from *sam-ā-dhā* exactly parallel in formation to *ādhi* "pledge, security" from *ā-dhā*, and since Sanskrit is full of formations in which the prefix *sam* adds no more than "perfective" or "intensive" force to the verbal root (Whitney 1077b; Renou p. 145), the etymological basis seems clear and simple for the meaning which the context compels us to assume for *samādhi*. The repeated use of forms of *ā-dhā* in the same sense and the same context is a strong support for our theory.

I assume that *samādhi* was originally a noun of action and meant "the act of pledging as hostage" or "the condition of giving, or having given, hostages." It probably still has this meaning in *apatyasamādhau* (S<sup>1</sup> 312.11, above), which means "in case of the

<sup>11</sup> Cf. also *āhitaka*, "slave delivered by his owner to a creditor as pledge for a debt," S<sup>1</sup>, S<sup>3</sup> 47.18; J 29.10; G(1) 113.1.



pledging-as-hostage of a child.” It certainly means this in the triad *śamaḥ saṁdhiḥ samādhiḥ* (S<sup>1</sup> 311.13, above). In the compound *samādhi-mokṣa*, however, it probably has become concrete, and means “hostage,” as N and Gc say, so that the compound means “freeing of hostages.” Similarly, the English noun *hostage* comes, through Old French, from a popular Latin *\*obsidaticum*, from Latin *obsidātus*; the first meaning was “hostageship, condition of a hostage,” from which was derived later the concrete meaning which the word now has exclusively in English.—If however anyone wishes to assume that *samādhi-mokṣa* means (contrary to N and Gc) “freeing from, or dissolution of, the state of having given hostages,” I see no way of proving him wrong, and the result is substantially the same.

The same shift from abstract to concrete may perhaps be found in the use of *pratigraha*, “receipt,” used several times as a near-synonym of *samādhi* in the same chapter of K (and like *samādhi* not recorded elsewhere in Sanskrit literature in this sense). It is clearly defined in the text itself: *bandhumukhyapragrahaḥ pratigrahaḥ*, “Receipt is the taking (as hostages) of important kinsmen,” S<sup>1</sup> 312.8, S<sup>3</sup> 314.8, J 188.12, G(2) 350.9. Here it is certainly a noun of action (so J; M, inaccurately as I think, renders it as concrete, “Geisel”). In the compound *pratigraha-grahaṇaviśvastasya*, next line, it seems likely to be concrete: “of one who feels secure in (because of) the taking of a (concrete ‘receipt,’ i. e. a) hostage,”<sup>12</sup> although possibly even here one might understand “secure in the taking of receipt, in having got ‘receipt.’”<sup>13</sup>

Finally, the heading (*sūtra*) of Topic 123 in K must surely have been *samādhimokṣaḥ*, as N gives it at the beginning of the text of the Topic. The word *saṁdhimokṣaḥ*, found in all printed texts at the beginning of Chapter 17 (= Topics 122-123), is clearly a corruption, induced by the heading of the associated Topic 122, namely *saṁdhikarma*. Not “the dissolution of agreements,” but “the freeing of hostages” (or “the freeing from the condition of having given hostages”), is the subject of Topic 123. One needs only to read the text to see this. That *samādhimokṣaḥ*, immediately

<sup>12</sup> So (if I understand them rightly) J, and Gc (*parasmāt pratigraho mayā grhīta iti visrambheṇa sthitasya*). Unfortunately N has a lacuna here.

<sup>13</sup> Note that, etymologically, *samādhi* starts from the point of view of the giver, pledger, of a hostage, *pratigraha* from that of the recipient.



following *saṃdhikarma* in the same line, was changed to *saṃdhi-mokṣaḥ*, is not at all strange in view of the notoriously bad state of K tradition.

This little study is only a sample of what, in my opinion, will have to be multiplied literally hundreds of times before this highly technical, crabbed, difficult, and yet enormously important work of Indian literature is understood. Even the great dictionary of Böhtlingk and Roth is of little use here. This text was unknown in their day, and they seem to have made relatively little use of the later technical literature from the same field. Consequently K is full of technical terms which are not found in any dictionary, and can only be understood by study of the contexts. Important contributions have been made by Shama Sastry, Jolly, and especially Meyer. Still more important, in my opinion, are those of Gaṇapati Sastri's Sanskrit commentary, which was relatively neglected, and its value seriously underestimated, by Meyer. Gaṇapati alone, of modern interpreters of K, has the correct understanding of *saṃdhi*; and this is a far from unique case. But even Gaṇapati has not come within leagues of a final understanding of the whole of the Arthaśāstra.





# THE N-FORM OF THE HURRIAN NOUN

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MOST INVESTIGATORS in the field of Hurrian grammar agree on the existence of a "singular nominative in -š" and of a "singular accusative in -n." They have to admit, however, that the -n of the latter form is in many instances missing.<sup>1</sup>

The question as to the legitimacy of the terms "nominative" and "accusative" will be left aside here; it is evident that such terms, created for Indo-European languages, are applicable to languages of an entirely different structure only with reservations. The problem which will be investigated here is a purely formal one: that of the alleged interchange of forms with and without -n. If such an interchange exists, there must be a definite principle which governs it.

The discovery of such a principle will be facilitated by the comparison of sentences which display the forms under discussion in an identical, or at least similar, context. The following are good examples:

- (a) *aš-ti-i-in še-e-ni-iw-wa-ú-e* (34) *a-ru-u-ša-ú* (IV 33 f.)<sup>2</sup>  
"I gave my brother's wife."  
*un-du-ma-a-an še-e-ni-iw-wa-ú-e-en aš-ti a-ru-u-ša-ú* (III  
11) "when<sup>3</sup> I gave my brother's wife."
- (b) *ni-ḥa-a-ri-i-in* (28) *še-e-ni-iw-wa-ú-e-ni-e a-a-i-e-e pè-te-eš-  
ti-tén* (III 27 f.) "let the dowry ..... be  
satisfactory."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Messerschmidt, *Mitanni-Studien* 8; Bork, *Die Mitannisprache* 12, 46. The lack of the -n where expected leads Friedrich (*Kleine Beiträge zur churritischen Grammatik* 9) and Speiser (*BAOS* 74 6; *JAOS* 59 291, 307 f.) to the belief that the normal form of the "accusative" is that without -n, and that this suffix, where it appears, may carry a meaning of its own.

<sup>2</sup> All unspecified quotations are taken from the Mitanni letter for which, besides the autograph in *V(ordersasiatische) S(chriftdenkmäler)* XII 200, Friedrich's transliteration published on pp. 8 ff. of his *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler* is used.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. my remark, *Lang.* 15 217 n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> For the general idea cf. E(1) A(marna) 29 24: [*ù ti*]-*ir-ḥa-tum ša* *INi-im-mu-u-r[i-ia a-bi-i]-ka ša [ú-še-b]i-lu pāṭē la i-šu* "and the dowry



*pè-te-eš-ti-e-na-an ni-ḥa-a-a-ri* (III 34) "may the dowry be satisfactory."

- (c) *un-ḍu-ma-a-an še-e-ni-iw-wa-e-en pa-aš-š[u-ši]*<sup>5</sup> (II 107)  
"when my brother had sent an embassy."<sup>6</sup>

[*un-ḍu-ma-a-an*]<sup>7</sup> *ḥé-en-ni-e-en še-e-ni-iw-wa pa-aš-šu-ši*  
(I 65) "[when] now(?) my brother had sent an embassy."

- (d) *še-e-ni-iw-wa-e-en at-ta-ar-ti-iw-wa-tan tiš-ša-an-na-ma-an*  
*an-za-an-nu-u-ḥu-ša-a-ú* (51) *ta-a-ta-ra-aš-ka-e* (III  
50 f.) "I asked my brother very much for . . . . ."  
[. . . . .]<sup>7a</sup> *še-e-ni-iw-wa an-za-a-an-nu-u-ḥu-ši tiš-ša-an* (I 18) "[. . . . .] there was a request made on the part of my brother."

Scarce as these examples may be, they suggest, upon closer examination, that the presence or absence of the *-n* depends on the place which the respective noun<sup>8</sup> occupies in the sentence. The form without *-n* is invariably placed towards the end of the sentence, while at the beginning of the sentence the *-n* is obligatory.

With regard to the *n*-less type it is essential to add that it is always preceded by an *n*-suffix attached to the first, or occasionally to the second, word of the sentence. For further illustration of this point, the following passages may be compared:

*še-e-na-wa-ša-an* <sup>I</sup>*Ni-im-mu-u-ri-i-aš* (85) . . . . .  
*ta-še ap-li ta-a-a-nu-u-ša* (86) <sup>URU</sup>*I-ḥi-pè-ni* (I 84 ff.)  
'your brother Nimmuriya . . . . . made a generous(?) present with the city Ihipe"

(here the so-called nominative begins the sentence) or

*pa-aš-ši-na-an še-e-ni-iw-wa* (113) *šu-ú-ta* (III 112 f.)  
"my brother has sent an embassy to me"

(where the verb heads the sentence).

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of Nimmuriya, your father, which he sent had no limits." For the syntax of the sentence I must refer here to a paper soon to appear in Lang.

<sup>5</sup> The restitution is justified by the passage quoted immediately hereafter.

<sup>6</sup> For the syntax I again refer to the paper mentioned in fn. 4.

<sup>7</sup> The reason for this restitution will become obvious presently; another possibility which may be considered is *a-ti-i-ni-i-in* (cf. below p. 219).

<sup>7a</sup> Restore a word ending in *-n*.

<sup>8</sup> Proper names are deliberately neglected here; the suffix is obligatory with them whatever place in the sentence they may occupy.



The cases which show the *-n* after the second word are only apparent exceptions. As far as they have been quoted,<sup>9</sup> they begin with the word *unduman*, and the statement is in order that all other sentences<sup>10</sup> starting with this word share the same peculiarity. The existence of *un-du* (II 56, III 61) shows that *unduman* must be analyzed as *undu-ma-n*; in other words, the sentences in question start with a word to which already two suffixes, *-ma* and *-n*, are attached. It is easily understood that, in such circumstances, the *-n* of the "accusative" preferred a position after the second word.

Another conglomerate of the type of *undu-ma-n* is *ati-ni-n*. Although occurrences of *ati* alone are non-existent, the frequency of the particle *-ni*<sup>11</sup> leaves no doubt as to the correctness of the analysis given. Two examples may suffice as documentation:

*a-ti-i-ni-i-in ta-še-e-en id-du-u-uš-ta* (I 90) ".....  
the present is on its way."<sup>12</sup>  
*a-ti-i-ni-i-in* (93) *še-e-ni-iw-wa-e-en ta-a-du-ka-a-ri-iš šu-  
ú-ú-ra hi-na-ši* (II 92 f.) "may ..... my brother  
have established love with me ....."

Hence,<sup>13</sup> the following rule can tentatively be posited: The *-n* of the "accusative" follows its noun immediately only when this noun begins the sentence, or when the noun is second in the sentence after a word which itself already supports two enclitic suffixes.

For conclusive proof of this thesis one might demand a comprehensive treatment of all *n*- "accusatives," on the one hand, and all *n*-less "accusatives" on the other, and the further demonstration that their occurrence follows the given rule. In the present stage of our knowledge this would involve a discussion of a good

<sup>9</sup> II 107; III 11; cf. I 65.

<sup>10</sup> II 57; III 2, 21, 35; IV 30.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Lang. 15 253. For the sake of clearness it may be added that this *-ni* must be kept apart from the nominalizing suffix *-ne* which is found after the *-we* of the "genitive" and after subjunctive verbal forms (cf. Speiser, JAOS 59 307 with fn. 56). Whether the *-ne* which appears in certain nouns between stem and suffix (cf. Speiser, l. c. and Friedrich, Anal. Or. 12 125) is identical, I do not know. With regard to *ti-we-e-ni-en* (IV 33, see below) I remark that the final *-en* (not *-in*) is due to the *e* in which *tiwe* ends; without the particle, a form *tiwe-n* is to be expected.

<sup>12</sup> For the syntax see Lang. 15 219.

<sup>13</sup> Other examples are I 94, 95; II 13, 97; III 59.



many incomprehensible passages and amount to a commentary on the Mitanni letter. This cannot be attempted here, but it can confidently be stated that, so far as our understanding goes, the theory is borne out by the evidence of the inscriptions.

The thesis implies the rejection of the customary explanation of the element *-man*. It is said<sup>14</sup> to be a particle with the meaning "and" or "but." If it contains a conjunction, according to the view developed, it is represented by *-ma*<sup>15</sup> alone.

This interpretation is strongly supported, if not required, by such cases where the *ma* is inserted between the stem of a noun and the *-n* of the "accusative." Besides

*še-e-ni-iw-wa-ta-a-ma-a-an ti-wi šu-uk-ku kul-li* (II 12, 49)

we find, with different word-order but otherwise identical:

*ti-wa-e-ma-a-an šuk-ku še-e-ni-iw-wa-ta kul-li* (IV 1)

According to the principle established above one should, in the second case, expect the *n*-form *tiwe-n*. Instead, *tiwe-ma-n* is actually found.

Other examples of this kind are:

*u-u-li-e-en še-e-ni-iw-wa-uš* (54) *pa-aš-ši-i-it-ḫé pa-aš-ša-ri-i-wa-a-en* (IV 53 f.) "my brother must not send another man as ambassador"<sup>16</sup>

as against

*u-u-li-ma-a-an pa-aš-še-e-e-ta* (IV 55) "should he send another man."<sup>17</sup>

*ta-a-an-ki-ma-a-a-an an-ti ma-a-an-ni* (IV 58 f., 60)

as against

*an-ti-ma-a-an ma-a-an-ni ta-a-an-ki* (IV 78).

Compare, furthermore, *ni-ḫa-a-ri-i-in* (III 27, see above 217) with *ni-ḫa-a-ri-ma-a-an* (III 15); *me-e-na-a-an* (IV 61) with *me-e-na-ma-an* (IV 63).

<sup>14</sup> See Friedrich, *Kleine Beiträge* 14 ff. where the earlier literature is quoted.

<sup>15</sup> In the Hurrian of the Boğazköy tablets frequently *-m* occurs instead.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Friedrich, *Kleine Beiträge* 10.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. *ibid.* 20.



One may refer, moreover, to the passage

*ur-ḫé-e-en pa-a-la gu-li-a-a-ma pa-a-li-ma-a-an ur-ḫa gu-li-a-a-ma* (III 106).

Whatever its sense<sup>18</sup> may be, it is evident that the sentence consists of two parallel parts. In the same way as *pa-a-la* corresponds with *ur-ḫa*, the initial *ur-ḫé-e-en* corresponds with *pa-a-li-ma-a-an*. By the side of *urḫen* one cannot but expect another *n*-form *pali-n*; one actually has *pali-ma-n*.

The *ni* which we encountered in *ati-ni-n* is handled in an analogous fashion. It is, however, more rarely employed with ordinary nouns. A good example seems:

*ti-wə-e-ni-en ḫi-su-úḫ-ḫu-ši-uw-wə* (IV 33) "the word was no reason for offence."

What is true for the singular is also true for the plural. The relationship between

<i>aštiš</i> <sup>19</sup>	<i>aštin</i> <sup>20</sup>	-n . . . . . <i>ašti</i> <sup>21, 22</sup>
is exactly paralleled by that between		
<i>ennašuš</i> <sup>23</sup>	<i>enillan</i>	
	<i>tiwallan</i>	-l(a) . . . . . <i>tiwena</i> <sup>24</sup>

The best example for the last mentioned form is afforded by the Gilgameš passage KBo VI 33 = KUB VIII 61 I 8 f.

<sup>D</sup>*Gal-ga-mi-šu-ul ti-wi-na[ . . . . . -ta]* (9) *a-lu-ma-a-i-in ka-ti-ia* "Gilgameš announced the words to . . . . ."<sup>24a</sup>

<sup>18</sup> See Friedrich, *Kleine Beiträge* 40 and compare my criticism, *Lang.* 15 254.

<sup>19</sup> See Friedrich, *Kleine Beiträge* 7 ff.

<sup>20</sup> Example above.

<sup>21</sup> Besides III 11 (above) III 1, 21; IV 58 are additional occurrences.

<sup>22</sup> Compare furthermore *ni-ḫa-a-ri* II 14; III 42; IV 48; *še-e-ni-iw-wə* I 49, 75, 110; III 33, 99; IV 12. Confront moreover *ta-še-e-en* I 90 with *ta-še* I 85 (above); *ta-a-an-ki-i-in* I 96 with *ta-a-an-ki* IV 78 (above); *šu-e-e-en* I 57 with *šu-e* I 69.

<sup>23</sup> See Friedrich, *Kleine Beiträge* 10 ff.

<sup>24</sup> I 73 (below), 99, 105, 108; II 75; III 53, 56; IV 30 (below); II 80 is slightly damaged.

<sup>24a</sup> Cf. Ungnad, *ZA NF* 1 135; Friedrich, *Kleine Beiträge* 29.



because in this epical, probably archaic, language the suffix seems to be *-l* alone. In the Mitanni letter *-la* is found instead. But it must be emphasized that a word like *tiwe-na* never occurs at the beginning of a sentence and that it is invariably preceded by the *l* element after the first word. E. g.

<sup>1</sup>*Ma-ni-e-el-la-ma-an* (72) *pa-aš-ši-i-it-ḫi-wu-uš wə-ru-u-ša-a-al-la-a-an* (73) *ma-a-na šu-e-ni ti-wə-e-e-na ta-a-nu-ša-a-uš-še-na* (I 71 ff.) "Mane, your ambassador, knows<sup>25</sup> that<sup>26</sup> I fulfilled my promises."

*i-i-al-li-e-ni-i-in ti-wə-e-na*<sup>MEŠ</sup> *šu-ú-al-la-ma-an* (31) *še-e-ni-iw-wə-uš ka-du-u-ša-a-aš-še-na* ..... (IV 30 f.)  
"what words my brother ..... announced."

With another noun compare e. g.:

*i-i-al-la-a-ni-i-in* (58) *am-ma-ti-iw-wə-uš at-ta-iw-wə-uš at-ta-i-ip-pa wə-e-wə ma-ka-a-an-na* (59) *gi-pa-a-nu-lu-u-uš-ta-a-aš-še-na* (III 57 ff.) "What presents my grandfather (and) my father were continuously sending to your father."

*at-ta-a-ar-ti-i-wə-na-a-ma-a-an šu-ú-al-la-ma-an ta-še-e-e-na*<sup>MEŠ</sup> (89) *tiš-ša-an tiš-ša-an gi-lu-u-šu-a* (I 88 f.)  
"the gifts which are connected with your fathership (?) he did decidedly not bring."

Initially in the sentence one might expect, by analogy with *tiwe-n*, to encounter a form like *\*tiwe-na-l(a)*.<sup>27</sup> Instead *ti-wə-a-al-la-a-an* is actually found:

*ti-wə-a-al-la-a-an šur-wə še-e-ni-iw-wə-ta* (17) *ka-ti-ik-ki* (IV 16 f.) "there is a ..... communication to my brother with regard to the words (affairs)."

<sup>25</sup> See Messerschmidt, *Mitanni-Studien* 32 f.

<sup>26</sup> The dependent clause seems to be indicated by the particles after the governing verbal form.

<sup>27</sup> For a while I had reconstructed this form as *\*tiwe-na-n* and was of the opinion that it actually occurs in II 65 (*t[i-wə-]e-na-a-an*). Since then, I have learned that the quoted form consists of the sing. "acc." *tiwen* plus an *n*-suffix which is required (see a forthcoming article in *Lang.*) by the verbal form *an-za-a-an-ni*. My remark, *Lang.* 15 252 fn. 12 is to be rectified accordingly.



It can hardly be doubted that this form arose from *\*tiwenla* which in turn goes back to *\*tiwena-la*.<sup>27a</sup>

Another example of these rather rare forms is extant in:

DINGIR.MEŠ *e-e-ni-il-la-a-an še-e-ni-iw-wa-ú-e-na pal-la-i-šal-la-ma-an* ..... (IV 65) "let a word be directed to the gods of my brother ....."<sup>28</sup>

Here an original *\*eni-na-la* must be posited which yielded with syncope *\*eninla*<sup>29</sup> and further *enilla*.

A third form of this type is *ur-ḫal-la-a-an* which occurs in two parallel nominal sentences; words which certain persons convey:

*ur-ḫal-la-a-an* (IV 23, 29) "are true."<sup>30</sup>

The *urḫe* which must be inferred is attested to in II 106 (cf. II 103).

The result of this paper can be summed up as follows: The suffixes *-n* (sgl.) and *-la* (pl.), indicating the persons or things affected by an action, are loose elements which only in special syntactic circumstances are added to the respective nouns directly. In this respect, these suffixes differ markedly from the other suffixes *-š* (sgl.) and *-šuš* (pl.) which introduce the acting person or persons and which are invariably attached to their nouns.

<sup>27a</sup> This implies that not only *i* but also *a* was subject to syncope in certain circumstances. The examples for the syncope of *i* are rather frequent (see Friedrich, *Kleine Beiträge* 6; Speiser, *JAOS* 59 307 fn. 56); another example for syncopated *a* is *šawallaša* (I 79), if it is correctly derived from *šawala-na-ša* by Speiser (l. c. 296 fn. 29).

<sup>28</sup> The suffix after the verb indicates that the following words are dependent on it.

<sup>29</sup> In this form the syncope, then, affects a vowel other than that in *\*eni-na* (which becomes *enna*: Friedrich, *Kleine Beiträge* 5 f.).

<sup>30</sup> In both passage *pal-ta-a-la-an* (*pa-al-ta-a-la-an*) follows. The consistent spelling with one *l* only (in striking contradistinction to the two *ll* of *urḫallan* in both passages) arouses some scepticism as to the correctness of the translation "are correct, authentic" (Friedrich, *Kleine Beiträge* 39; Speiser, *JAOS* 59 293).



# THE HEBREW ACCUSATIVE OF TIME AND PLACE

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DESPITE all the work that has been done on Hebrew syntax there still remain many problems as yet unsatisfactorily explained. Some of these have to do with the Hebrew accusative of time and place. It is the purpose of this paper to explore this field in order to determine whether the generally accepted conclusions are in every particular correct and to offer other conclusions.

## I. *The Hebrew Accusative of Time*

The Hebrew accusative of time is our first problem. The grammars have all been saying that the accusative can be used in Hebrew to express point of time as well as duration of time, but the evidences would indicate that this is not so. The Hebrew accusative of time would seem to indicate duration of time only. For example, the accusative *hayyôm* "today" means "during the day, during today." To express point of time one has to use the preposition *b*, *bayyôm hazzêh* "on this (particular) day." Accordingly the accusative *yôm 'ehād* in Gen. 27:45 expresses, not point of time, as regularly asserted, but duration of time, "in the course of one day, during one day." Similarly, *māhār*, which has lost its article and has become an adverb, means strictly "during tomorrow, in the course of tomorrow," and the accusatives *laylāh* and *hallaylāh* express duration of time and not point of time, as a few examples will show:

Exod. 13:21, "in order that they might travel day and night"  
(*yômām wālāylāh*).

Josh. 8:3, "he sent them off by night" (*lāylāh*).

Ruth 3:13, "spend the night here tonight (*hallaylāh*), and then in the morning (*babbōqer*) . . . . ."

Gen. 26:24, "Yahweh appeared to him that night" (*ballaylāh hahû*).

As these examples indicate, when point of time is intended, Hebrew uses the preposition *b* and not the accusative, as is again made clear in the two following examples:



II Sam. 2:10, "he reigned two years" (*štayim šānîm*).

Gen. 47:18, "they came to him in the second year" (*baššānāh haššēnîṭ*).

Whenever the accusative would seem to indicate point of time, a closer examination will show that duration of time is intended. An example is to be found in Deut. 5:14, where *yôm haššēbîr* at the beginning of the verse is exactly parallel to *šēšet yāmîm* at the beginning of the previous verse and means "during the seventh day, throughout the seventh day," as against the ordinary rendering which makes the noun nominative. Another example occurs in Gen. 14:4, where *šēlōš-ʿēsrēh šānāh* means strictly "in the course of the thirteenth year," and not "in the thirteenth year," as usually translated, which translation would require the insertion of the preposition *b*, as indeed the Samaritan version reads. Still another example is Jer. 28:16, which must be translated "you shall die in the course of the year" (*haššānāh*). To express point of time here we would have to emend the text to *baššānāh hazzôṭ*, as the versions regularly do and likewise modern scholars. However, no change at all is necessary in the Massoretic text when the construction is properly understood. A final example is the expression "two years before the earthquake" in Amos 1:1. It is true that this accusative does seem to indicate point of time, but actually it is a point of time reached by movement backward from a particular event, and it is for this reason that the accusative is used.

So far as I know there is actually only one instance in the whole of the Old Testament where the accusative would seem to express point of time and there the text is clearly corrupt. The instance is in II Sam. 21:9, where the Massoretic text has the accusative *tehillat* "at the beginning," but 17 manuscripts and the Qere read correctly *bitēhillat*, with the preposition *b*. Hence our rule can be stated quite definitely: The Hebrew accusative of time expresses duration of time only and never point of time. The sense of motion in time is always present.

## II. The Hebrew Accusative of Place

A similar problem has to do with the Hebrew accusative of place. The grammars all say that this can indicate place where as well as place whither, i. e., that it can be locative as well as terminative,



but this is more than questionable, as an examination of the usage will show.

Directions are regularly expressed in the accusative in Hebrew, but motion is of course implied here, "to the north," "to the west," etc. Hence the accusative is strictly not locative, as affirmed, but terminative, and in many instances the terminative ending *-āh* is added, giving added proof to our contention.

The accusative is regularly used in Hebrew after verbs expressing the idea of settling down in a place, verbs like *yāšab*, *gūr*, *šākan*, *šākab*, and *hānāh*. However, the accusative here is not locative, but terminative, because all the verbs imply motion to the place where the settling down takes place, as is clear from an example like Gen. 13:12, *wayyēʿhal ʿad-seʿdôm* "he tented (extended his tenting-ground) as far as Sodom," or Josh. 11:5, *wayyahʾnû . . . ʿel-mê mērôm* "they moved their camp to the waters of Merom." Hence the accusative in Gen. 33:18, regularly cited as locative, is strictly terminative, *wayyiḥan ʿet-penê hāʾir* "he moved his camp to the front of the city." Similarly, the accusative in II Sam. 17:26, also cited as locative, is terminative *wayyiḥan . . . ʿereš haggilʿād* "he moved his camp into the land of Gilead," correctly translated in the Septuagint by εἰς τὴν γῆν Γαλαάδ.

The use of *petah* in such an expression as *petah habbayit* "at the entrance of the house," is regularly cited as an instance of the locative accusative, but it is to be noted at once that in all such constructions *petah* is always construct and never absolute.<sup>1</sup> The usage is exactly like that of the three nouns *derek*, *mûl*, and *ʿešel* in Deut. 11:30, "Are they not beyond the Jordan, west of it,<sup>2</sup> toward (*derek*) the sunset, in the land of the Canaanites who live in the Arabah, opposite (*mûl*) Gilgal, beside (*ʿešel*) the terebinths of Moreh?" Here are three nouns in the construct state used as prepositions, and this is the explanation of *petah* used locatively. The prepositions were originally nouns and several nouns in Hebrew are used both as nouns and as prepositions and are on the way to becoming real prepositions. Of these *petah* is one.

Another is *bayit*, used locatively only in the construct, *bēt*, as is the case with *petah*, and never in the absolute and never with a

<sup>1</sup> I. e., *happetah* in the absolute can never mean "at the entrance." This can only be expressed in Hebrew by prefixing the preposition *b*.

<sup>2</sup> Reading וְיָרֵךְ for the senseless MT וְיָרֵךְ; see Meek, *JBL* 48. 165 ff.



pronominal suffix.<sup>3</sup> By analogy place-names beginning with *bēt*, e. g., *bēt'ēl*, may be used without the preposition *b* to indicate place where, but the preposition is never omitted in the case of other place-names, even though they begin with *b*, e. g., *bābēl*. Hence the dropping of the preposition *b* before *bēt* used locatively is not due to haplography, as some grammarians affirm. The noun is simply used as a preposition and as such it always appears in its shortest form, the construct.

Certain nouns like *mar'ašōt* "place at the head," and *marg'elōt* "place at the foot," are used in the accusative to indicate place where, but this is because they have the preformative *mēm*, which in itself is locative, and to add the preposition *b* is accordingly quite unnecessary and would be redundant. This too is the explanation of *mābō* "place of entering," in Prov. 8:3, and of another alleged locative accusative in Isa. 16:2, "The daughters of Moab will be at the fords (*ma'bārōt*) of the Arnon." In the latter case there is also present the idea of motion because the verb "to be" here carries with it the sense of "to come together, to gather," and is thus translated by some.

Still another alleged instance of the locative accusative is found in the expression *tišma' haššāmayim* occurring in I Kgs. 8:32, 34, 36, 39, 43, 45, 49 and in II Chron. 6:27 and regularly translated "mayest thou hear in the heavens." But in I Kgs. 8:30 the expression appears as *tišma' 'el-haššāmayim* "mayest thou hear into the heavens," showing that the accusative in the other verses is not to be taken as locative, but terminative. The duplicate of the Kings passage, II Chron. 6:21-39, has *tišma' min-haššāmayim*, except in verse 27, as noted already, indicating that the Chronicler interpreted the accusative in Kings as expressing place whither, exactly as the verb *yāšā'* may be used with the preposition *min*, as it usually is, or with the accusative, as it is sometimes, e. g., in Gen. 44:4, *yāš'û 'et-hā'ir*.<sup>4</sup> Hence it is possible to interpret the accusatives of the Kings passage with the Chronicler as expressing motion from or with the first verse of the Kings passage (I Kgs. 8:30) as expressing motion to, but it is not possible to interpret the accusatives as locative. The usage in Hebrew shows that motion is

<sup>3</sup> *bētō* in II Chron. 33:20, which might be cited against this, is of course a scribal error for *began bētō* "in the garden of his house," as is shown by the LXX and the duplicate passage in II Kgs. 21:18.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the English "They went out of the city" and "They left the city."



always implied in the accusative of place, even as it is in the accusative of time.

### III. *The So-called Locative hē*

Our conclusion then is that the regular use of the accusative of time and place in Hebrew is terminative and not locative, i. e., it is used to indicate motion in time or space and not place where in time or space; and that raises the question whether the so-called locative *hē* is really locative at all or terminative only.

In the Ras Shamra texts the suffixed *hē* of time and place is always terminative and never locative,<sup>5</sup> and the presumption is that the same thing is true in Hebrew. Scholars, however, see a few instances of the locative use of final *hē* and these we need to examine.

One instance is in Jer. 29:15, "Yahweh has raised up (*hēqîm*) for us prophets in Babylon," where the Massoretic text has *bābēlāh*. But the verb used here, *qûm*, is a verb of motion, so that the final *hē* in *bābēlāh* is strictly terminative and not locative. Most scholars, however, follow the Versions and read *bēbābēl* or *bēbābēlāh*,<sup>6</sup> explaining the absence of the preposition *b* in the Massoretic text as due to haplography.

Another alleged instance of locative *hē* is *zēbūlāh* in Hab. 3:11, but practically all scholars repoint the word as *zēbūlôh* "its abode," in which case the construction is to be interpreted as the accusative of specification or limitation: "The moon took its stand as to its abode," i. e., "in its abode."

Again, *hammizbēhāh* is cited as an instance of the locative use of final *hē*. The expression, however, is used only after the hiphil *hiqtîr* and the combination means literally "to turn (a sacrifice into smoke toward the altar," *hammizbēhāh* being a variant of the simple accusative used in Lev. 6:8 and of *al-hammizbēah* used elsewhere. Hence the final *hē*, when it appears, is strictly terminative and not locative.

Still another alleged instance of the locative use of final *hē* is in I Kgs. 4:14, where *maḥanāyēmāh* apparently means "in Mahanaim," since all the other place-names in the context that are

<sup>5</sup> For the occurrences see Ginsberg, *Orientalia* 7.9, note to line 6.

<sup>6</sup> For the explanation of the final *hē* after the preposition *b* see Note 13 below.



parallel to it have the preposition *b*. In I Kgs. 4: 8-19 the writer is presenting a list of twelve officers of Solomon and the districts to which they were assigned. If *maḥ<sup>a</sup>nāy<sup>e</sup>māḥ* in verse 14 is not a slip on his part or on the part of some copyist,<sup>7</sup> he probably intended the meaning "assigned to Mahanaim." In any case this one exception to our rule, if it is an exception, cannot be regarded as invalidating the rule. Hebrew writers were quite as prone to make grammatical errors as other writers, both ancient and modern,<sup>8</sup> and cannot be expected to have written flawless Hebrew with no exception whatever. Our conclusion then must be that the suffixed *hē* of time and place in Hebrew is regularly terminative and not locative, and hence it should be renamed terminative *hē*, locative *hē* being a misnomer.

#### IV. The So-called Accusative Case-ending

As is well known, Hebrew grammarians distinguish between a so-called accusative ending *-āḥ* and a so-called locative ending *-āḥ*, identical in writing; but the exclusively terminative use of the accusative of time and place in Hebrew and the exclusively terminative use of final *hē* of time and place raise the question whether this ending is not exclusively the accusative ending or exclusively the terminative *hē*.

Until the discovery of the terminative *hē* in the Ras Shamra texts I was inclined to believe that the *-āḥ* ending in Hebrew was exclusively the accusative ending, with the final *h* simply a vowel letter, but the Ras Shamra texts have shown that to be impossible. The terminative *hē* of time and place does not appear very often in Ugaritic, but it does appear there,<sup>9</sup> and the presumption is that it appears in Hebrew as well, and there follows the further presumption that final *hē* of time and place is always the terminative *hē* and never the case-ending, just as it is in Ugaritic.

Accordingly an expression like *geḇūl šāpônāḥ* is not to be inter-

<sup>7</sup> Since the LXX has *Μααναιέιον*, with A reading *Μαανάιμ*, and Lucian and some cursives have *ἐν Μαχειλάμ*, one wonders whether the original was actually *maḥ<sup>a</sup>nāy<sup>e</sup>māḥ*.

<sup>8</sup> Among ancient writings a good illustration is the famous Code of Hammurabi, where there are a great many scribal errors and a number of grammatical errors, e. g., the plur. *u-ka-an-nu-šu-ma*, II r 69, in place of the correct sing.

<sup>9</sup> For the occurrences see Note 5 above.



preted with Ehrlich<sup>10</sup> as a construct noun plus another noun with the oblique case-ending  $\bar{a}h$  ( $= \bar{a}$ ), "the region of the north," but as a construct noun plus another noun in the genitive with the terminative  $h\bar{e}$ , "the region toward the north, the northern region." Likewise, *mamlēkôt šāpônāh* in Jer. 1:15 is strictly not "the kingdoms of the north," as Ehrlich argues,<sup>11</sup> but "the kingdoms to the north, the northern kingdoms."

Similarly, final  $\bar{a}h$ , often used with nouns after the prepositions *l*, *'el*, and *'ad*, is not to be interpreted with Ehrlich<sup>12</sup> as the oblique case-ending (genitive) after a preposition, but as the pleonastic use of terminative  $h\bar{e}$ . By analogy it is used occasionally with the prepositions *b* and *min* as well.<sup>13</sup>

Accordingly there seems to be no obstacle in the way of explaining all the occurrences of final  $\bar{a}h$  of time and place as the terminative  $h\bar{e}$ , and all the alleged instances of  $\bar{a}h$  as a case-ending can be otherwise explained, as we now proceed to show.

The termination  $\bar{a}h$  is sometimes found with nouns in the construct state and this has been regularly interpreted as the accusative case-ending, but it is much better and more consistent with usage elsewhere to see in this the terminative ending. For example, in Gen. 43:17, "he brought the men into the house of Joseph" (*bētāh yôšēp*), the suffix of *bētāh* is clearly the terminative  $h\bar{e}$ , and all other examples that I know of can be thus explained. For instance, in Isa. 8:23, "he brought contempt to the land of Zebulun" (*hēqal 'aršāh zēbūlūn*), where *'aršāh* has regularly been interpreted as having the accusative case-ending, it is much simpler to regard the ending as terminative. Here and in all similar cases motion is implied and usage elsewhere strongly favors the interpretation of the ending as terminative rather than accusative. In fact it would seem impossible to explain the ending as accusative because the vowel is long when by all the rules of Semitic grammar it ought to be short, if it is a case-ending. One could account for tone-lengthening in a closed syllable, but not at all for the lengthening and consequent preservation of a short vocalic ending. It is impossible to derive the  $\bar{a}h$  ending from the original short  $-a$  of the accusative. Being a short vocalic ending, the accusative ending had to disappear entirely in Hebrew.

<sup>10</sup> *Randglossen zur hebräischen Bibel* I 182.

<sup>11</sup> *Op. cit.* IV 234.

<sup>12</sup> *Op. cit.* I 6.

<sup>13</sup> See, e. g., Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebrew Grammar* § 90. e.



The word *'arṣāḥ*, which appears in the Massoretic text of Job 34:13 and 37:12, has been cited by some as an accusative form, but the pointing is clearly wrong here. Practically all scholars agree that it should be *'arṣôḥ*, in accordance with the reading of one manuscript (Ken. 173) in 34:13 (*'arṣô*) and the Syriac in 37:12.

Some scholars regard *'ōmnāḥ* as the accusative form of *'ōmen*, but the word appears only in Gen. 20:12 and Josh. 7:20, and in Gen. 20:12 some manuscripts and the Samaritan read *'ōmnām*. If *'ōmnāḥ* is genuine, the ending can well be the feminine, since it carries the accent, as the case-ending never should. In that case *'ōmen* and *'ōmnāḥ* would be exactly parallel to words like *ra'* (masc.) and *rā'āḥ* (fem.).

Similarly, *laylāḥ* has been interpreted as the accusative form of *layil*, but its frequent use in the nominative (e. g., in Gen. 8:22) and the genitive (e. g., in Gen. 1:14) precludes this. The form is probably a survival from Proto-Semitic *lailai*, as many scholars believe, or the final *hē* may be deictic, to make the form emphatic.

Again, *m<sup>e</sup>ūmāḥ* has been interpreted as the accusative form of *m<sup>e</sup>ūm*, but its use in the nominative (e. g., in Deut. 13:18) militates against this. The ending is to be explained as demonstrative or emphatic, parallel to the emphatic *-ma* ending in the Akkadian indefinite pronoun *mimma*, "anything."

Two other words, *hammāw<sup>e</sup>tāḥ*, appearing only in Ps. 116:15, and *naḥlāḥ*, appearing only in Ps. 124:4, are cited as accusative forms, but they appear in the nominative only! Hence they can scarcely be accusative forms and may well be emphatic or feminine, if they are genuine.

Another word, *haḥašmalāḥ*, is cited as an accusative in form, but it appears only in Ezek. 8:2, in the genitive after a construct noun! If genuine, it must be an emphatic form.

A number of other words having the feminine ending and the additional *-āḥ* ending are cited from late poetry as clear instances of the accusative form. However, out of the seven words in this class four appear in the nominative only in the instances cited (*'ēmātāḥ* Exod. 15:16; *y<sup>e</sup>šū'ātāḥ* Jon. 2:10; Ps. 3:3;<sup>14</sup> *'ezrātāḥ*

<sup>14</sup> The only other occurrence of this word is in Ps. 80:3, where the ending is clearly the terminative *hē* after the preposition *l*.



Ps. 63:8; 94:17;<sup>15</sup> *‘ēpātāh* Job 10:22).<sup>16</sup> One word (*šārātāh* Ps. 120:1) appears in the genitive only, after the preposition *b*, which shows that the ending, if genuine, is the terminative *hē*. Another word (*‘awlātāh*) appears in the nominative in Ezek. 28:15, in the genitive after the preposition *b* in Ps. 125:3, and in the accusative in Hos. 10:13, but that surely does not make the ending accusative. Out of the seven words cited only one (*sūpātāh*) appears in the accusative only, but this is only once, viz., in Hos. 8:7, and the reason for the *-āh* ending here is manifestly not grammatical, but poetic, viz., to further the assonance with *qāmāh*, *šemāh*, and *qemāh*, appearing in the same verse;<sup>17</sup> or the final *hē* may be the result of the double writing of *yodh*, the first of which came to be read as *hē* in the period when there was so little difference in writing between *yodh* and *hē* that the two were often confused.

Another word allegedly accusative in form is the place-name *yahēšāh* in Josh. 13:18; 21:36; I Chron. 6:63, but the word is nominative in the first citation and accusative only in the other two. The ending in all three cases must be a carry-over from the other occurrences of the word (Num. 21:23; Deut. 2:32; Jud. 11:20; Jer. 48:21), where it is definitely the terminative *hē*.

Finally, *šāmmāh* is cited by some as having the terminative ending and by others as an accusative form. The first hypothesis is definitely ruled out by the Arabic cognate *tamma*, and the second is just as clearly wrong. The explanation of the forms *šām* and *šāmmāh* in Hebrew is to be found in the Ugaritic cognates *tm* and *tmt*, where the final *t* in the second form is to be explained as the demonstrative *t*, making *tmt* simply the deictic form of *tm*, exactly as *šūt* "he" and *šīt* "she" in Akkadian are the deictic forms of *šū* and *šī*.<sup>18</sup> The demonstrative *-t* ending is very char-

<sup>15</sup> The only other occurrence of this word is in Ps. 44:27, where the ending is clearly the terminative *hē* after the verb of motion *qūmāh*.

<sup>16</sup> For this as nom. see Ehrlich, op. cit. VI 223.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. the masc. imper. *šūbāh* in Jer. 3:12 rather than the correct fem. form *šūbī* for the sake of the assonance with *mešūbāh* immediately following; see Meek, *JQR* 14.284, n. 12.

<sup>18</sup> In some Semitic languages both forms of the same word occur; in others only one. For example, Ugaritic writes the third sing. and plur. of the personal pronoun always with deictic *-t* (*hwt* "he," *hyt* "she," *hmt* "they"), while South Arabic has all three in both forms. On the other hand, Phoenician writes the third sing. without deictic *-t*, but the third plur. with it.



acteristic of the Semitic languages and its regular equivalent in Hebrew is final *h*, as everyone knows. Hence *šāmmāh* is nothing other than the deictic form of *šām*, just as *hēmmāh* is the deictic form of *hēm* (cf. Phoenician and Ugaritic *hmt* "they"). Similarly, *ʾānāh* is simply the deictic form of *ʾān* and *hēnnāh* the deictic form of *hēn*. Accordingly *hēnnāh* does not mean "hither" to the exclusion of "here," as sometimes argued, any more than *šāmmāh* means exclusively "thither" and *šām* exclusively "there." Hence the Massoretic text is not to be changed, as it is so often, when the context would give to *šām* the meaning "thither" or to *šāmmāh* the meaning "there."

Our investigation of the Hebrew accusative of time and place has accordingly led us to the following conclusions: (1) the accusative of time can only express duration of time and not point of time; (2) the accusative of place can be terminative only and never locative; (3) the so-called locative *hē* is terminative only and should be renamed terminative *hē*; and (4) the termination *-āh* is never to be interpreted as the accusative case-ending because this has not survived in Hebrew. These are conclusions radically different from those appearing in our current grammars and they go to show that there still remains much work to be done in the field of Hebrew syntax.



LANGDON'S *HISTORICAL AND RELIGIOUS TEXTS*  
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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

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LANGDON'S volume, *Historical and Religious Texts from the Temple Library of Nippur* (= BE XXXI), consists largely of copies of Sumerian "literary" tablets and fragments located in the Museum of the Ancient Orient of Istanbul. As the scholars who have had occasion to make use of the volume will attest, the autographs contain an unusually large number of miscopies; if uncorrected, they will constitute an ever present source of error to the Assyriologists attempting to utilize their contents.<sup>1</sup> To remedy this situation, I devoted approximately two months of a prolonged stay in Istanbul to the collation of the originals in the Museum of the Ancient Orient.<sup>2</sup> The following study will make available the results of this collation to Assyriologists.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> It must be stressed here that no criticism of Professor Langdon's work is either intended or implied. When one recalls that the copying was done in 1912, at a period when our knowledge of Sumerian was far less extensive and trustworthy than it is today, and when it is realized that the tablets which he copied were unbaked and poorly cleaned, one is ready to appreciate the fact that the copies are no worse than they are.

<sup>2</sup> From the day when I began the preparation for publication of Chiera's two posthumous volumes: *Sumerian Epics and Myths* and *Sumerian Texts of Varied Contents*, I have concentrated practically all my efforts on attempts to reconstruct and translate the unilingual Sumerian literary material that had been published to date. Needless to say, the grammatical and lexical difficulties were considerable, but on the whole not insurmountable. The chief difficulty was due to the fact that in the great majority of cases the tablets on which the compositions are inscribed are badly damaged and fragmentary. It became plain that the translation of the larger part of the unilingual Sumerian literary compositions would remain inadequate and scientifically untrustworthy as long as the bulk of the Sumerian literary material excavated by the University of Pennsylvania at Nippur almost half a century ago and now located largely in the Museum of the Ancient Orient at Istanbul and in the University Museum at Philadelphia remained uncopied and unpublished. In 1937 I received a grant from the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation which enabled me to travel to Istanbul and study the Sumerian literary material in its Nippur



No. 1<sup>4</sup>

3. 6 is ~~AS~~. 5: Last s. but one is probably GI<sup>5</sup> (it is not ME). 9: Last s. but one is BU (not NU). 11: Following BU (the last s.) add the s. I (omitted by L.). 15.1 is GÚ. 21: Line reads: US-lú-la-ga-uru-DU-DU-gim. 22.2 is probably ŠÊ (rather than TÚG). 23, the last sign but one is LU.

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collection. With the generous permission of the Turkish Ministry of Education and the splendid cooperation of all the museum authorities (Assyriologists will be happy to learn that the large collection of over one hundred thousand clay tablets in the Museum of the Ancient Orient is actually being baked and cleaned in a laboratory equipped with baking and drying ovens of the very latest model and that the entire collection is being catalogued by Fritz Kraus) I stayed close to twenty months in Istanbul and succeeded in copying one hundred and seventy tablets and fragments, or about twenty percent of the museum's uncopied Sumerian literary material from Nippur. These copies will be published under the auspices of the Museum of the Ancient Orient as a volume entitled *Sumerian Literary Texts from Nippur* (Vol. I). Upon my return to the United States in June of 1939, I went to the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia and with the kind permission and cooperation of Mr. Jayne and Professor Legrain, I spent considerable time examining the Sumerian literary tablets and fragments in its Nippur collection. The examination revealed that it still contained some three hundred uncopied pieces, some in excellent condition. To date I have copied fifty numbers and in the course of the next two years I hope to have the opportunity of copying the remainder. Sumerologists should then be in a considerably more favorable position for attempting to reconstruct and translate the Sumerian literary compositions.

<sup>3</sup> The volume contains sixty texts; all but six (Nos. 7, 15, and 57-60) are copied from originals in the Museum of the Ancient Orient. Of these fifty-four pieces, however, Nos. 14, 22, 26, and 54 are Semitic; Nos. 52 and 53, whose contents are of uncertain character were not collated; No. 33 was recopied by Chiera as SRT 53 (for a thorough collation of the text cf. Kramer, *RA* 36.76-80); No. 38 was recopied by me and will be published in *Sumerian Literary Texts from Nippur*. The originals of Nos. 19, 23, and 48 could not be located at the time.

N. B.: The first Arabic numeral in each citation refers to the given line; the second to the s(ign); e. g., col. i 2. 6 would mean: line 2 of column I, sixth sign.

<sup>4</sup> This text is an extract from a larger composition consisting of close to 300 lines, which laments a calamity that befell Agade during the reign of Narâm-Sin; l. 1 of our text corresponds to (approximately) l. 90 of the composition. The first part of this composition was translated by Güterbock who made excellent use of the material published at the time, in *ZA* 42 (p. 25 ff.). (It is important to note here that SRT 2 is part of this composition; its obv. l. 1 corresponds to (approximately) l. 172 and its




No. 2<sup>6</sup>

Obv. col. i 8: Last two signs are E and TUKUL. Col. ii 2: Following LI read *dur-an(?) -ki*. 3. 5 is URU (not Ê). 5: Between NA and ŠU read *aš-dù-a*.<sup>7</sup> 6. 8 is NE (not SAR); 6. 10 is A. 6a. 3 is ŠÊ (not TÚG). 9: Before URU insert the s. A. 10: First s. is illegible; s. 2 is ZA; s. 4 is UNU.

For rev. cf. Pl. I.

No. 3<sup>8</sup>

Obv. 6: Second half reads: *amaš gu[l-gu]l-lu-dè*. 7. 7 is DU. 9: Between the signs A and NA there is only one sign: . 10. 1 is GÁN (not Ê). 11. 1 is EDIN. 13: Last s. but one is DI

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rev. 1. 1 to (approximately) 1. 215. Chiera's description of the text as "a fragment of an ancient story of the creation of the world which has later been dedicated to the king Naram Sin" is based upon a very justifiable misunderstanding of l. 1 of the fragment. In Istanbul I copied six additional fragments belonging to the same composition and in the University Museum I discovered four more duplicates of which CBS 29. 13. 92 is the most important. It is a large but poorly preserved four-column tablet which originally contained the entire composition and which enables us to place properly all the duplicates.

<sup>6</sup> Wherever practical, each miscopied sign is corrected separately; the reader is asked to remember that the names given to the signs are the simplest or the most easily recognizable; they are not intended to indicate in any way the actual value of the signs in the text involved. If in any line or part of a line the miscopied signs are too numerous for individual correction, the actual reading of the complex or complexes involved is given; in such cases the italicized readings indicate corrections to Langdon's miscopies. The signs BI and GA, which are never confused by the scribes of our texts (in BI the upper horizontal wedge is often to the right of the lower horizontal wedge; in GA this is never the case), are frequently not distinguishable in Langdon's copies. Not infrequently, too, he seems to confuse the signs ZI and GI. In those cases where the resulting ambiguity might lead to error, the correct reading is indicated. In the case of very badly damaged signs whose traces seem to be more or less incorrectly drawn by Langdon, no corrections are given unless these are of some positive value for the restoration of the sign; in doubtful cases it was deemed preferable to await new duplicate material rather than burden the matter with additional vague possibilities.

<sup>7</sup> Part of a lamentation over the destruction of Sumer; obv. col. ii 1. ff. = PBS X 2 No. 4 obv. 17 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Addenda to BE XXXI.


<sup>9</sup> Part of a lamentation describing the desolation of Sumer after Ibi-Sin had been defeated and carried off to Elam; for duplicate, cf. SEM p. 2.



(not KI). 14.6 is HÚL. 15.3 may be HI (rather than ÁB); last s. but one is probably E. 16: Last s. but one is probably DI. 17: Between LA and KÚR read k[i]-tuš-[b]i.<sup>9</sup> 18.7 is E (not LA). 19: Following MA (s. 5) read: *kar-kar-ri-dè*. 21: LAM is not the last sign on the line; it is followed by a break in which the signs E and NE are to be restored. 24: Following MA (s. 8) insert the s. NI (omitted by L.).

Rev. 3: Preceding NIM the signs are LÚ, SU, and KI. 4.2 is BI (not NI and IR). 6.1 is IŠ; 6.4 is KI; between GABA and PISAN the signs are HAR and SAG; s. following AN is DU (not TA). 7: First two signs are NAM and RI; s. following GIM is URU (not DU). 11: Preceding the first DUL the line reads: *uru á-d[a]m-k[i]-gar-gar-ra-bi* (L. omitted the s. BI). 12: Last s. but two is ŠÈ (not TÚG). 13.1 is GÁN (not É). 14: The two signs preceding BA are both SÚB; the s. following BA is EDIN; between NA and DI insert the s. NU (omitted by L.). 15: Traces point to restoration of s. 1 as GUD (not PISAN). 17: Between MA and AMAŠ read: *búr-búr-ra banšur-ra*. 19: Preceding BU (last s. but one) are the two signs BI and DU; between NU and BI is a scribal erasure. 20.1 is probably AMBAR (rather than PISAN). 22.5 is GIBIL (not NE).

#### No. 4<sup>10</sup>

Obv. col. i. 5.8 is ŠA (not TA). 6.7 is ŠA. 7: Following DA the line reads: *ša-mu-ti-ni-l[á]*. 8.2 is ; s. 6 is ŠA. 9.6 is TUKUL; s. 7 is ŠA. 10: The first three signs are AN, NIN, and KID (not MU, GIŠ and AB); s. 8 is ŠA; BU (s. 11) is a miscopy for the two signs NI and ÍB. 11.1 is GUD (not É); s. 5 is E; s. 7 is ŠA; s. 9 is NE (not UN). 13.8 is ZI (not GI). 14.8 is ŠA. 15: Following the second KUG the signs GA, A, and DU are now legible (a break follows). 16: First legible s. is MAH (not TÚG).

Obv. col. ii. 2.6 is NI (not IR). 5.4 is GI (not ZI). 7.6 is

<sup>9</sup> Note that in Langdon's copy the traces point to a complex of two (rather than three) signs.

<sup>10</sup> Hymn to Šulgi, noted by the scribe as belonging to the *uru-en-bi-im* series of compositions; the exact meaning of the numeral and the sign NI in the colophon is obscure, however. No duplicates.



MEN. 9: Between RA and ZI insert the s. ME (omitted by L.).  
10: S. 4 is KID (not SAR).

Rev. col. iii: 1.1 is ÍD (not A and DA). 2.3 is doubtful (perhaps HA but hardly RI); the three signs following are A, LÛ and LÛ. 3: Line reads: edin-dagal-e ú-šim-ka-zal-la. 4.3 is uncertain (should have been shaded in the copy); s. 6 is ŠÈ. 5: Preceding MAH is É. 8.2 is URU; s. 5 is IM (not BA). 10.8 is KA (not KAM); S. 9 is KISAL (not MA); following MAH, the remainder of the line reads: ?(perhaps a scribal erasure) *mi-ni-ib*-. . . . 11.4 is SU; s. 7 is AM; s. 8 is ZI (not GI). 13.1 is MÁ. 14: TI (last s. but one) is a miscopy for the two signs NU and BAD.

Rev. col. iv. 2.7: RA is a miscopy for the two signs KA and GIŠ. 3.5 is NUMUN (not BAL); the last three signs are MU, IGI, and HÚL. 5.7 is NUMUN. 6.10 is GIŠ (not KID). 7.5 is NUMUN. 8.4 is KID (not PISAN). 9.6 is KI (not DI). 10.9 is GIŠ (not KID). 11.5 is NUMUN. 14.3 is ME (not BAR); s. 9 is ŠÈ (not TÚG); s. 11 is LUH (not GUR). 15.4 is ME (not BAR); s. 10 is ŠÈ (not TÚG); s. 12 is LUH (not GUR). 19: First part of line reads: *uku-e ú-nir-gál*.

### No. 5<sup>11</sup>

1<sup>12</sup>: In approximately the middle of the line the signs ŠÀ and TA are now legible. 9: The line reads: *dumu-[ù-t]u-da-dnin-[sun-kam]*. 11: Preceding AN the line reads *lú-nam-tar-ra*. 12: Following ÁG the line reads: *-dnin-lí[l-lá]*. 13.8 is RA. 15: The signs following GA are AN and NANNA. 17.4 is HI. 19.3 is HAR; following KUN add SU (omitted by L.). 27.1 is KA; s. 3 is NE (not GA); s. 4 is RU (not AL); s. 7 is HUL. 29: There is no s. DIŠ preceding SAG. 30: Following MU are the signs HI and E. 31: The s. NUN is a miscopy for KID; it is not the last s. on the line, a break of one or two signs followed. 33: The line reads: *si hé-mu-ša*.

<sup>11</sup> Hymn to Šulgi. For the list of duplicates, cf. Kramer, *JAOS* 54. 415; I copied a new duplicate in Istanbul.

<sup>12</sup> Hymn to the É-kur? Our text duplicates PBS I 2 No. 114 (obv. 1 = rev. 15); for additional duplicates, cf. STVC p. 5.



No. 6<sup>12</sup>

6: L. failed to indent the second part of the line. 7. 4 is GABA; there is no vertical wedge. 12: S. following second AN is E (not GUR). 15: L. failed to indent the second part of the line. 17. 4 is NA (not KI).

No. 8<sup>13</sup>

7: Following ME the s. NU is now legible. 9. 4 is ~~ŠA~~ (not HAR). 18. 6 is EDIN. 21. 3 is AMA. 22. 4 is A. 24. 6 is now broken; it may have been ŠÀ rather than KI. 26. 5 is BĀR; last s. but one is KI (not DI). 27. 5 is LU (not ZU). 28. 11 is BŪR (not MU). 32. 5 may be UŠ (rather than RI).

No. 9<sup>14</sup>

5: First two signs are badly damaged, the traces point to lugal-mu rather than ur-sag. 11: The last sign DU is followed by the sign Û which the scribe then seems to have attempted to erase. 15: Last two signs are DÉ and E (not ZI and DAM). 18: Third s. from end is not HŪ; the traces point to ŠA. 23. 4 is UL. 24: NE (s. 2) is a miscopy for the two signs BI and BA.

No. 10<sup>15</sup>

7: Line reads: *<sup>d</sup>nin-men-na-ke<sub>4</sub> tu-tu al-gá-gá* (L. omitted the last two signs). 11: First part of line reads: *sag-bi gu-a[š]-a.*

<sup>12</sup> The fragment is part of the large Ninurta epic designated as lugal-e-u<sub>4</sub>-me-lám-bi-nir-gál; it duplicates the following texts: SRT 21 obv. i; SEM 38 obv. ii; BE XXIX 8 rev. iv; KAR 251 obv. (?) cf. SRT p. 25, also SEM p. 3 where the statement concerning No. 38 can now be modified accordingly. Four new fragments of the epic were copied by me in Istanbul and some six additional fragments are still uncopied in the University Museum.

<sup>14</sup> A tablet which seems to furnish a summary of the names of the stones which, according to the lugal-e-u<sub>4</sub>-me-lám-bi-nir-gál epic, were blessed and cursed by Ninurta. No duplicates.

<sup>15</sup> Part of the gišal hymn; for a complete list of duplicates, cf. Kramer, *loc. cit.*, p. 418-9. For some unknown reason Chiera included this hymn as part of the lugal-e-u<sub>4</sub>-me-lám-bi-nir-gál epic; cf. SRT p. 25 (comment to No. 19). In preparing his list of duplicates to the SEM and TRS texts I erred in following this designation uncritically; cf. also Falkenstein in OLZ 40. 224. Two new fragments were copied by me in Istanbul and the University Museum has at least six uncopied pieces.



14. 7 is RA (not LU). 15. 3 is MUL. 16: Line reads šu *mu-un-ne-gál*; between the signs NE and IG is a scribal erasure. 17: Last s. but one is GAR (not UR). 18. 5 is probably E (rather than SI). 19. 9: is MA (not E). 22: Following KI (last s. on copy) add A (omitted by L.). 23: S. 1 is GAR; s. 2 is DI. 24: Last four signs read: *den-líl-ra*. In the first line following the double rule, the last s. is AL.

Left edge: 1. 1 is AL; s. 2 may be MU, it is certainly not EN; between the signs ŠU and NI a sign is broken away; NI is not the last s. on the line, it is probably followed by the sign IG. 2: The s. SI is uncertain; the s. following, is not the last on the left edge; it is probably followed by several additional signs inscribed below and to the left.

### No. 11<sup>16</sup>

Obv. col. i. 5: The two signs preceding GI are both TAG (not GA). 10: S. preceding ME is LA.

Obv. col. ii: 10. 3 is AMA. 11. 3 is AMA. 13. 1 is AMA.

### No. 12<sup>17</sup>

For obv. cf. Pl. II.

Rev. 4. 3 is UŠ (not RI). 6: First two signs are BĀR and MAH. 10. 2 is KID (not É); s. preceding NE is E<sub>11</sub> (not È). 19: Fourth s. from end is TAG.

### No. 13<sup>18</sup>

For obv. cf. Pl. I.

Rev. 13: S. following NA is ÁG. 15: S. preceding ZU is SIG; the s. preceding SIG is badly damaged, it is not I. 17: Following NI the line reads *hé-a-ù-tu*. 18: The two signs preceding ŠA are E and ŠU. 19: Line reads: .....*gi-rin-na-gim hi-li ba-dùg-ga-àm*. 20: Preceding GA the s. SAL is now legible. 22: S. preceding A is BALAG. 23: S. following GIM is ZAG; s.

<sup>16</sup> This text seems to be part of an epical composition concerned with Utu. No duplicates.

<sup>17</sup> Part of a hymn to Inanna as the *nin-me-šár-ra* and *nin-é-gal-la*. The duplicates are SEM 86, 87, 89, 90 and STVC 87 (cf. SEM p. 4, where the latter has been erroneously omitted).

<sup>18</sup> A Dumuzi text (*eme-SAL*); no duplicates.



following first MU is probably LU. 24: The last three signs are: DI(?), HÚL, and, E. 25: The two signs preceding GI are both SÚB.

### No. 16<sup>19</sup>

Obv. col. i: 1: Last two signs are GA and MU. 4: Last s. but one is DA (not UN). 7: The two signs preceding NIM are E and PISAN. 9: The two signs preceding TA are PISAN and SIG. 11: First extant s. is DI (not KI); the second is URU; the last two are IN and ŠUB.

Obv. col. ii. 6.1 is PISAN. 7.2 is ŠU (not ŠÈ); s. 6 is ÍB (not HAR). 12.7 is probably TUKUL (rather than ZU). 13.2 is ŠÈ (not ŠU); s. 5 is TUKUL (not TÚG). 16: Last s. is probably RI.

Rev. col. i. 10: S. preceding GABA is DA (not KA). 14.4 is GAM.

Rev. col. ii. 6: TI (last s. but one) is a miscopy for the two signs NA and NU. 9: S. following BU is DA; last s. is SAR (not TU).

### No. 17<sup>20</sup>

Obv. 1: Following AN (s. 9) insert the s. NU (omitted by L.); following GIG (last s. on copy) add the signs GA, A, and AN (omitted by L.). 2: Last s. in this and the following lines is RA (not NIGIN). 5: S. following AMAŠ is perhaps SA. 8: Preceding MU are the three signs GI<sub>4</sub>, A, and MA. 10: Line reads: .....[m]u-un-da-an-gi<sub>4</sub>.

10a: Line (entirely omitted by L.) reads: .....mu-un-da-an-gi<sub>4</sub>. 11.3 is badly damaged, the traces hardly point to GI.

Rev.<sup>21</sup> 4: S. following IN is GA (not IG). 5: The s. following IN is GA (not IG). 6: The three signs preceding the first MAR are GAR, DIRIG, and UZU (UZU seems to be written over an erasure). 7: S. following GA is TUKUL; the s. following MÁ is not IM, it seems to be a s. (perhaps ŠÚ) written over an erasure. 8: Between Û and MÁ read: ši-ib-mar-ra-ba. 10.2 is probably

<sup>19</sup> Lamentation of a goddess over the destruction of her city and temple (eme-SAL); no duplicates.

<sup>20</sup> Part of an Inanna lament (eme-SAL) for her city and temple; for similar texts cf. PBS X 2 No. 17 and *Kich* II 74.

<sup>21</sup> The rev. is numbered from 1 to 13.



PA (not GIŠ); the seventh s. from end is badly damaged, it may be MAR but is certainly not BA; the fourth s. from the end is probably MÁ (not NUN). 11. 5 is UNU; the fifth s. from the end is probably UNU (not AB). 12: S. preceding LA is GUL. 13. 4 is KAL (not E); the signs between UN and A are both GUL; the signs following A are badly damaged, the traces hardly point to the restoration of NIŠ and RA as in L.'s copy.

### No. 18<sup>22</sup>

For a copy of the obv.<sup>23</sup> cf. Pl. II.

Rev. col.<sup>24</sup> i. 6: S. preceding NAM is ZU (not SI).

Rev. col. ii.<sup>25</sup> 5. 4 is ŠU (not MA). 10. 5 is TÜR (not MAŠ and SI).

### No. 20<sup>26</sup>

Rev. col. i. 5. 1 is ÛB (not NI), it is followed by ZABAR. 7. 3 is KI (not ŠÈ); S. 5 is EN. 8. 1 is AN; s. 2 is EN.

Rev. col. ii. 6. 2 is LUL (not ANŠU).

### No. 21<sup>27</sup>

1: Last s. but one may not be KA but KA + ?. 5. 2 is PISAN (not È). 7.<sup>28</sup> 1 is SAG (not KI). 8: Line reads: *ku-li-du<sub>10</sub>-sa-zu-a-kal-la-mu*. 9: The two signs following KÚ are Û and GIM.

<sup>22</sup> Fragment of a composition consisting of a collection of hymns to the temples of Sumer; cf. also No. 40 which contains part of the same composition. To the list of duplicates given in SEM (p. 4) add PBS XIII Nos. 7 and 16 and CBS 19767 (cf. Zimmern in ZA 39. 245 ff.). Two tablets containing extracts of the composition were copied by me in Istanbul and there are at least three uncopied fragments in the University Museum.

<sup>23</sup> Langdon interchanged obv. and rev.

<sup>24</sup> I. e., L.'s obv. col. ii.

<sup>25</sup> I. e., L.'s obv. col. i.

<sup>26</sup> Part of the myth concerned with Enki and his temple at Eridu; cf. Kramer, *loc. cit.*, 416. A new duplicate was copied by me in Istanbul and at least six additional duplicates are still uncopied in the University Museum.

<sup>27</sup> A "practice" (?) composition in the form of a letter addressed by the scribe to his king, lamenting the plight of Nippur and his own suffering, and asking for care and protection. Cf. also Nos. 29 and 47. A duplicate was copied by me in Istanbul.

<sup>28</sup> This line is indented in the original.



10. 1 is AMA; s. 4 is NUNUZ; between NUNUZ and RA the s. is ~~𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵~~. 11: <sup>28</sup> The s. preceding MU is damaged, it may be KA but is certainly not TU. 12. 5 is ÚR; s. 7 is TA (not AB). 13b. 2 is NU. 14: Line reads: GIŠ.MI-bi nu-?-la-gim(?) lú na-ma-ši-húl-li. 15. 3 is ME; s. 4 is EN; s. 6 is GIR<sub>4</sub>; s. 7 is SAR (not TU); s. 9 is TUKU. 18: Last s. is IN (not IM). 19: The space between ŠÀ (s. 3) and UN is damaged, it may have contained one or two signs, but not the s. AB.

No. 24 <sup>29</sup>

Obv. col. i. 2. 2 may be NI rather than IR. 3: Line reads: dūg-ni íb-gam-e. 4: Line reads: sipad-zi-šul-gi-ri ki-bal hé-gul-gul-e. 5. 6 is URU. 7: The last half of the line reads: -šag<sub>5</sub>-ga ba-ni-gi<sub>4</sub>. 8: S. following TA is SIG<sub>4</sub>; last s. is KA (not ŠÈ). 10. 6 is IR (not DÛ); the last sign (following NA) is DÉ. 11: The line reads: <sup>d</sup>en-líl-li á-gál-kalam-ma-ka. 13: LI is the last s. on the line, nothing is broken away. 15: S. 1 is probably PA rather than MAŠ; s. 2 is ZU (not SU); the signs following MU are now largely damaged but the traces indicate that L.'s copy is hardly correct. 16. 6 is AB (not BI and A). 17: The s. preceding MAH is Á (not DA); the two signs preceding Á are AN and NANNA.

Rev. col. i. 3. 2 is NI; s. 3 is HÉ. 12. 1 is LU.

Rev. col. ii. 2: Last s. is LI (not ŠE and IM). 5. 7 is ŠUB (not U<sub>4</sub>); the last two signs are MA and UL. 6: IN (s. 1) is a miscopy for the two signs ŠE and IR. 10: Between SAG and RA are the two signs KUR and ÚR. 13: S. preceding BAL is KI. 14: S. 4 is GÛ; s. 5 is NE; s. 6 is ŠUB. 16. 5 is SAG; s. 6 is BI.

No. 25 <sup>30</sup>

Obv. 1. 2: Preceding <sup>d</sup>en-líl-, insert the s. AN (omitted by L.). 12. 3 is ŠU (not ŠÈ). 13: Between ŠÀ and NIR are the two signs PA and A. 19: Following ŠU is probably HUL (not ŠÚ and UR).

<sup>29</sup> Part of a hymn to Šulgi. For a duplicate, cf. Kramer, loc. cit., p. 419, where the composition is erroneously described as a Sin myth.

<sup>30</sup> Perhaps part of a lamentation over the destruction of Erech. No duplicates.



Rev. 1: In approximately the middle of the line the signs KUR, KUR and RA are now legible. 3: S. preceding GAL is TUKUL (not BA). 5.11 is SUG (not É). 6.1 is NI (not DÙ). 7.5 is URU (not RA).

#### No. 27<sup>31</sup>

2.<sup>32</sup> 4 is KAL (not E). 4: Following NI the line reads: *giš-šu-gir-lam-bi si-sá-sá-.....* 5: Line reads: *....-gal ur-bi* ~~š~~ (sic! instead of L.'s TA). Between BI and this last s. is a scribal erasure. 6: Third s. from end is SU. 7: First part of line reads: *[d]en-líl é-a-ni* (the s. A is omitted by L.). 8: Preceding ŠU (seventh s. from end) the line reads: *ki(?) -gar-?-gar-tur-tur-ra(?) -a(?)*; last s. but one is probably ZU rather than BA. 12: S. following EN is ZU (not KID). 13.4 is KAL (not E). 15: The three signs between ZU and A are HI(?), GA and BAR (not MAŠ). 16.3 is UŠUM; s. 4 is probably KAL. 18.1 is AD; the two signs between KID and A are DA and DAR; the s. following KA is MA (not BA). 19: Between the signs E and GAR is a scribal erasure. 20.7 is I (not TUR); s. 8 is KÍD (not ŠUB). 22: Last s. is probably MA written over erasure, it is not DU. 24: S. preceding ZU is TAG (not TA). 27: S. preceding BA is NI (not BI or GA). 33.2 is probably CIG rather than GI. 36: About the middle of the line, the s. ZU is now legible. 38: Towards the end of the line the signs A, DU, and NI are now legible.

#### No. 28<sup>33</sup>

1.5 is UM. 2.3 is TUKU; last s. is LA. 4.1 is ŠE (not EŠ). 5.1 is TI. 6.1 is ŠUL; s. 9 is TUR (not I). 8.6 is ŠU (not TUKUL). 12: Between NE and KA (last s. but one) are only two signs: U<sub>5</sub> and KA. 16: Instead of GÚ and SI (first two signs) read the one s. U<sub>5</sub>; the two signs preceding GAR (fifth s. from end) are both SA (not IR). 17.7 may be TUR (rather than I); s. 8 may be SAL (not ŠÚ). 18.1 is NUNUZ (written over erasure). 22.3 is illegible, it is not AL; s. 5 is MA (not

<sup>31</sup> Perhaps part of a myth involving Utu. No duplicates.

<sup>32</sup> The copy fails to indicate that the rev. begins with l. 29.

<sup>33</sup> A "wisdom" text consisting of short paragraphs with proverb like contents; for a duplicate cf. SEM p. 7; for other examples of this type of composition, cf. Nos. 36 and 42.



GIM). 26. 1 may be ME (rather than DIŠ). 30. 4 is SIG. 34. 8, 9, and 10 are each ~~𒀭~~ (not HAR).

No. 29<sup>34</sup>

Obv. 1: S. preceding NA is Û (not DI). 6: S. following MA is TA (not GA). 10: Sign preceding DUB is probably É. 11: Verb reads: *nu-mu-un-da-zu-zu*.

No. 30<sup>35</sup>

Cf. Plate III.

No. 31<sup>36</sup>

1. 5 is MU. 3: Line reads: ama-ugu-bi <sup>d</sup>AŠ-AN URU(?) ..... 6: Second half of line reads: giš-gaba-*ni* IM ba-?-?. 7. 2 is GIM. 9. 2 is AMA (not BA). 10. 6 is LUGAL. 11. 3 is AMA; s. 4 is UGU (not KA). 12: Line reads: ù-di-dè-tuš-a-gim ha-ma-dim-e. 13. 4 is BI; s. 7 is HÉ. 14: Line reads: dingir-hé-àm a-ba-a-aš. 15. 3 is RA; s. 4 is DA; s. 5 is ŠU; last s. is BI. 16. 4 is AN; s. 5 is HI; s. 7 is TI; the last two signs seem to be: ~~𒀭𒀭~~. 17: The verb reads: mu-ne-íb-[g]<sub>i4</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>. 18: Last s. but one is GABA. 19. 1 is ŠÀ. 20. 1 is PISAN. 21. 1 is ŠÀ. 22. 5 is NI; s. 8 is UŠUM. 23. 4 is UG. 24. 5 is A. 25: Following NE there are only two signs on the line: KA+? and A; between these two signs, however, is a scribal erasure. 27: Following A (s. 8) the line reads *mà-a* .... *ga-u*<sub>5</sub>. 28: First three signs read: *ama-zu-úr*. 29. 3 is HÉ (not ÍB). 31: Line reads *ír-gig-še*<sub>8</sub>-*še*<sub>8</sub>. 32: Between HI and NU are the

<sup>34</sup> A letter; probably one of the "practice" group of letters composed by the scribes in the é-dub-ba; cf. Nos. 21 and 47 for other examples. No duplicates.

<sup>35</sup> Poorly preserved fragment of a bilingual text; perhaps part of an dInanna composition. No duplicates.

<sup>36</sup> Part of the epic tale involving Gilgameš and Huwawa. In addition to our text, the following published numbers belong to this composition: SEM Nos. 23, 27, 31; STVC No. 88; Ki. 155 (= JRAS 1932, p. 914 ff.), and *Kich* I 174. In Istanbul I copied a new duplicate and in the University Museum I discovered and copied four excellently preserved pieces. As a result approximately the first 165 lines of the composition are now almost completely restored.



signs LÚ(?) and A. 33: The last two signs (following NU) are both SU. 35.5 is NU (not KUR). 36: Line reads: *é-gi-sig-ga NE nu-.....* 37: Between E (s. 2) and DAḪ are *two* signs: PISAN and A; the s. following DAḪ is BA (not DA). 39: Line reads: *ba-su-a-ba ba-s[u-a-ba]*.

### No. 32<sup>37</sup>

Obv. 1.1 is probably EN; s. 2 is E. 3.2 is ÛR. 5: Instead of the two signs GIŠ and NI (signs 4 and 5) read GIM. 7.1 is GIŠ (not URU); s. 4 is KIN. 9.1 is ~~𒀭~~. 10: The verb reads *bí-ib(?) -túm*. 13.6 is probably Á. 14: S. preceding first DA is probably IŠ. 15: Last sign is BUL.

Rev. 18.<sup>38</sup> 5 is MU (not NAM). 20.4 is DUGUD (not MI). 21: About the middle of the line the s. KA is now legible. 22.4 is ANŠU (not LUGAL); s. 5 is NITAḪ (not RI). 23: Last four signs are now legible: *-ib-sar-sar-ri*. 24: Third s. from end may be DÛ. 29.5 is perhaps DA (not UŠ).

### No. 34<sup>39</sup>

1.2 is INANNA (not NUN). 10.8 is NA (not KI). 14.5 is BA. 18.2 is DI (not TÚG).

### No. 35<sup>40</sup>

Obv. 4: Line reads: *a-a<sup>d</sup>-en-líl inim-bi nu-mu-[d]è-gub eridu<sup>ki</sup>-šè ba-du*. 5: Instead of KID (s. following KI), read the two

<sup>37</sup> Part of one of the Ninurta epic tales; as yet the fragment is unplaceable.

<sup>38</sup> Langdon should not have numbered the obv. and rev. consecutively; at least five lines are broken away between the last line of the obv. and the first line of the rev.

<sup>39</sup> Fragment of the "Inanna's Descent" myth; cf. Kramer, *RA* 34. 93 ff.

<sup>40</sup> Part of the epic tale treating of Gilgameš, Enkidu, and the nether world. The first part of the composition, consisting of 103 lines, was edited and translated by me in *Assyriological Studies of the Or. Inst.* 10 under the title "Gilgameš and the Huluppu Tree." At the time I deemed it inadvisable to continue with a translation of the second part since the meaning of U. 9364 (= *RA* 30. 127 ff.) was obscure at several crucial points and since, moreover, it was then impossible to place properly our text (i. e., BE XXXI 35) as well as its duplicate HAV No. 11. However, I was fortunate enough to discover and copy six new pieces belonging to this



signs GIŠ and LA[GA]B. 6: Line reads: *gišE.KID-m[a-m]u i[g]i-k[u]r-[š]è mu-da-an-šub*. 7: Preceding KUR line reads: *[e]n-ki-du<sub>10</sub> e<sub>11</sub>-dè i(?) -gi<sub>4</sub>*. 8: S. preceding PA is probably Á rather than DA. 9: Between UŠ and NU are *three* signs: KID, MÈ and A. 10: S. following ŠU is NU. 12: The verb reads: *ba-e-dè-gub*; nothing is broken between the signs E and NE. 13: KA is *not* the last s. on the l., it is followed by *[ba-an-d]é-e*. 15: S. immediately preceding NI is broken; it is *not* A; s. preceding NE is E<sub>11</sub> (not KA). 17: Instead of KA (last s.) read the two signs E<sub>11</sub> and NE. 18: S. following UN is SU (not ZU). 19: S. preceding Û is KUŠ (not KA). 21: Line reads: ..... *bi en-ku-li-mu* .....

Rev.<sup>41</sup> 1: Instead of the s. SAR read NE; the s. preceding is KAM. 3: Last s. on the line (the s. following AN) is TUKUL. 11: S. 3 is GIM. 12: S. preceding LÁ is A (not ZA); s. following GIM is ŠĀ (not ZU). 15: S. following GA is GIM.

#### No. 36<sup>42</sup>

1. 8 is NU (not U); s. 10 is DA (not UB). 3. 2 is ~~ŠĀ~~ (not HAR). 7. 1 is ~~ŠĀ~~ 8. 5 is NE (not KA). 11. 3 is ŠUL (not SIKIL). 13: Last s. is probably NE rather than TA. 14. 1 may be SU rather than ZU; the second and third signs are both BALAG. 18. 3 is SU (not ZU). 19: Signs 2 and 4 are probably both GÍN rather than ZU and LU; s. 8 ŠÈ (not TÚG).

#### No. 37<sup>43</sup>

Obv. 3: S. preceding PISAN (fifth s. from end) is AN (not NA). 6. 4 is RA (not KID); s. 10 is AN (not NA). 14: Pre-

composition (one in Istanbul and five in Philadelphia) and the situation is now much more favorable for a reconstruction and translation of this part of the story.

<sup>41</sup> Note that numbering of the obv. and rev. should actually be consecutive; to avoid confusion, however, I treated the rev. as being numbered from 1 to 18.

<sup>42</sup> A "wisdom" text consisting of short paragraphs with proverb like contents; cf. also Nos. 28 and 42. A duplicate was copied by me in Istanbul.

<sup>43</sup> Part of an é-dub-ba composition which furnishes a charming description of the life and activities of a dumu-é-dub-ba. (The composition is introduced as follows: *dumu-é-dub-ba-a-u<sub>4</sub>-ul-la-àm me-šè i-du-dè-en é-dub-ba-a-šè i-du-dè-en é-dub-ba-a a-na-àm i-AG*, "Son of the é-dub-ba,



ceding E, the following is now legible: [š]u-zu nu-šag<sub>5</sub>-šag<sub>5</sub>. 15: Preceding NAM the signs GÚ, NE and DÙ(?) are now legible.

Rev. 1: S. preceding NE is ŠID (not RA). 2: Preceding A the s. BA is now legible; the s. preceding DA is AD (not LA); instead of the last s. KA, read ba-NE-... 4.9 is LÚ (not UB). 5.9 is GU (not MU). 7.9 is ZU (not BA). 9.4 is ŠÀ; s. 5 is HÚL (not IGI and EN). 10: S. following KA is HÚL (not KI); last s. but one is NI (not LAGAB). 13: S. preceding MU is IGI. 14.1 is GU; the signs immediately preceding MU (fourth s. from end) are BI (not TA) and DALLA. 15: S. following AN may be SI, it is *not* NE; the s. preceding DU is damaged but the traces do not point to SAG; the last s. may be AB (rather than RA). 16: S. following GIM is MI (not IN).

#### No. 39<sup>44</sup>

Obv. 1: First three signs are NAM, KUG, and ZU. 5: S. immediately preceding A is probably UR; the s. following GÚ may be DA (written over UŠ). 6: S. preceding first KAL is SAG (not KA). 10: S. following second U<sub>4</sub> may be KA (rather than NE).

For rev. and left edge, cf. Pl. I.

#### No. 40<sup>45</sup>

Obv.<sup>46</sup> 1: Last three signs are UM, MI, and PÀD. 2: Last s. is E. 4: Last two signs are both PISAN (not LAGAB). 5: Instead of IGI and TA (first two legible signs) read IM and TE.

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where are you going this(?) day?" "I am going to the e-dub-ba." "What do you do in the e-dub-ba?" The dumu-é-dub-ba then proceeds to give a detailed account of the activities involved in the daily é-dub-ba routine.) The text of the composition consists of 96 lines and can now be practically entirely restored, although, as is to be expected, the meaning of not a few of the passages remains obscure. The two most important pieces are Ni. 2750 which I copied in Istanbul and CBS 6094 (still uncopied); they supplement each other in large part and together contain the major portion of the text. The other duplicates are: TRS 49, SEM 66 and 69, STVC 68, HAV 18, SRT 29, Ni. 2746 (copied in Istanbul) and our BE text whose obv. and rev. correspond to ll. 37-46 and ll. 53-66 of the composition.

<sup>44</sup> Fragment of a composition whose contents are of uncertain character. No duplicates.

<sup>45</sup> Fragment of a composition consisting of a collection of hymns to the temples of Sumer; cf. No. 18.

<sup>46</sup> I. e., the rev. in L.'s copy; Langdon interchanged obv. and rev.



6: Instead of PISAN and IŠ (the last two signs) read INANNA and KID. 7: S. following DU (seventh from end) is BĀR; the s. preceding NE (third from end) is TUKUL (not É). 11: third s. from end is GIŠ (not SI). 12: Last s. is UG (not LA).

Rev.<sup>47</sup> 3: The last two signs are both SIKIL. 5: S. following DU (seventh from end) is BĀR; s. preceding NE (third from end) is TUKUL (not É). 7: Last s. is MA (not BA). 9: The three signs immediately preceding LI are KI, SU, and HŪL (not AB); the last two signs are DI (not KI) and E. 10: The s. ÍL does not begin the line, a considerable break precedes; the s. preceding GAL is probably AD (perhaps ŠI) but not LA; the last s. is KA (not BA and AŠ). 11: Line reads: .....*ama-ugu-na gaba-kug-ga-SAL(?) -dug<sub>4</sub>(?) -ga*. 13: S. preceding NE is TUKUL (not É).

#### No. 41<sup>48</sup>

2: NE (the last s. in L.'s copy) is a miscopy for KA; the traces of the broken sign which follows point to the restoration of that sign, too, as KA. 3: Between the second GAL and BA there are three signs: GAR, ZU, and A (not the two signs LA and SI). 4: S. 6 is DA (not Á). 5: Last extant s. is MA (not BA). 6: Last extant s. is BA (not MA). 7. 5 is ÁG; s. 6 is ZU (not BA). 8. S. preceding LU is GĀL. 9. 6 is Û (not IGI and ŠÈ). 11: S. following KID is IG (not ŠÈ). 13: Line reads: [*igi-me-t*]*a níg ma-ra-t[a-si-ig]*. 14: Following ZA, the s. KA is now legible.

#### No. 42<sup>49</sup>

1: Last two signs are now partly legible and are probably BI and IM. 2: Last two signs are BI and IM. 3: Last two signs are BI and IM. 4. 1 is É; s. following LI is AL. 5: S. preceding AN is DUL (not BA). 6: Preceding BA the line reads: *é-bi*

<sup>47</sup> I. e. the obv. in L.'s copy.

<sup>48</sup> Fragment of a very important hymn to Inanna; the text consists of 152 lines and can now be almost completely restored. The basic material is furnished by PBS X 4 No. 3; the duplicates are *ibid.* No. 4, SEM 102, 104, 105, TRS 51, Ni. 2755 (a large fragment of a four column tablet copied by me in Istanbul) and our BE text which corresponds to ll. 14-29 of the composition.

<sup>49</sup> A "wisdom" text consisting of short paragraphs with proverb like contents; cf. Nos. 28 and 36. No duplicates.



s[i]-sá.... 8.1 is DA; s. 2 is AL (not BI); s. 3 is perhaps ÁG (certainly *not* LA). 9.3 is IZKIM; s. 4 is E; s. 5 is GI; last s. is KID. 10: Line reads: *úr-bi al-dúb-dúb-bi*; between the second DUB and BI is probably a scribal erasure. 11.3 is NA (not NU). 12: Line reads: *ù-za-e-lú-lu<sup>lu</sup>-me-e[n]*. 13.2 is DA; s. 3 is Ê (not MA). 15.3 is DAM; s. 8 is U (not ŠÚ). 16: The last two signs may both be KA + GAR. 17: S. preceding first E is IN (not NI); the last s. (E) is on a line with the other signs (not lower as in the copy). 19.1 may be GIŠ; s. following A is E; last s. is AG. 20: Last s. is EN. 21.2 is ZU. 22.5 is ÁG. 25.1 may be BI rather than GA. 26: First three signs are ŠUL(?), MU and GI. 31.1 is TAR (written over erasure); last two signs are both LAGAB (not LU).

#### No. 43 <sup>50</sup>

4: EN (the last s. in L.'s copy) is not the last s. on the line, for a break follows; in the preceding and following lines, too, the breaks at the end of the lines are larger than L.'s copy indicates. 9: Between UN (s. 3) and NUN insert the s. KUG (omitted by L.). Between ll. 9 and 10 the tablet has a separating line. 10.6 is AMA (not UN). 11.6 is probably BÍL (not NE). 14.4 is PÂR (not GIŠ).

For left edge (omitted by L.) cf. Pl. I.

#### No. 44 <sup>51</sup>

Obv. 3: Last s. is RA. 7: Last s. is probably BI. 10: S. following GIM is probably NI (not MU). 17: S. preceding NE is SI.

Rev.<sup>52</sup> 3.4 is ~~TA~~. 5: Last s. is TA. 7.8 is GI (not GÚ). 8.2 is DA; s. 4 is KUG (written over erasure); s. 6 is INANNA; s. 7 is RA; ŠUB (the last s. in L.'s copy) is a miscopy for the *gana-tenû*, it is followed by another *gana-tenû* (omitted altogether by L.). 9: S. following NE (fourth from end) is IB. 10.4 is DA;

<sup>50</sup> Perhaps a fragment of a Dumuzi text; note the use of eme-SAL. No duplicates.

<sup>51</sup> Although as yet unplaceable, the fragment is probably part of the Enmerkar epic, cf. SEM p. 1.

<sup>52</sup> Langdon should have numbered the obv. and rev. consecutively.



S. 5 is AŠ; last three signs are TAG, TAG, and AŠ. 12: Instead of GABA (last s.) read the two signs NE and EN. 15: Between KI and RA insert A. 16: Last s. is TAĤ.

No. 45<sup>53</sup>

Obv. 1: Preceding DIRIG, the s. E is now legible. In the line preceding L.'s first line, the two signs LÚ and TUR are now legible (towards the end of the line). 2: S. preceding BA is A. 3: Last s. but one is perhaps E; it is hardly TAR. 5: In approximately the middle of the break at the beginning of the line the s. KA is now legible; the last s. is AB. 6: The s. following BU is DA (not KA); between IN and GI<sub>4</sub> (last s.) the original seems to have ~~𐎶𐎵~~. 7: S. following NAM is TAG (not GA). 10: S. preceding DA is DUGUD; third s. from end is NI (not DÛ).

Rev. 2: S. following AL is AG. 4: Third s. from end is TUKUL (not DU). 6.4 from end is probably KAL rather than UR. 7: S. preceding Û is KA; the signs following Û are BA, E, and DÊ. 12: S. preceding MU is SU; the last two signs are KÚŠ and Û.

No. 46<sup>54</sup>

Obv. col. i. 1.2 is AMA (not NIN); between E (s. 7) and ME are the three signs: BU, ZU, and Ê. 2: The gloss to this line reads: *ra(?) -i-ma ši-e-ni te-ri-e-ú*. 3.2 is TUR (not I). 6: Last s. seems to be UŠ written over an erasure rather than DU. 8: The beginning of the line (preceding NI) consists of five signs: SU (not IGI), LU, ŠÊ, an illegible s., and RA(?); last s. but one is NE (not AB). 9.1<sup>55</sup> is GU; s. 3 is ĤAR. The gloss reads: *.....i-na a-aĥ(?) tum-ri ... wa-aš-ba-ti*. 11: S. preceding MU is DI (not KI). 13: Last s. but one is DU (not TA).

Obv. col. ii. 4.2 is AMA. 5.7 is DA (not MAR). 7: Following NA (s. 7) the signs are AN, ŠÚ, KI, NU, and UŠ. 8: Last s. of the gloss is LU. 10.4 is probably SAR (not TU). 12: There is only one NA preceding the s. SAR; s. following BU is RI. 13: Gloss reads: *ga-a-šu ša uš-šu-ú i-na za-.....* 14: Instead of

<sup>53</sup> May be fragment of an é-dub-ba composition. No duplicates.

<sup>54</sup> Fragment of a Dumuzi text with Semitic glosses and translations. No duplicates; cf. however SEM 90 which seems to be a similar text.

<sup>55</sup> This line seems to be incorrectly numbered as 10 in the copy.



TÚG and NI (signs 2 and 3) read the one s. BI; following the second SAR the line reads na-gur<sub>10</sub>-gur<sub>10</sub>..... 15: First part of the line reads: še-šu ša ib-ba-an-nu-ú. 16: Instead of GUD (s. 1) read the two signs GIŠ and HI. 17: First part reads: i-na i-ši-šu. 18: There are four signs preceding SAG; the first is illegible, the three following are: ŠU, BU, and KASKAL. 19.1 is ÚR.

For rev. and left edge cf. Pl. III.

#### No. 47<sup>56</sup>


2: First legible s. is TA; s. preceding NU is DAR. 3: S. preceding BA is DU (not DA); third s. from end is IM (not IN); between this IM and RA may be one or two signs, but in any case it is not SAR. 8: Line reads: he-UL-é(?) -gal-la. 9.1 is MÁ; s. 2 is SAG. 10: Last s. is perhaps GI, it is hardly KÀR. 13: The three signs preceding LÁ (last s.) are AN, EN, and KID. 14.2 is KA. 15: Last s. is ŠAG<sub>5</sub>. 18.2 is probably KÍD; s. following the second HU is BU (not MU). 21.1 is NAM (not ZU); s. 3 is ÍB (not MU).

#### No. 49<sup>57</sup>

Obv. col. ii. 5. 1 is HÉ (not ÍB).

#### No. 50<sup>58</sup>

Obv. 1. 3 is E (not SI). 2: S. following MA is RA. 5: S. preceding E<sub>11</sub> is probably DA; s. following E<sub>11</sub> is DA (not KA). 6. 5 is probably ZU (not TUKUL). 7. 3 is ZU (not LU). 10. 2 is HA + A; s. 3 is probably ZU. 11. 3 is probably ZU (not TUKUL); s. 4 is probably GIM. 14. 2 is probably ZU.

Rev. 3. 5 is probably ÚR; s. 8 is perhaps DU (written over erasure). 4. 1 is  (seems to be written over erasure). 9. 7

<sup>56</sup> "Practice" letter; cf. Nos. 21 and 29. No duplicates.

<sup>57</sup> Fragment of a composition whose contents are of uncertain character. No duplicates.

<sup>58</sup> Fragment of a very important composition concerned with the gišal and the gišapin. SRT 26 is one duplicate and another was copied by me in Istanbul. In the University Museum there are four uncopied pieces which will enable use to reconstruct the major portion of the text.



is NI (not DÙ). 11: Last s. but one is DUGUD (not MI). 14: S. preceding LÁ (last s. but one) is MA.

No. 51<sup>59</sup>

3.6 is NE. 4: S. preceding DU (third s. from end) is NU. 5: Line reads: [*tuk*]um-bi ki-na-me-šè nu-[D]U-dè-en. 8: Line reads: éš-kàr..... IG kíd-a-ab(?) -en(?). 9.1 is DUB; last s. but one is RA. 10: Last three signs are SAR, RI, and EN(?). 11: The last four signs read ù-mu-e-ag. 12: Line reads: ugula-a.....ù-na-dug<sub>4</sub>-ga-àm. 13: Last s. is NU. 14: The two signs immediately preceding GA are DU and KA. 17: The two signs immediately preceding MU (last s.) are KA and GA. 18: Line consists of only three signs, the middle one (the only legible s.) is ZU. 23: NA (s. 2) is a scribal erasure. 25: Signs 6 and 7 may be scribal erasures; last s. but one is E. 26.4 is ŠID; s. 5 is DA. 31.1 is PA; s. 2 is A; s. 4 is ŠÊ (not TŪG); s. 10 (between A and ZU) is UGU. 34: Signs 5 and 6 are both LAGAB (not TUKUL). 35: Between NAM and RI (last s.) the two signs are both BAR. 36.2 is UŠUM (not MU); between EN (s. 4) and ZU are two signs: PA and A (not the *one* s. KID).

No. 54<sup>60</sup>

1: First complex probably reads: lú-aš-túg-ga (AŠ is omitted by L.). 2.1 is EDIN (not SÚB); s. 7 is GAR (not SI). 4.8 is NI (not ŠÊ).<sup>61</sup> 5: Line reads: .....gišbal giš-kés-da šu ba-e-? 6: S. preceding ŠĀ is AN; last s. but one is AG (not LA). 7: Between LA and BA (last s.) is probably a scribal erasure. 9: Line reads: za-lam-gar-maš-gán-bi ki um-mi-gar-gar. 10.6 is GUD (not GA). 11.7 is DI; last two signs are NI and E. 12: Instead of GAL and HI (signs 6 and 7) read the one s. LUGAL; last s. may be KID; it is not MA or BA. 13.1 is GŪ.<sup>61</sup> 14.1 is GŪ; s. 2 is NE; s. 3 is NI(?); s. 4 is MI. 15: Last two signs are NE and EN.<sup>61</sup> 16: The two signs immediately following U<sub>4</sub> are TUR and RA. 18: Signs 2 and 3 (between LŪ and A) are AL

<sup>59</sup> Part of an é-dub-ba composition; SEM 70 is a duplicate.

<sup>60</sup> Perhaps a "practice" letter (cf. 29 and 47) addressed by the scribe to Ibi-Sin; note the Šulgi is mentioned in l. 12. No duplicates.

<sup>61</sup> This line is indented on the tablet.



and ME. 22: Last s. but one is SI. 24.5 is LA. 25: The s. following UŠ (s. 9) is SA. 27: Between KÉŠ (s. 5) and GIM insert A (omitted by L.); the verb reads: *h̄é-en-na-gá-gá*. 30: cf. note 61.

### No. 55<sup>62</sup>

15: First complex reads: *gišná-da-ni-šè*. 16: First s. is now completely broken away; as the duplicates show it was E. 17: S. following E is KID; last s. but one is GIM. 18: Between GIŠ and MU (s. 3 from end) are the two signs LAGAB and NA; last s. but one is UN (not SUR).




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<sup>62</sup> Part of the epic tale treating of Gilgameš, Enkidu, and the nether world; cf. note 40.

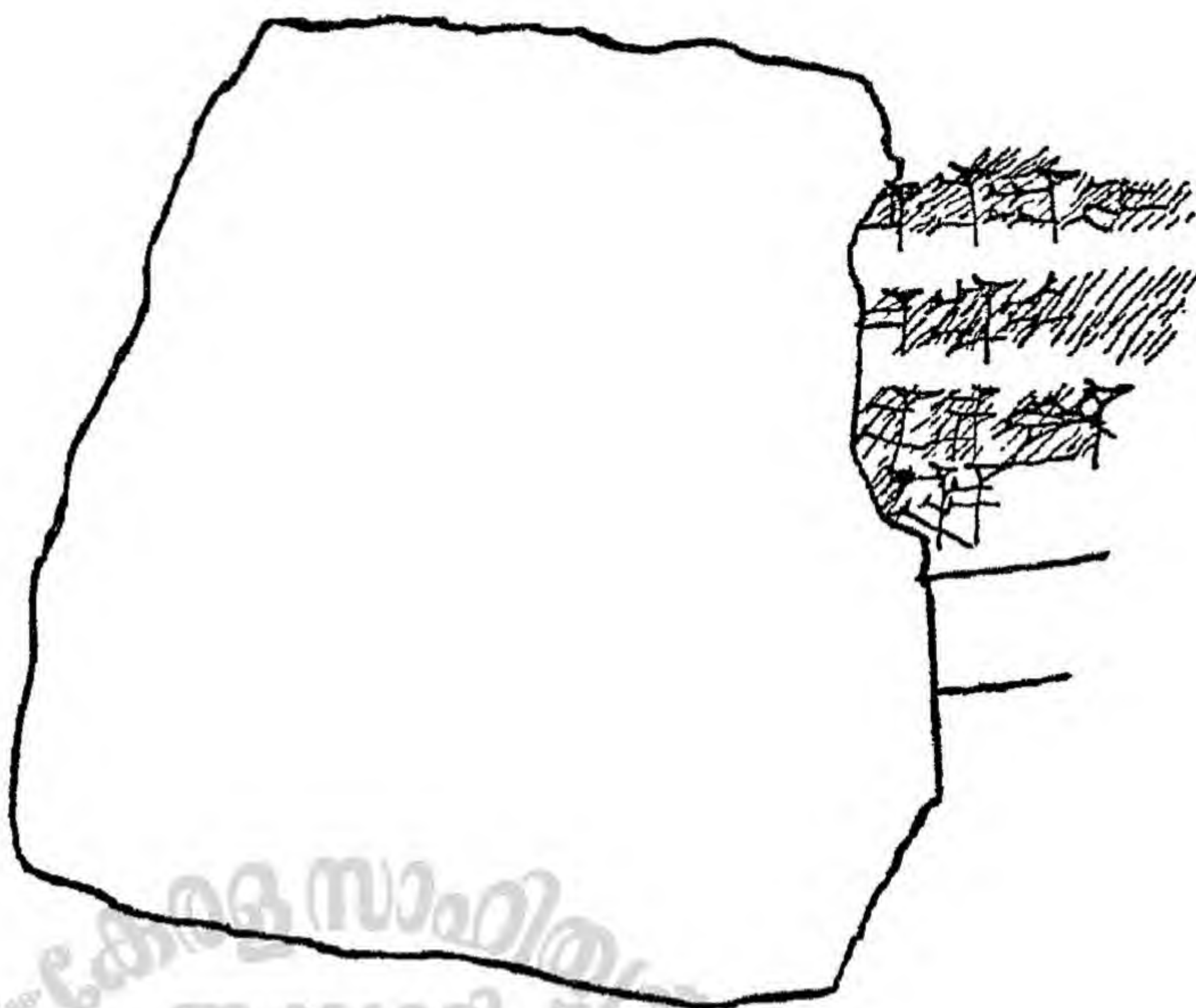


2

REVERSE

43

L. E.



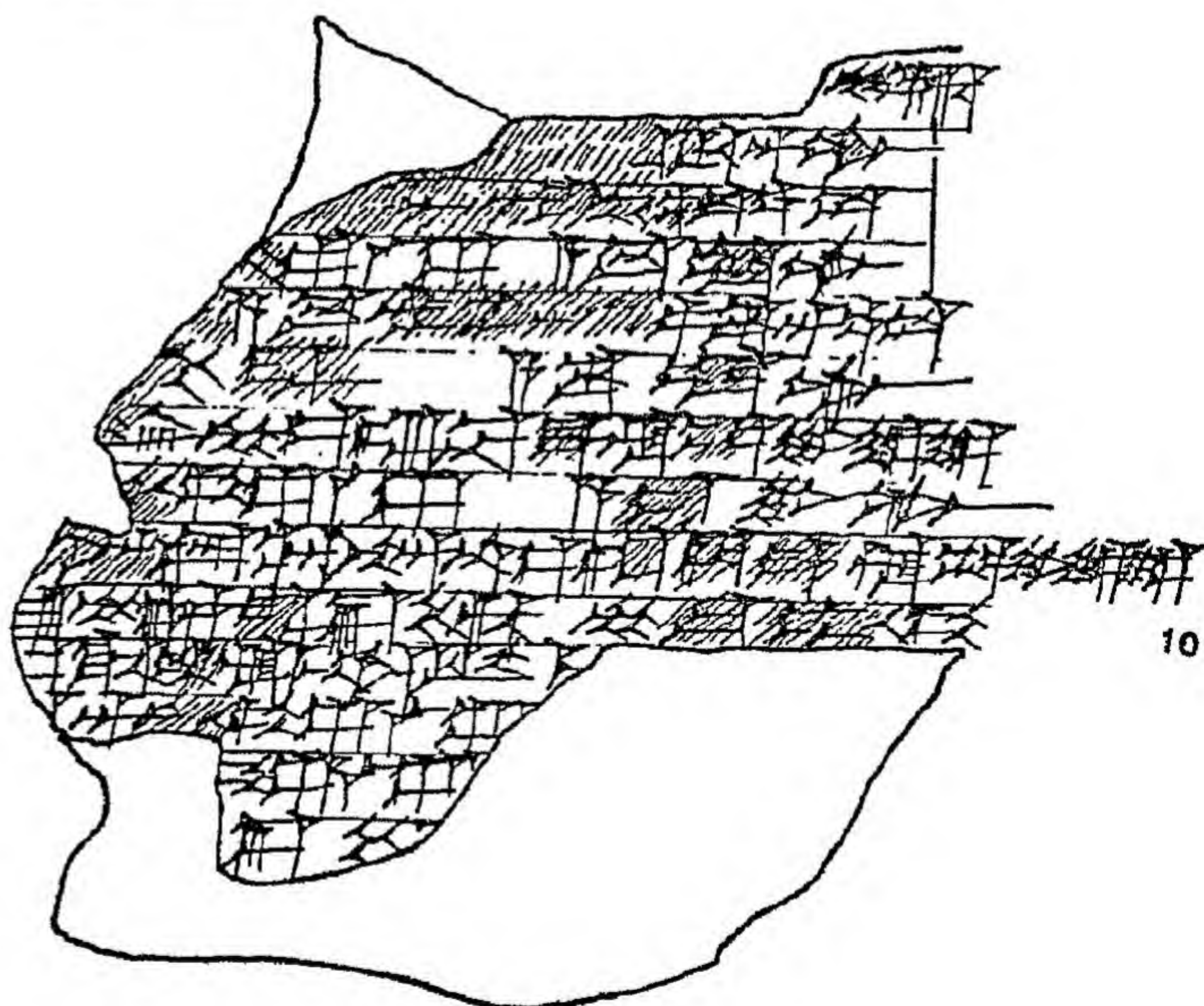
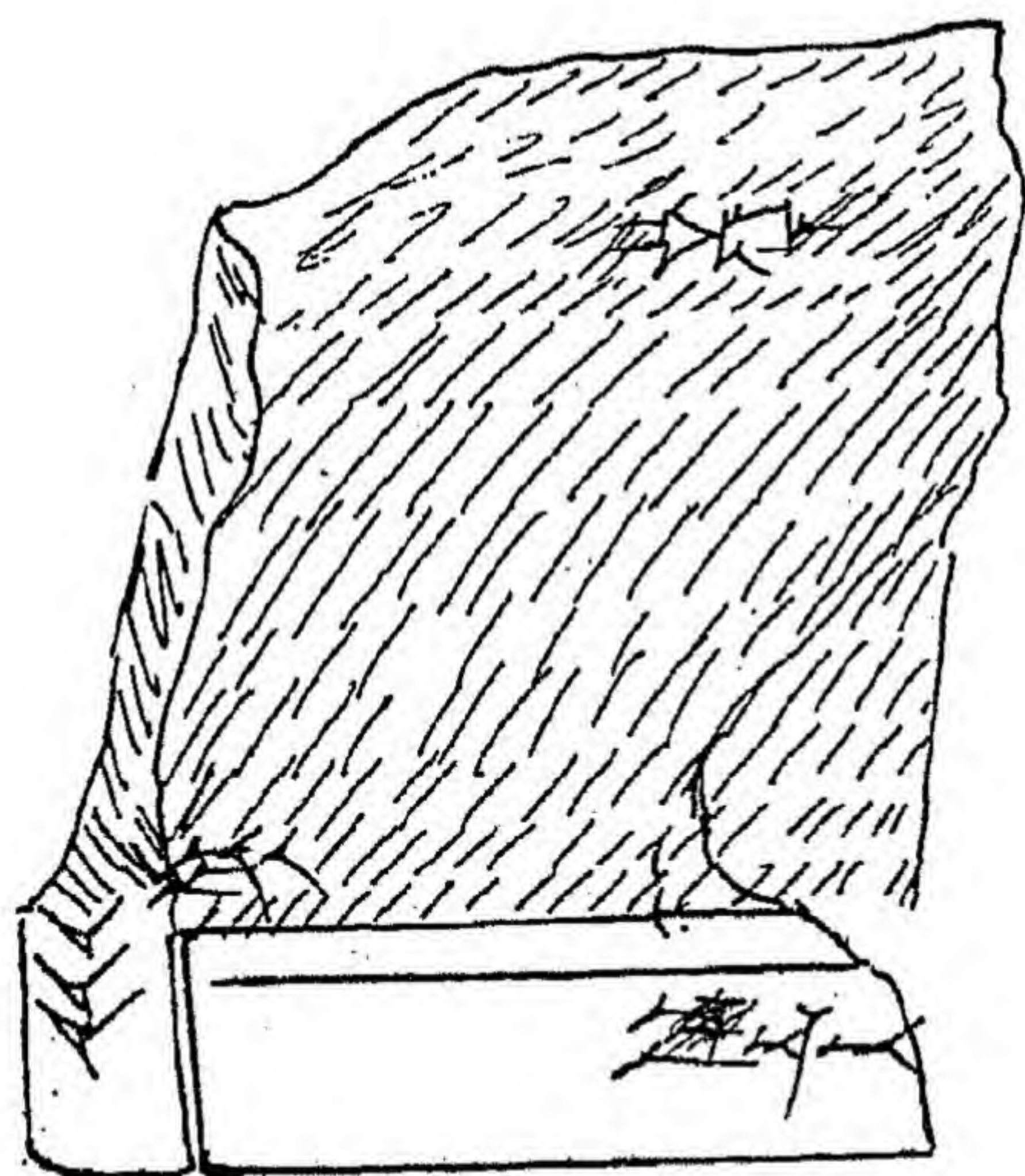
39

L. E.

REVERSE

13

OBVERSE



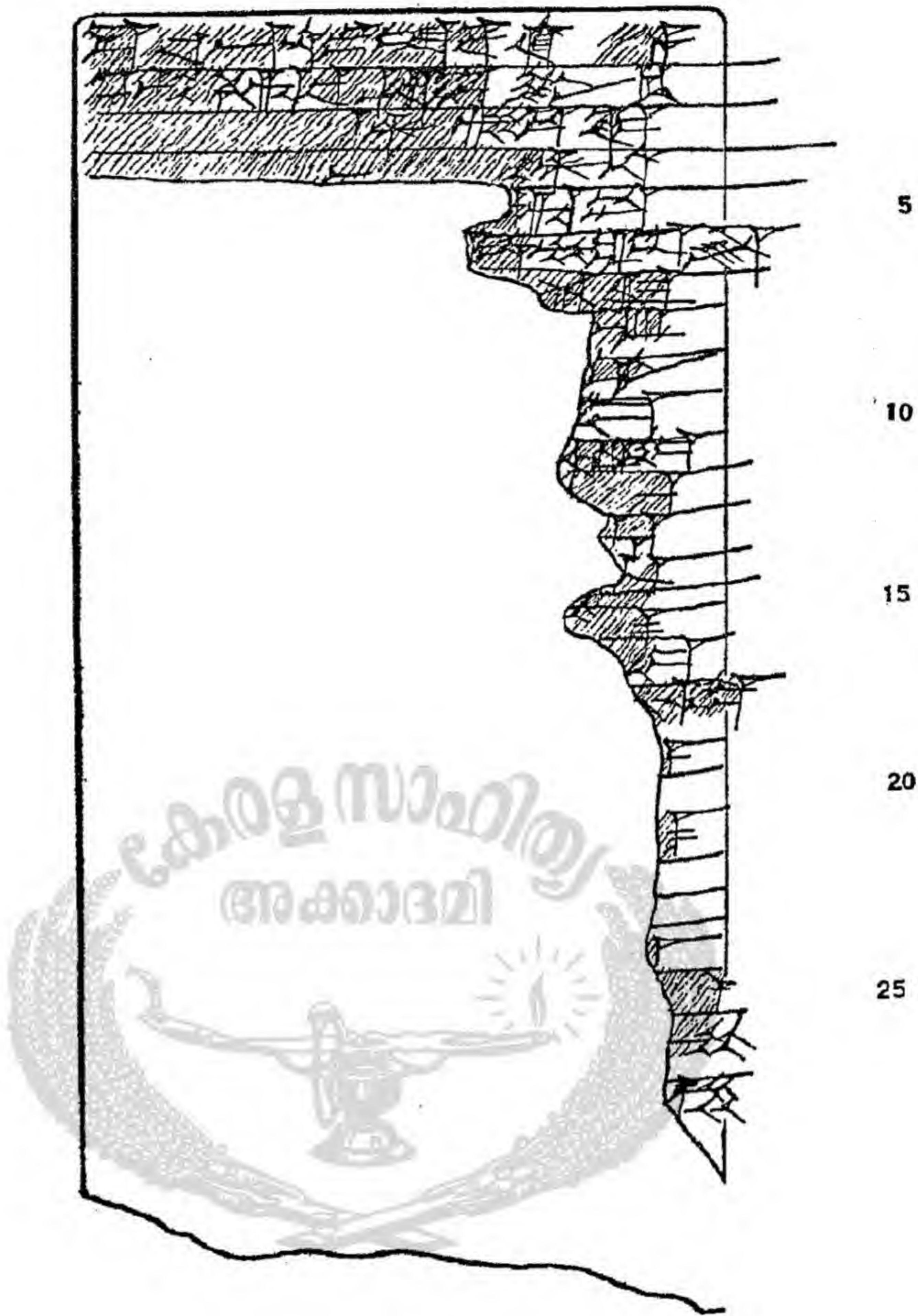
10

PLATE I



12

OBVERSE



18

OBVERSE

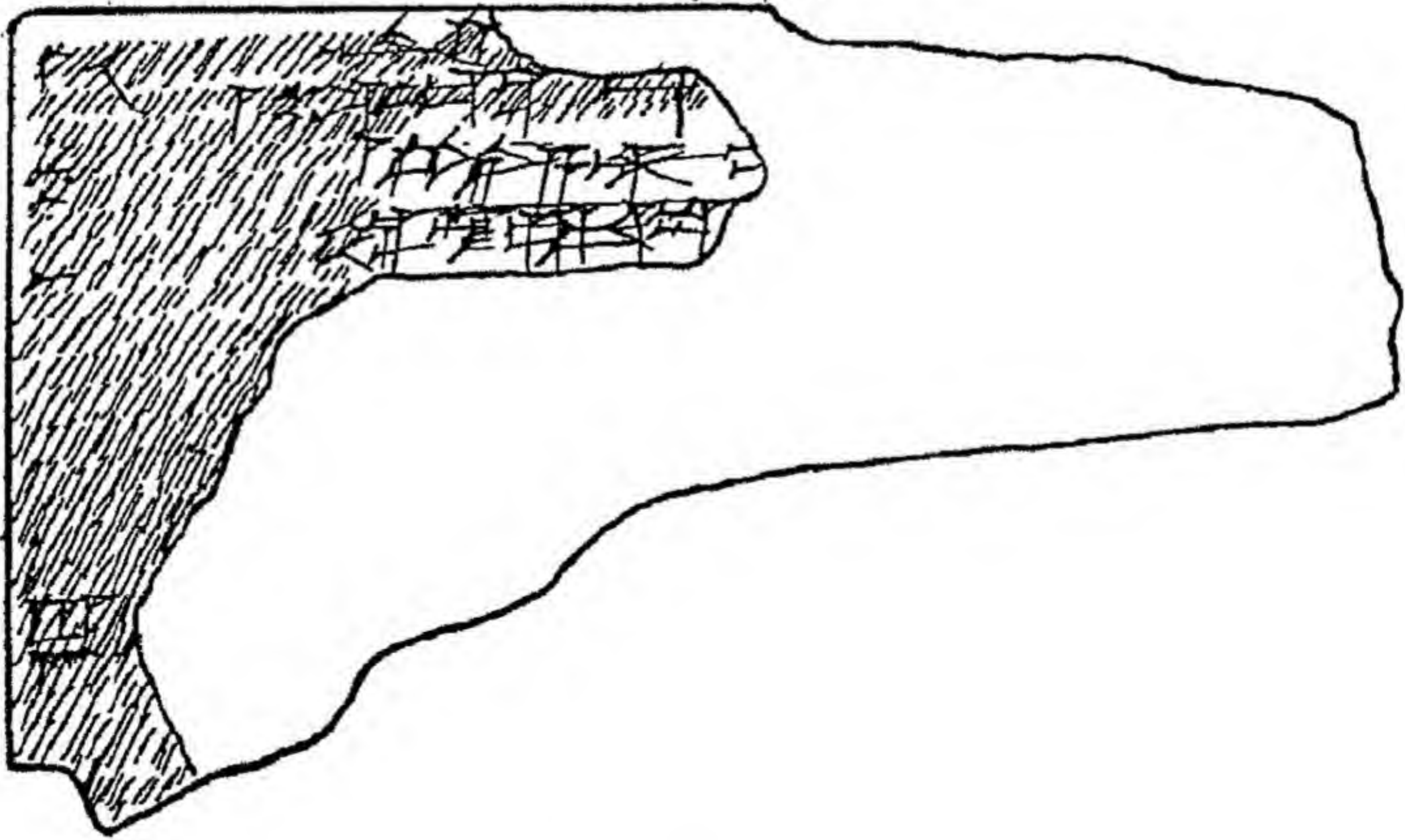


PLATE II



30

OBVERSE



5

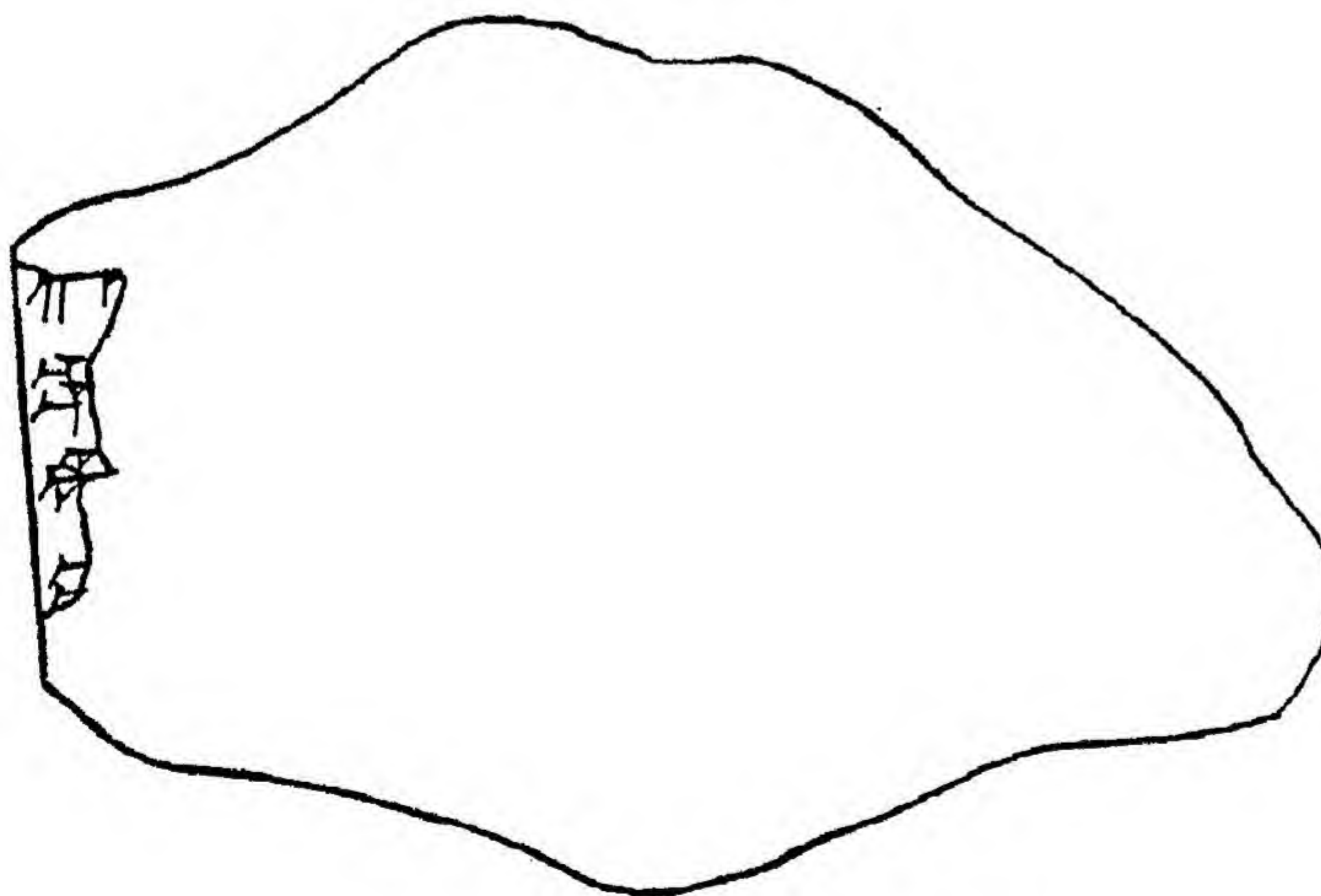
REVERSE



ERASURE?

46

REVERSE



L. E.

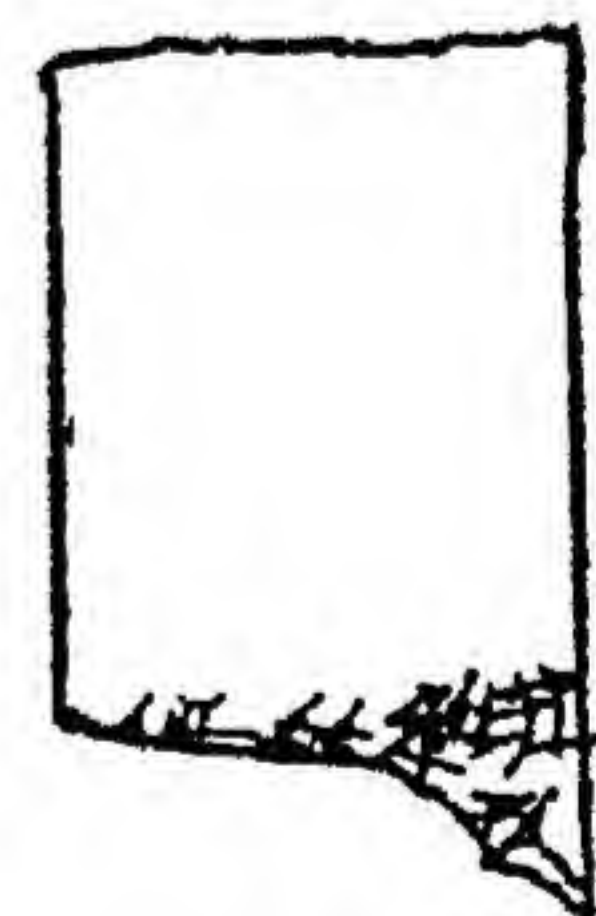


PLATE III



## BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

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### *Some Bibliographical Notes on Eastern Asiatic Botany*

In my review of *A Bibliography of Eastern Asiatic Botany*, by Elmer D. Merrill and Egbert H. Walker (*JAOS* 59. 138-142) I suggested a number of additional titles. Since that writing I have noted a few more, which appear to me worth adding to the list of books and articles to be included in any revision of, or addendum to, the *Bibliography*. I give them herewith:

Pelliot, Paul, 1902. *Mémoires sur les coutumes au Comboge*, par Tcheou Ta-kouan. *Bull. de l'école française d'extrême-orient* 2. 123-177. This is an annotated translation of a record of the Mongol embassy to Champa and Cambodia written in 1296 by a Chinese member of the embassy. It contains information on the agriculture, products, plants and pot-herbs of the region concerned.

Laufer, Berthold. 1917. *La Mandragore*. *T'oung Pao* 18. 1-30.

———. 1918. *Malabathron*. *Journal Asiatique*. 11th ser., 12. 5-49.

T'ang Chung-chang 唐仲璋. 1932, 1933. A study of the origin of several Fukien plants. *Fu-chien wên hua* 福建文化 1. 5. 10-15; 1. 7. 8-11. Discussion of the sweet potato, peanut, *Raphanus sativus*, L., and *Lycium chinense*, Mill.

Ch'ên Ts'ang-ch'í 陳藏器. 739. *Pên ts'ao shih-i* 本草拾遺, Omissions to the classic materia medica of Shên-nung. See Bretschneider, *Bot. Sin.* 1: 45; Pelliot, *T'oung Pao* 13. 454; 28. 190.

Hoshoi<sup>1</sup> 忽思慧. 1330. *Yin shan chêng yao* 飲膳正要. A work on foods, in 3 chüan, the third containing many illustrations of edible plants. A catalogue of the holdings of the Seikado library 靜嘉堂文庫漢籍分類目錄 (1930), 499, lists an original edition, but the preface to a reproduction of this same copy in the Ssu pu ts'ung k'an, new series, tzu 子 section, is more conservative, calling it an edition of the period 1450-1457. Dr. Berthold Laufer made use of quotations from this book in his *Sino-Iranica* (see pp. 236,

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<sup>1</sup>I owe this romanization to Prof. George Kennedy of Yale. He writes that five other Mongols, mentioned in the *Yüan shih* 元史, have names beginning with HOS, meaning a "pair"; and that HOI seems to mean "scabbard."



252, 406) but had seen no copy thereof. It is described in the Imperial Catalogue of Ch'ien-lung, Ssu k'u ch'üan shu 116/7b. (I shall come back to this item later.)

Mêng Shên 孟詵 (d. 713). 706. Shih liao pên ts'ao 食療本草. A work on edible drugs and medicinal plants. Chang Ting 張鼎 made additions to this a few years later, certainly before 739 when the enlarged work is cited in the Pen ts'ao shih i of Ch'ên Ts'ang-ch'i. See Bretschneider, *Bot. Sin.* 1: 45. In 1930 the late Dr. Manzo Nakao published a study of the Shih liao pên ts'ao in the *Journal of the Institute of Natural History*, Shanghai, 1. 3, together with a report on the fragments of materia medica discovered at Tunhuang by Stein and Pelliot and now preserved at London and Paris. Pelliot (*T'oung Pao* 28. 190) calls the monograph a "travail de grande valeur."

Wan Chên 萬震. 3rd cent. A. D. Nan chou I wu chih 南州異物志 a record of remarkable things in regions in the south. This deals, inter alia, with plants. See Laufer, *Sino-Iranica* 317; Pelliot, *Bull. de l'école française d'extrême-orient* 4. 277-278.

To revert to the Yin shan chêng yao by the Mongol Hoshoi. Laufer, in his discussion of the pistachio (*Sino-Iranica* 252) cites an 18th century reference to the term pi-ssü-ta 必思答 said to be in this book, but cautiously adds: "Not having access to this, I am unable to state whether it contains a reference to pi-se-ta." It may now be told; the reference is in chüan 3, 42 b. Again, in his discussion of the almond (Persian, *bādām*), Laufer (*ibid.*, 406) refers to the term *pa-tan* 八檐 said to be in the Yin shan chêng yao. This may be located in chüan 3, 42 ab.

It may also be recalled that a generation or so ago, Dr. Laufer, writing in *Congr. Internat.* 1906, 225, declared that *sorghum vulgare* was introduced from India into China about the end of the fifteenth century. For countries so close together, which have been exchanging cultivated plants probably since pre-historic times (cf. Bishop, C. W., *The beginnings of civilization in the Orient*, Supplement to the *JAOS* 4. 58), this has always seemed to me a very late date. Hoping that the Yin shan cheng yao might throw some light on the problem I submitted the question to Dr. Walker. He has written me under date of February 1 as follows:

"Mrs. Agnes Chase, America's greatest authority on grasses, has identified the first three [illustrations] as varieties of foxtail millet, *Setaria italica*, native of Asia in spite of its name. The 4th is



possibly broomcorn millet, *Panicum miliaceum*. The grass on leaf 4 is another *Setaria*, not the same as the first. On leaf 40 is the nearest approach to sugar cane, but she does not think this is really that, because the sheaths do not envelope the stem and because of the aerial roots at every node, if that is what the artist intended them to be.<sup>2</sup> On leaf 47 is clearly a bamboo, but what species is uncertain. Thus there seems to be no evidence here of the presence of *Sorghum vulgare*."

Unless further evidence is forthcoming then Dr. Laufer's statement still holds.

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#### *A Phoenician Fragment from Rhodes*

The tiny fragment of a Phoenician inscription which is published below claims no other importance than that which is derived from its provenience. For it is the second Phoenician inscription hitherto discovered in the island of Rhodes.<sup>1</sup> Professor Mario Segre, who has devoted much of his time and scholarship to the study of Greek inscriptions from Rhodes, recently sent me a photograph of this fragment together with a copy he drew directly from the stone.<sup>2</sup> The piece once formed the right lower section of a quadrangular slab, 3.5 cm. thick, presumably of marble;<sup>3</sup> its actual measurements are 8.5 cm. in width and 4.5 cm. in height. A bi-

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<sup>2</sup> Later, Dr. Walker sent me the opinion of Mr. Carl O. Grassel, assistant botanist in the bureau of plant industry, United States Department of Agriculture, who declared that the figure on leaf 40 is an illustration of sugar cane, but just what kind it is impossible to state.

<sup>1</sup> The first one is far more interesting, since it mentions a religious official, the *mēqīm ēlīm mitrah 'aštornay*, whose meaning and character are still mysterious. It was interpreted by I. Guidi and published by A. Maiuri in *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica Italiana di Atene* II (1916) 267-269. See also *Clara Rhodes* I (1928) 34; J.-B. Chabot in *Journal Asiatique* 11.10 (1917) 10<sup>2</sup>; A. M. Honeyman in *Le Muséon*, 51 (1938) 288.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Segre's letter, accompanying the photograph and the copy, is dated from Rhodes, September 11, 1939.

<sup>3</sup> In his letter Segre fails to mention the exact nature of the material.



lingual text, Greek and Phoenician, had been carved on the slab,<sup>4</sup> but as the main part of it was broken off, the whole Greek inscription has disappeared, except its last two letters. The last letter, almost entirely preserved, is a *sigma*; the one next to it, of which only the lower part of a vertical stroke is still extant, can not be identified: theoretically, it might have been I as well as Γ, Π, Τ, Υ, Φ, Ψ. Further left, Professor Segre thought he could discern the apex of a third letter; although this apex clearly appears on his copy, the photograph does not allow us to decide whether a letter actually stood there or whether the stone was merely cracked at this point. It is impossible, from the scanty remains of the Greek text, to try to guess what it may have been. Since such groups of letters as γs, ρs, τs, φs, ψs do not exist at the end of any Greek word, we can only think of a word ending with -is or -us. Possibly, it was a dative plural: [θεο]is or [θεοis πατρῶ]is would be quite satisfactory. But these are not the only possibilities.

The Phoenician text runs in two lines, both incomplete at their end; in the first line seven letters are still to be read, and twelve in the next line.

From the shape of the Greek Σ, Professor Segre inferred that the inscription was earlier than the second century B. C., and the same conclusion can be drawn from an independent examination of the Phoenician script. The characteristic shape of the ⚡, although it is not very common, has been found elsewhere, in inscriptions from Sardinia (*C. I. S.* I 139) and Carthage, as well as in some of the graffiti from Abydos, to be mentioned later on. The 𐤀 is also unusual: its shaft leans toward left and is not bent, as is the case generally. The middle shafts in 𐤁 and 𐤂, instead of cutting

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<sup>4</sup> Almost all Semitic inscriptions from the Aegean area are bilingual: such are the inscription from Rhodes mentioned in Note 1 and several others, Greek and Phoenician, which were found at Athens, the Piraeus, and Delos (*C. I. S.* I 114-117, 119, 120; *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique* 388, 1215. In *C. I. S.* I 121 no Greek text is now extant, but one may have been there, since the stone is broken; and *C. I. S.* I 118, which is only Phoenician, is carved on a stone where Greek dedications to Hermes Soter and Zeus are found). In the island of Coos, near Rhodes, a Greek-Nabatean and a Greek-Palmyrene inscription have been recently discovered (see *Clara Rhodos* 9 (1938) 139-148 and *Mélanges Syriens* II, not yet published). Another Greek-Nabatean inscription, of great historical interest, was found at Miletus, on the coast of Asia Minor (see Clermont-Ganneau in *Recueil d'archéologie orientale* 7. 305-329; Lidzbarski, in Th. Wiegand, *Milet* III (Berlin 1914) 387-389, n. 165).



through the curve of these letters, turn left at the lower end—a very unusual feature. Generally speaking, one gets the impression that the Phoenician letters were carved by an inexperienced hand, as one might expect from a native worker of the Greek island; he would transcribe slavishly a draft handed to him by his Phoenician customer without understanding its meaning.<sup>5</sup>

There is no difficulty in reading and restoring the text:



1 אש נדר תרת[א בן עבד(?) אש-]  
2 מן בן בעליתן בן .....

<sup>1</sup> (This is) what has vowed Trt[', son of 'Abdeš-] <sup>2</sup> mūn,<sup>6</sup> son of Ba'alyathon, son of .....

Although the dedicator's name is incomplete and its second and third letters are slightly broken, there cannot be any doubt about its form. תרתא appears, as a single instance in Phoenician epigraphy besides the present one, on a graffito from the temple of Rā' at Abydos, in Egypt:<sup>7</sup> אשמנאדן בן תרתא. While the other personal names on both inscriptions from Rhodes and Abydos belong to the common stock of Phoenician onomastics, the aspect of תרתא is entirely non-Phoenician, and even non-Semitic. Lidzbarski suggests that it might be Persian: but the evidence he gives in support of his suggestion is far from convincing. Furthermore, the very name *Trt'* is found, in Egypt, in a document which

<sup>5</sup> If I am not mistaken, the Palmyrene and Nabatean scripts of the two Coos inscriptions (see note next preceding) also betray a Greek hand.

<sup>6</sup> Several other personal names compounded with —*ešmūn* might of course be suggested instead of the more common 'Abdešmūn.

<sup>7</sup> M. Lidzbarski in *Ephemeris f. sem. Epigraphik* 3. 111-112.



is as early as the 17th century B. C.,<sup>8</sup> where it holds the first place in a list of "barbarian" names.<sup>9</sup> Neither Erman nor anyone else after him, so far as I know, ever attempted to investigate the ethnic relation of these names. Several personal names with ending in *aleph* occur in Phoenician,<sup>10</sup> some of which undoubtedly are hypocoristic, as חנא, from חנכעל, and בנא (attested at Cyprus, Abydos and Carthage), from בדכעל, בדעשתרת or בדמלקרת; most of them, however, are only found in Punic inscriptions, either from Carthage or from her colonies,<sup>11</sup> and seem wholly un-Semitic. We may assign them tentatively a Numidian, or Libyan, origin, which would explain also why a few of them, and particularly *Trt'*, are found in Egypt.<sup>12</sup> The Rhodes dedication would have been presented, therefore, by a Phoenician merchant or sailor who came from Egypt or had, at least, some family connections with that country. We may guess even that the name of his great-grandfather, which has disappeared from the inscription and could have contained no more than four letters——provided that the stone was not wider originally than it is now——was precisely *Trt'*, like that of the great-grandson.<sup>13</sup> The inscription may, of course, have been longer, recording more than three of the dedicator's ancestors;

<sup>8</sup> A. Erman, *Hymnen an das Diadem der Pharaonen. Aus einem Papyrus der Sammlung Golenitscheff*, in *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (1911), Abh. 1, p. 55a.

<sup>9</sup> My colleague Professor H. Ranke (in whose *Die Aegyptischen Personennamen* 382 n. 22 the name *Trt'* is listed) kindly informs me that none of the rather numerous names beginning with *Tr...* listed in his book can be considered as originally Egyptian. This statement by the most prominent authority in this field disposes of possible attempts to compare our *Trt'* with Θορταῖος in the Greek papyri (see F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch* col. 141), because the latter name seems to be a shortened form of Θορορταῖος (ibid. col. 142), in which we should recognize, I believe, as its first element, the name of the Egyptian god Thot.

<sup>10</sup> For references cf. the Glossary in Z. S. Harris' *Grammar of the Phoenician Language*.

<sup>11</sup> Outside from Carthage and her colonies we find חנא in a very late inscription from Byblos, ארנא (Greek?) at Cyprus, עשנא in the Praeneste silver bowl, צנא and שקענא in Egypt. כלנא (variant כלנלא) and שמענא, both from Cyprus, probably are Semitic, since they must be considered as hypocoristic forms of כלנאלם and שמענעל.

<sup>12</sup> Many of the barbarian names of the Golenischeff Papyrus list actually have the ending '.

<sup>13</sup> That this name survived unaltered through fourteen centuries is indeed remarkable.



however, I do not think this probable: long series of ancestors, although not unknown, are comparatively scarce in Phoenician epigraphy.<sup>14</sup> If the inscription was not wider than its present 8.5 cm., its height could not have been more than, say, 12-15 cm.<sup>15</sup> Since it is likely that the Greek text did not extend more than one or two lines, it need not have consisted of more than a single word,<sup>16</sup> and possibly there was above it a tiny relief representing a religious image or symbol, such as often accompany Greek-Phoenician inscriptions. Perhaps some happy chance will provide us with the missing upper section: unfortunately, the inscription was not found *in situ*; Professor Segre writes that "it was found in the dump, among various fragments of ancient blocks, at Mount San Stefano, near the temple of Apollon Pythios."

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### *A New Hurrian Pronominal Form*

That Hurrian employed more than one stem to express the independent (non-enclitic) pronoun of the first person singular was demonstrated by J. Friedrich in *Analecta Orientalia* 12 (1935) 131-5. By the side of the long-established stem *šu-*, which yields *šu-u-(u-)wə* "of me" and *šu-ú-(ú-)ta* "for me,"<sup>1</sup> Friedrich set

<sup>14</sup> I. Guidi in *Notizie degli scavi*, 1911, 240-241 (cf. Chabot in *Journal Asiatique* 11.7 (1917) 77-81 and *Rép. d'épigr. sémi.* 1216, whose interpretation I cannot follow; Lidzbarski in *Ephemeris f. sem. Epigraphik* 3. 281-283); *C. I. S.* I 3778.

<sup>15</sup> Such would be the average relation between height and width in most Greek votive stelae.

<sup>16</sup> The Greek text of several other bilingual inscriptions from the Aegean area is much shorter than the Semitic one; sometimes it consists of a single word.

<sup>1</sup> For references see provisionally Friedrich, loc. cit. Friedrich cites also (p. 133) *šu-u-u-ša* Mit. Let. I 67 without venturing an interpretation. In view of the attested "dimensional-locative" value of the suffix *-ša* (cf. Speiser, *JAOS* 59.296, n. 29), *šu-ša* may tentatively be regarded as ablative-locative. Another form from the same stem is *šu-ú-ú-ra* II 93 which appears in relation to *šeniwwe-n* "my brother," a synonym in this text for "thou." The sense of this passage is that "you" have acted so and so "with me." The comitative function of *-ra* is attested independently; cf.



up tentatively a "nominative" *i-ša-aš* "I," which combines with the enclitic elements *-llān* into *i-šal-la-a-an* (i. e., *\*išaš + lla + ān*). We would have thus two separate stems, one for the oblique forms (*šu-*), and another for the "nominative" (*iša-*).

Friedrich's cautious statement has been confirmed indirectly by the subsequent clarification of some of the passages in which *iša-* is found. The verb *emanam-*, which accompanies *iša-* in Mitanni Letter III 54, 57, has been shown to mean "to make tenfold";<sup>2</sup> we get now in these two passages the emphatic statement "I multiplied them tenfold," precisely what the context requires.

While the two separate stems for the pronoun are now safely established, the grammatical interpretation of *iša-š* is still open to dispute. The final *-š* is regarded generally as the mark of the nominative. But this ending indicates the subject of transitive verbs only, and not all transitives at that; the intransitives appear with subjects ending in *-n*. I regard therefore the *n*-form as the "subject case" and the *š*-form as the "agentive."<sup>3</sup> For our present purposes, however, it is immaterial whether *i-šal-la-a-an . . . e-e-ma-na-mu-ša-a-ú* (III 54) means "and I made them tenfold" or "and they by me (were) made tenfold, by me." What does matter is the fact that the real subject—logical or grammatical—is expressed by a stem which differs from that of the oblique cases.

The *n*-form of this pronoun is still to be pointed out. A. Ungnad (ZA 35.135, 137) believes to have found it in *šu-un* which occurs in two passages of the Hurrian version of the Gilgamesh Epic (KBo VI 33 [= KUB VIII 61] 7, 10). But the context is fragmentary in both instances and Ungnad's restorations are very doubtful. His interpretation is a mere guess.<sup>4</sup> If one cares to

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II 116, III 64, IV 53, 98, 111. Prof. Goetze informs me kindly that he has reached the same conclusions with regard to *šu-ra*; cf. now *Language* 16.134.

The several forms based on *šu-* differ in the expression of the *u*-vowel before the respective suffixes; see Friedrich, loc. cit. 133<sup>1</sup>. We find *u* before *-wə* and *-ša*, but *ú* before *-ta* and *-ra*. The Hurrian orthography indicates that the choice of the vowel-symbol is influenced by the nature of the following consonant, *u* being the regular representation of the back-vowel before *š* and *w*, notably in the "preterit" element *-uš-* and before the genitive suffix *-wə*; cf. my forthcoming article on "Phonetic Method in Hurrian Orthography," *Language* 16 No. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. JAOS 59.320 f.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 306 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Exceedingly improbable, one may add, in view of our present knowledge of Hurrian syntax.



speculate about these passages today, with the added advantage of a considerably increased knowledge of the language which we have gained since Ungnad's article was published (1924), *šun* will commend itself as a demonstrative element rather than a form of the pronoun "I." But guesses and speculations of this sort can have little practical value.

There is, however, one occurrence of the missing *n*-form in a passage that admits of little doubt in spite of two small lacunae. It has not been recognized so far because it has no connection with the stem *šu-*. Yet the context calls clearly for the pronoun of the first person in the subject case. The passage reads (Mitanni Letter) II:

(71) [*i*]*š-te-e-en* *KUR**Ma-a-ás-ri-an-ni-e-wa* [*KUR**u-u-*]*mi-i-in-ni-e-wa ew[-ri-e-en]*<sup>5</sup>*-ni* (72) *še-e-ni-iw-we-en-na-a-an Hur-wu-u-hé-ni-e-wa* *KUR**u-u* <*mi*> *-i-in-ni-e-wa ew[-ri-en]*<sup>5</sup>*-ni*

The paragraph to which these verses belong (ibid. 65 ff.) begins with a mention of the wishes (*tiwena*) which Teshub and Amon had granted "to us together" *ištaniwwaša* (i. e., to Tushratta and Immuria). Their friendship and that of their countries is as (*unu . . . anam*) that of . . . (?—a break interrupts the comparison—). The result of this idyllic situation is that (to take the plain text of the second sentence first)

"(72) And my brother of the Hurrian land (is) the [lord]."  
The first sentence must mean accordingly

"(71) I am the [lord] of the Egyptian land."

In other words, the mutual ties between the two kings and their countries have become so close that each ruler is virtually the master of the other's realm.

It follows that *ište-n* is the subject of the nominal sentence in line 71, parallel to *šeniwwa-n* "my brother," a synonym in this

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<sup>5</sup> The supplementation is scarcely open to dispute. To be sure, the singular form *\*ewren-ni* is not found elsewhere (see, however, the *š*-form *e-iw-ri-in-ni-iš*, e. g., KUB XXVI 46 obv. i 21), but the corresponding plural *ewre/inna* is well attested; cf. III 48, 72, 120; KUB XXVII 38 iv 10 ff.; KUB XXIX 8 iii 37. For the "determined" sg. form we find *e-wi-ir-ni* Mit. IV 127, 128. What the contrast between *ewirni/e* (i. e., *ewrni/e*) and *\*ewrenni* may be is as yet uncertain. It is probable that the former is appositional and the latter predicative.



document for "thou." The stem of the subject case is *ište*, distinct from the oblique stem *šu-*, but possibly related to the base of the "agentive" *iša-š*. It is probable that we have the bare stem of the subject case, without the *-n*, in *iš-ti* (RA 36 [1939] No. 1.18 and *iš-te* ibid. No. 3 rev. 26. In view of the difficult character of these archaic religious texts from Mâri, the above identification is admittedly tentative. It receives some support, however, from the occurrence in the same context of the form *i-ša-am-ma*, ibid. No. 1.30 and No. 2.14,15, which appears to represent \**išaš* + *ma*. A form *iš-te* is found also in KUB XXVII 29 iv 13, but I am unable to do anything with this particular passage. On the other hand, *iš-te-in-* in KUB VIII 60 rev. 10 (fgt. of Gilgamesh Epic) may represent the *n*-form of the pronoun.

It is clear, at all events, that in Mitanni Letter II 71 *ište-n* "I" is the pronominal subject of the sentence in question. We have here strong independent evidence that the *n*-form is associated with what is normally the "nominative,"<sup>6</sup> not the accusative.

In conclusion, the following forms of the Hurrian pronoun of the first person singular may now be listed.

- ište-n*: subject case with *-n*; the *n*-less form is found possibly in Mâri *ište/i*.
- iša-š*: "agentive," or logical subject with finite transitive verbs; with enclitic elements *iša-llān*, and perhaps *iša-mma*.
- šu-wa*: genitive; *šu-ta*: dative; *šu-ra*: "comitative(?); *šu-ša*: ablative(??).

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<sup>6</sup> I. e., the subject case. Even this designation, however, seems to force on Hurrian syntactical concepts which may not apply to it in the strict sense of such terms as "subject" and "object." In view of such considerations, and mindful of such constructions in the Hurrianized Akkadian of Nuzi as *anâku X ana mārûti îpušanni* "As for me, X adopted me," I have been using in seminars the term "absolute nominative," or "absolute case" instead of "nominative" for the Hurrian stem-form, with or without *-n*. In a recent discussion of the subject before the Yale Linguistic Club Dr. George Kennedy cited the apparent parallel of the "absolute case" of Chinese. Such a designation would have the added advantage of not prejudging the issue.



### *A Mention of Pottery Glazing in Proverbs*

In modern business the success or failure of an industry is often determined by the use it can make of its by-products. According to the witness of Proverbs 26:23 the by-products of silver refining were utilized in the potter's industry.

The verse in question is translated "Burning lips and a wicked heart are like a potsherd covered with silver dross." (A. V.) The expression "dross of silver" (כֶּסֶף סִיגִים) signifies that which is removed from silver during the refining. The meaning "moving back" for סִיג or שִׁיג is preserved in I Kings 18:27 where Baal is said to be "pursuing." But the derived meaning "dross" occurs in the other passages in the Old Testament. The usage is very illustrative in Ezekiel 22:18-22 where Israel before God is likened to dross. First Israel is called dross absolutely (verse 18). This is explained further by the statement that "all of you are copper, tin, iron, and lead in the midst of a furnace—ye are dross of silver" (סִיגִים כֶּסֶף). The interest of these verses is that clearly the metallic oxides are called by the name of the metals. It is interesting also that dross of silver is recognized as consisting of various metallic oxides. In Isaiah 1:22 סִיגִים is used absolutely ("thy silver is become dross") and in verse 25 the reference is to removal of dross entirely as by cupellation "and I will smelt away as alkali thy dross."

The word מְצֻפָּה, "covered" in Proverbs 26:23 regularly means "overlay," "plate" in the intensive stem and is so used for instance in Exodus 26:32 and I Kings 6:20 where overlaying with gold is mentioned. From this usage Toy (*Int. Crit. Comm.*) concludes that Proverbs 26:23 means not "dross of silver" but "impure silver, literally silver of dross, the impure mass left when, in the refining, the pure silver has been removed.<sup>1</sup> A sherd overlaid with this mixture had a gloss which resembled that of silver, a false exterior which concealed a mean material.' Toy's construction seems unlikely a priori, but especially so when we consider how simple is the explanation which would refer the verse to glazing of pottery.

Pottery glazes used today are principally of two kinds, lead glazes and salt glazes. They are made by melting sand with lead

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<sup>1</sup> It is probable that this dross was largely composed of lead oxide.



oxide or sodium carbonate and smaller amounts of lime and potash. In ancient times oxides of other heavy metals such as copper were used as well as lead. Glazing of pottery was not done in Egypt prior to the Arab conquest<sup>2</sup> although the glass industry was well advanced. Glazing on stone and faience were practiced in Egypt from before predynastic times as glazed beads are reported from Badari.<sup>3</sup> It must be noted that the glaze applied to faience which has a body material of practically pure silica will not adhere to pottery which is made of clay. The faience glaze is nearer to ordinary glass, being a calcium-potassium-sodium silicate.

On the other hand, in Mesopotamia pottery glazing was done at an early date as a recently discovered text of the seventeenth century shows.<sup>4</sup> In this very interesting cuneiform text which, according to the editors, was purposely written with obscure signs, pottery glaze is made by adding "cooper" and "lead" to "Zuku glass," according to directions. Zuku glass, the editors remind us, is known from later texts to be made from sand and "ahussu," which we do not know but which must have been compounds of sodium and potassium and calcium. Of course by "copper" and "lead" the text cannot mean the metals as these would not react, but rather oxides of the metals just as we noticed in Ezekiel, where the names of the metals indicate the oxides. It is these metallic oxides which are referred to in Proverbs 26:23 under the inclusive designation "dross of silver." We conclude therefore from the chemistry involved and the practice reflected in this interesting chemical text that the reference in Proverbs is not to impure silver used for overlaying a sherd, but to the metallic oxides suitable only for use in pottery glazing.

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<sup>2</sup> A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, 106.

<sup>3</sup> G. Brunton and G. Caton-Thompson, *The Badarian Civilization*, 27, 39, 57.

<sup>4</sup> C. J. Gadd and R. Campbell Thompson "A Middle Babylonian Chemical Text," *Iraq* 3, 87 ff.



*The Sun-Kiss among the Hopi Indians*

In his recent article in *JAOS* 60 (1940), 46-67, Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy has presented an extremely interesting and well documented study of the procreative power of the sun and its relation to the breath of life. As he has already pointed out, there are many similarities on this score between the concepts of the peoples of India and those of the American Indians. However, I should like to call attention to a particularly striking resemblance between an episode described by Coomaraswamy and a passage from a Hopi Indian myth.

Prajāpati "‘is made to look at’ the Sacrificer’s wife, whose thigh is bared, ‘for insemination,’ so that she may ‘bring forth children’ here, of course, the progenitive power is a light that proceeds from the Udgātr’s eye representing the solar Eye, the principle of all sight.” [Coomaraswamy, *loc. cit.*, p. 50.]

In ancient times, while a young woman was delousing herself, “her person was almost wholly exposed, and the sun-rays coming through a crevice in the wall, fell upon her vulva. . . . She told of this occurrence to some elder women, and it came on to rain . . . and the elder women said to her, ‘Lie over yonder and let the rain drops fall upon you,’ and she went over and lay down . . . and the rain drops fell upon her vulva. . . . She conceived and gave birth to twins. . . .” [A. M. Stephen, “Hopi Tales,” *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, 42 (1929). 11.]

There are several aspects of Hopi culture that carry out the same notion. In fact, all new life is supposed to come up from a lower world just as the sun rises daily in the east; and the dead “return to ghostly homes in the underworld, through the house of the Sun far to the West.”<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps the outstanding example of this concept among the Hopi is to be found in their ritual practices. In all their major ceremonies, it is customary for the officers to prepare a bowl of medicine by mixing various ingredients with water. In the course of the proceedings a ray of sunlight is reflected into the medicine bowl through a piece of crystal.<sup>2</sup> Since practically every Hopi ceremony is designed to stimulate fertility, this action reveals the universality of their belief in the procreative potency of the sun.

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<sup>1</sup> J. W. Fewkes, “A Religious Ceremony of the Hopi Indians,” *Scientific American Supplement*, 83 (1917), 226.

<sup>2</sup> E. C. Parsons, *Pueblo Indian Religion* (Chicago, 1939), 330.



*Bamboo Writings from Mindoro and Palawan*

For a period of almost three years I have been working with the assistance of a full time secretary in this country and the collaboration of a group of Filipino friends in the collection of bamboo writings from the islands of Mindoro and Palawan in the Philippines. The enterprise has been extremely fortunate in obtaining several hundred inscribed bamboos from the Mangyans of Mindoro. As received here, these bamboos were accompanied by a transliteration and translation. They tell of almost every feature of Mangyan life in the language of the people themselves. In addition, about 7,000 words were received in the form of word lists. By comparison it has been possible to make up a grammar in which the Tagalog sentences of Cecilio Lopez of the Philippine Institute of National Language were translated into Mangyan. The approach is that of Brandstetter. It has been possible to identify at least 340 affixes and other inflections and over 6,000 tested words.

In September of 1939 the Witte Memorial Museum of San Antonio, Texas issued the first volume of a bulletin—*Indic Writings of the Mindoro-Palawan Axis*<sup>1</sup>—including besides general observations and tables of paleography, the transcription, transliteration and translation of forty-eight Mangyan bamboo writings which are now in the Library of Congress and five Tagbanua scripts which are in the Newberry Library in Chicago.

The second volume should be ready for issue in September, 1940, and will consist of two parts bound separately. The first of these will contain about 100 bamboo manuscripts of all kinds from the hands of many writers. The subjects vary from love songs to the trial of a case of wife stealing, the preparation of arrow poison and the rite of blood brotherhood.

This is the first attempt ever made at the study of this primitive and generalized Philippine language which has affinities with almost every language stock of the Archipelago. It shows its strongest affinity, not with the Tagalog and Bisayan who share the island with it, but with the Tagbanua separated from it by about a hundred and fifty miles of water. Both of these racial stocks appear to be Proto-Malay.

By a small grant from the Rackham Foundation of the Uni-

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<sup>1</sup> See review in this issue of the JOURNAL by H. I. Poleman.



versity of Michigan it was possible to send a one man expedition to Palawan to procure Tagbanua word lists and writings. It was possible for him to obtain twenty-five inscribed Tagbanua bamboos and a vocabulary of over 2,000 words. I am endeavoring to establish contact through the Philippine Institute of National Language with some one on Palawan who may be able to furnish me with additional word lists and translations so that it may be possible to duplicate the Mangyan work in Tagbanua.

Some little work was done by T. H. Pardo de Tavera in the 80's of the last century on the Tagbanua, and the 90's Meyer, Schadenberg and Foy wrote *Die Mangianenschrift von Mindoro*. Both dealt almost entirely with the alphabets, which are the last survivors of the ancient Sanskrit derived syllabaries of the Archipelago.

Since all of this is strictly source material, the Witte Memorial Museum desires to diffuse it as widely as possible. In order to accomplish this and to make the most of scanty resources, the bulletins are being issued in mimeograph form on nine by fourteen paper bound in kraft covers. Only a small edition will be issued, probably not more than 100 copies.

It is requested that those who are interested in this rapidly disappearing phase of Philippine life may communicate with me at the Witte Memorial Museum, San Antonio, Texas.

FLETCHER GARDNER

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#### *Correction*

In my review of Dr. Birge's *Bektashi Order* which appeared in the *Journal*, vol. 59, p. 522, I wrongly stated that *Fususul* was a typographical error for *Fuṣūl*. In fact it is correct as the author had it; a more proper transliteration would have been *Fuṣūṣ al-*.

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## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

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*Die thebanische Gräberwelt.* By GEORG STEINDORFF and WALTHER WOLF. Leipziger Ägyptologische Studien, Heft 4. Glückstadt und Hamburg, 1936.

For the past fifty years detailed information on the civilization of Ancient Egypt has been accumulating, and today we are in the position to draw on the great fund of information obtained through scientific excavation and the numerous publications of the present century. With the growth in knowledge comes inevitably a greatly enlarged bibliography, especially in the field of periodicals, and frequently minor details of the greatest interest to the student are either unknown or inaccessible to him. It would seem opportune to edit once more comprehensive works similar to those undertaken in the middle of the 19th century by Lepsius and Prisse d'Avennes, consolidating the scattered information now available on individual sites or on various aspects of Egyptian civilization. In *Die Thebanische Gräberwelt* Steindorff and Wolf have written a brief but very compact history of the great cemeteries of Thebes. Instead of treating the site topographically, as is usually done in publications such as Steindorff's Baedeker, the authors have given us a history of the site and have then discussed the tombs chronologically, starting with the First Intermediate Period and then passing on rapidly to the period of Thebes' first importance in the Middle Kingdom. As one would expect, there is a wealth of detail on the New Kingdom, but of greater interest to the average student will be the interesting facts given on the burials of the 17th dynasty and the Ethiopian Period. The historical resumé concludes with a brief description of Thebes in the Greek Period. It is incredible to us of today to consider that absolutely nothing was known of Thebes from the early Coptic period until well into the 17th century and indeed nothing very specific was known until about two centuries later. The authors have included several very interesting excerpts from the accounts of travelers in Egypt in the 18th and 19th centuries.

The next section of the book gives a chronological survey of the various cemeteries scattered over the vast necropolis of Thebes and an exact picture of the topography of the cemeteries of each



period. Particular attention is given to the cemeteries of the Middle Kingdom and of the 17th dynasty, and many important details are stressed which are not readily obtainable elsewhere. The professional student will find exact references in the footnotes to support most of the statements. The relationship of the various cemeteries to one another is carefully deduced and the development of architectural types is treated as thoroughly as the small compass of the work permits.

Particular stress is placed on Winlock's publications on the great Intef cemeteries and practically all of the available information on this obscure subject is at least touched upon in the section devoted to these things. The authors have included excerpts from the little known work of Mariette on this site, thus making the work as comprehensive as possible.

The third portion of the book is devoted to the private tombs of the New Kingdom. In this section, so well known to every student, there is comparatively little new material, but the aesthetic judgments and brief descriptions are so good that if used in conjunction with some standard work, such as Baedeker or the Porter-Moss *Topographical Bibliography*, a very adequate study of this section of the Theban Cemetery can be made. This section of the work is particularly well illustrated with details from the tombs. The historical and biographical connections of the owners of the more famous tombs are discussed and many interesting historical details are included. The final section of the book is devoted to the famous tombs of the kings. Very wisely, in view of the vast extent of this subject, the authors have restricted themselves to a rather general survey of the types of tombs rather than a discussion of their decorations. Plans of the more important examples are included and their inter-relationship is discussed.

The publication is written in a German which is comparatively easy reading to an English speaking person and has a sufficiently pleasant style to recommend it to a reader not professionally interested in Egyptology. It is an admirable handbook with a well-balanced estimate of the historical and artistic importance of the various sections of the Theban necropolis.

JOHN D. COONEY

Brooklyn Museum of Art

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*Indic Writings of the Mindoro-Palawan Axis.* By FLETCHER GARDNER and ILDEFONSO MALIWANAG. Bulletin Number One—Volume One. Published by WITTE MEMORIAL MUSEUM, San Antonio, Texas. 1939.

This valuable monograph brings to the attention of Indic scholars and anthropologists the neglected study of the use of Indic scripts in the Philippine Islands, and the interesting subject matter of the lore of Mindoro. The earlier chapters of the work describe the geography, history, and peoples of Mindoro. Tables showing the scripts and their development from Indic alphabets, rules for pronunciation, and a generous selection of texts with transliteration and translation complete the work.

It is adequately indexed, and will easily serve as a basis for future study of the Mindoro people and their writings. Some of the subjects treated in the short texts are birth, childhood, care of animals, burial, and kinship.

The amount of manuscript material in the United States for study in this field is considerable. Some of it is noted in the Appendix to a *Census of Indic Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, published in the American Oriental Series, and listed under Batak scripts in the Indexes of that volume. Gardner's work also describes some of the manuscript material.

The light thrown on the subject in this present work should provide an impetus for increased study of this field.

HORACE I. POLEMAN

Library of Congress

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*Jūrokuseiki sekaichizu jō no Nihon* (Japan on World Maps of the Sixteenth Century). By YOSHITOMO OKAMOTO. Tokyō: KōBUNsō, 1938. xiv + 221 pp. 61 maps. Y 7.50.

All that Europe knew of Japan up to the end of the 15th century was Marco Polo's vague report; and the author quotes from Paul Graf Teleki's *Atlas zur Geschichte der Kartographie der Japanischen Inseln* that there are only seven known instances of the appearance of "Zipangu" on western maps before 1500 A. D. One of these is on the map on the wall of the Doge's Palace in Venice. Another is on Martin Behaim's globe of 1492. He calls attention to the



interesting fact that "Zipangu" is here almost identical in shape with the traditional island of "Antila" which appears on eleven maps of the time, from 1367 up to 1482. He suggests that Columbus considered the two islands to be identical, and that this island was the aim in his first voyage.

After discussing the influence of early European maps and the maps and writings of the Moslems, the author turns to a detailed study of the maps published in the years just after the discovery of America. He points out that some cartographers agreed with Columbus in regarding his "Hispaniola" to be "Zipangu," yet there are those who draw Hispaniola just north of the South American coast, placing "Zipangu" and "Cathay" a little farther west at the extreme east of Asia.

By 1520 America came to be recognized as a new continent, but it was still only South America, North America being indicated only as a group of islands. On these maps "Zipangu" appears as an island of varying shapes lying just beyond Florida and the other North American "islands."

In early 16th century maps the details along the southern coasts of Asia become much better defined as the Spanish and Portuguese navigators push farther east. But east of Malacca the vagueness continues. The author calls attention to the island of "Perioco" which appears on some maps which do not show "Zipangu." But he quotes evidence from Portuguese and Turkish writers to show that this stands for the Loochoo Islands and not for Japan.

The maps in the latter half of the 16th century show "Japan" instead of "Zipangu," after the Portuguese navigators' successive visits, and the shape of Japan begins to approximate the real shape. The Portuguese first arrived in 1542, driven by a storm; and in 1544 three ships came to Ōsumi and Satsuma, and recorded in their logs the latitudes and descriptions of places where they anchored or passed, and many of these can be identified. When in 1550 the Portuguese cartographers began to map Japan, only the outlines of Kyūshū were drawn, since Shikoku and Honshū were not yet known.

The Portuguese ships which came to Hirado in the mid-16th century investigated the coasts of Kyūshū in detail, but they also heard of Shikoku and western Honshū from natives and Chinese, and recorded the directions and distances of certain places on those coasts. The missionaries also sent reports to India and Europe so



that now Kyūshū was given on maps with greater detail and Shikoku and Honshū were added with many important place-names given.

In the next thirty years Portuguese ships came more frequently to Kyūshū, and the Portuguese missionaries who travelled all about southern Japan recorded in their letters home many facts about the distances and directions of places they visited. They also heard about the northern parts from the Japanese themselves. This information naturally had its influence in making maps more detailed and accurate.

But in the 1590's a new era arrives in maps of Japan. Honshū begins to show its true shape and Korea appears as a long narrow island. About 1590 a Portuguese named Ignacio Monteiro (or Moreira) who knew land surveying, came to Japan and determining for the first time latitudes and longitudes, mapped the real extent of the country. While he did not explore eastern Japan, he obtained information from officers who had campaigned, and made a complete map from Kyūshū to Ōshū. He, however, cut the north end about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  degrees short. Ezō was mentioned in his commentary. Unfortunately his work is lost.

Three maps published in 1570 by the famous cartographer, Abraham Ortelius: a world, his map of Asia, and Tartary. Mercator's first world map, too, dates back to this period. Korea appears sometimes as an island and sometimes as a long narrow peninsula. The map of Domingos Teixeira, published by Ortelius in 1596, is the first really detailed map of Japan, but it still lacks the northern quarter of Honshū.

After Will Adams was cast ashore and became an adviser to the Shōgun, he explored the coast thoroughly and made a map, now lost; but there is a map in the Imperial Household Museum at Tokyo which has corrections and additions presumably by him or by one of his native assistants.

In the latter part of the book the author discusses the first appearance of Ezō on the maps and its final identification as an island. In a short supplement he discusses maps from Leonardo Shizato's "Record of the Japanese Christian Church," one of which he reproduces in the appendix.

The appendix contains reproductions of 61 maps. One very useful feature of the book is a glossary of the European equivalents of names and terms transliterated into Japanese.



Since so many of the author's sources were Portuguese, it is that language which is chiefly used in the glossary, so that many of the names are given in forms unfamiliar to one who does not read Portuguese. Unfortunately too the glossary is incomplete, perhaps because in many cases the author did not know the proper European spelling of the names. And sometimes terms transliterated are not given, or they are difficult to identify. For example *fu-a-gu-shi-mi-ru* had your reviewer perspiring for some time, until he finally identified it as "fac-simile." But one thinks of the weird Romanization given to Oriental words by Occidentals, and their still weirder pronunciation by radio announcers, and throws no stones.

The book is beautifully printed. There are a few misprints. In the Table of Contents "Ruinell" is given for "Reinell"; on page 161 the character for "intercalary month" is incorrect; and on page 161 "Espasnia" for "Espania." In several cases the century number in dates is wrong, and there are a few mistakes in the page references.

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*Chin P'ing Mei*. Translated by BERNARD MIALl and FRANZ KUHN.  
New York: Putnam, 1940. Two volumes; 863 pages.

This is a welcome translation of a well-known Chinese novel written in the latter part of the sixteenth century. An excellent critical introduction by Arthur Waley dates the first reference to the book between 1595 and 1600. The author is unknown, but Waley regards Hsü Wei as having the strongest claim. The circulation of the work was forbidden in 1687 by Kang Hsi, as well as by later rulers, and this prohibition remained in force until the end of the Manchu period. The reasons were not political, but were based on moral grounds.

This translation is intended for the general reading public, not for scholars. There are no notes, except in the introduction, and the unprepared reader may miss a good many allusions which will be clear to the sinologist. There is also some gorgeous swearing which loses in translation; it means nothing to say in English that a man has "forgotten the eight," but it means a fight in



Chinese. The title has wisely been left untranslated, for it would mean little to call a work in English "Plums (or plum-blossoms) of the metal (or golden) jar." In the text, a number of customary Chinese expressions, like "ten-thousand happinesses," are also left untranslated. The translation appears to be well-done, though obviously free, and the translators follow a system of romanization that is their own. The translators are to be congratulated upon not having secured what American readers regard as local color by literal translations of customary forms of polite address. The conversations are put into colloquial English, but the descriptions and the poetry are admirably done. One curious slip may be noticed: in one passage, the Sanskrit Amitabha is translated as Amida, which is the Japanese form, the Chinese being O-mi-t'fo.

In the somewhat earlier novel, the *Shui Hu*, which has been translated by Pearl Buck (*All Men Are Brothers*; New York, Day, 1933), there is a grim incident which occupies seventy-seven pages (Vol. I, pp. 391-468). The wanton wife of Wu Ta carries on an intrigue with Hsi-men Ch'ing, in which Wu Ta is murdered. A younger brother, Wu Sung, avenges the murder on the guilty couple. The author of the *Chin P'ing Mei* has taken this short story, and expanded it into an eight-hundred page novel. The names of the persons, and even of the streets, are left unchanged, and whole paragraphs are appropriated—including an interesting formula on how to go about the corruption of a married woman. But by banishing Wu Sung for a number of years a gap is made, in which most of the action takes place, before the final catastrophe.

The *Chin P'ing Mei* is unquestionably a great novel, both of incident and of character. The reviewer would prefer a few less love-scenes—which, incidentally, are of a very unsublimated variety, so that it is difficult to see how Chinese who have read this book could be shocked or instructed by anything they might see in American movies. But the book is much more than a collection of passionate episodes; it is a vision of hundreds of clearly drawn characters, some sketched in a moment, while some are full-length portraits. It offers a view of the Chinese and their culture which, if it were carefully studied, would be invaluable. For instance, a girl is mistreated by her husband, and commits suicide. Her family accuse the husband of murder, and although the judge, who knows the facts, refuses to inflict the extreme penalty, the man is completely ruined by the trial. This is not unknown, and is one of



the safeguards that a wife has against cruelty. The hero, Hsi-men Ch'ing, and the heroine, Gold Lotus—she is given no name in the *Shui Hu*—are fascinating though vicious characters. He makes sex the chief interest of his life, and although he is singularly favored by fortune in his affairs, he dies exhausted by his successes. Gold Lotus is a character worthy of being placed with Cousin Betty and Becky Sharp; passionate, ruthless, selfish and resourceful.

The action of the story begins in 1115, and closes with the destruction of the Northern Sung empire by the Kitans in 1126. The luxury and corruption pictured by the novel may be taken as an accurate description of the period. It is well worth reading, either by the sinologist, or by the general public, though the latter will probably be chiefly interested in the love-passages.

J. K. SHRYOCK





## NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

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### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF ORIENTAL STUDIES \*

This Committee was appointed at the end of December, 1939, and was constituted from the chairmen or secretaries of the development committees of the American Council of Learned Societies dealing with oriental fields. The membership consists of Hugh Borton, L. Carrington Goodrich, G. Howland Shaw, E. A. Speiser, and W. Norman Brown.

On January 27, 1940, the Committee held a short meeting at the close of the annual sessions of the American Council of Learned Societies. It considered various aspects of the promotion of Oriental studies, and decided to undertake certain activities, and ask for suggestions of further means of advancing our studies.

One of the first duties before it, the Committee felt, was the preparation of statements concerning the importance of the various fields of Oriental studies and the most practicable way of advancing these fields. In the case of India one such statement was prepared and published in the *Bulletin* of the American Council of Learned Studies in May, 1939. The sort of statements which our Committee wishes is somewhat of this same order, and the expectation is that they will be prepared by June, 1940, and then circulated with the assistance of the American Council of Learned Societies' committees.

Another idea of the Committee's was that, at some proper time and place still to be determined, it might be possible to present a symposium on the modern Orient, dealing with the cultural foundations of modern Oriental political and social developments.

It was felt by members of the Committee that it might be well to have a survey of facilities for Near Eastern studies in this country, conducted on lines more or less similar to those of studies made by the American Council of Learned Societies' committees for the Indic and the Far Eastern fields.

Although all departments of Oriental studies need promotion, the Committee felt that an immediately strategic point is the Near East, especially in the lands where Islamic civilization is dominant.

The Committee would welcome suggestions from members of the Society, indicating needs and how they might be met. These should be specific; for example, if a reasonable case could be advanced for inaugurating some branch of Oriental studies in a college, university, museum, or other institution, the Committee would like to know exactly how it can help.

For the Committee,

W. NORMAN BROWN, *Chairman*.

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\* This report was presented to the Executive Committee of the Society on March 25, 1940, and is printed in the JOURNAL on instruction of the Committee.



# ISLAM AND THE RELIGIONS OF THE ANCIENT ORIENT

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THE MYTH of the unchanging East shows surprising tenacity. Though serious historians have long since challenged its validity it emerges again and again, among scholars as well as among journalists. Even the obvious fact that the life of the East is changing with vertiginous speed before our very eyes does not discourage this romantic attitude; it only compels a shift of emphasis from external things to the inner world of instincts and ideas. The psychology of Islamic countries and peoples remains unchanged, we are told, and its manifestations remain essentially the same: *plus ça change plus c'est la même chose*!

To a certain extent one can hardly quarrel with this impression. The physical environment *has* remained much the same, aside from far-reaching transformations in the agricultural and animal background which have been made necessary by constant shifting in flora and fauna. In passing it may be emphasized that the prevailing forms of domesticated plants and animals have shifted to a quite extraordinary extent, if we compare different historical ages in the same Near-Eastern lands.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, not a little of what is often considered as specifically "Oriental" is really universally human, or at least generally characteristic of domesticated mankind. This is particularly true of the famous "Oriental" imagery, which would no longer appear so exotic if we compared it systematically with corresponding early European poetic imagery, instead of com-

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<sup>1</sup> The parade example is certainly the transformation in dominant forms of transportation. From the dawn of history to the second millennium B. C. the ass ruled the field almost undisputed. Then came the camel, which must have been domesticated in the course of this millennium but which does not appear in any inscription or graphic representation yet published until the eleventh century B. C., or even later. Since no camel bones prior to the Iron Age have turned up in excavations, so far as I am informed, it is very improbable that the camel was extensively domesticated until late in the second millennium. A few very early figurines from Egypt clearly represent wild camels. The irruption of the camel-riding Midianites into Palestine must probably be dated in the early eleventh century. In our own time the camel is being replaced by the motor car with disconcerting rapidity.



paring it sporadically with jejune products of a later stage of literary development.<sup>2</sup>

Both the historian of civilization and the historian of ideas must, however, emphatically reject the conception of an "unchanging East," a conception which has no support in the facts of history. If we take the past five thousand years, from the beginning of the Bronze Age and the stabilization of the art of writing to the present day, we can distinguish three radically different phases of civilized life in the Near East: the Ancient Orient, the Hellenistic-Roman Orient, and the Islamic Orient. We are now entering a fourth phase, whose precise nature we cannot safely predict. The affinity between the Ancient Orient and the Hellenistic world is, moreover, materially less than between the Hellenistic-Roman culture and the Islamic. As the late Carl Heinrich Becker stressed on many occasions,<sup>3</sup> Islamic civilization is essentially an outgrowth of Hellenism, just as Islam itself is an offshoot of Judaeo-Christian religion. Not to recognize this fact and its implications is to misinterpret the course of history and to misunderstand Near-Eastern life and thought.

During the past forty years there have been two significant efforts to connect Islam and Arab culture closely with the pre-Hellenistic Near East: the pan-Babylonian movement and the proto-Semitic interpretation of modern Arabic folk religion. The former school was created by Hugo Winckler, whose *Arabisch-Semitisch-Orientalisch* (1901)<sup>4</sup> served as its programme. To Winckler the literature and folklore of late pre-Islamic and early Islamic Arabia were saturated with reflections of his ancient Oriental world-view. Since he had to resort to far-fetched interpretations and combinations in order to obtain his results, it is hardly surprising that no first-class Islamic scholar joined the pan-Babylonian school and that his best-known follower among Arabists was the incurable romanticist, Count Carlo Landberg.<sup>5</sup> The increasing rejection of pan-Babylonian doctrines by the world of scholarship has precluded any serious influence from this school on Islamic studies generally. On the other hand, Winckler's extraordinary insight into basic historical prob-

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. my remarks in *JAOS* 56. 137.

<sup>3</sup> See *Islam-Studien*, I *passim*, and *ZDMG* 77. 261 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* VI 4-5.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Daṭīnah* II (1909) 387 ff.



lems and his recognition of the organismic character of cultural phenomena have been very fruitful.<sup>6</sup> Becker, in eloquent sentences, has emphasized his great debt to Winckler for his conception of history—though Becker opposed Winckler's romantic pseudo-mysticism with energy.<sup>7</sup>

Far less ambitious or sensational, but more influential, has been the scholarly movement initiated and indoctrinated by the American biblical scholar, Samuel Ives Curtiss of Chicago (1844-1904). Curtiss was fifty-four when he began to investigate the popular religion of the Moslem Arabs of Palestine and Syria and he devoted most of the last six years of his life to this study. In the field of Arabic popular religion he may be regarded as almost as much of a pioneer as his great fellow-countryman, Edward Robinson, was sixty years before in historical geography. Like Robinson, Curtiss was trained in Germany, like Robinson he was accompanied by a missionary (Rev. J. S. Crawford, whose Arabic was superior to Eli Smith's), and as in the case of Robinson his book (*Primitive Semitic Religion Today*) appeared in German as well as in English. It is significant that no less an authority than Count Baudissin wrote the preface to the German edition, which appeared in 1903 under the striking title *Ursemitische Religion im Volksleben des heutigen Orients*. The influence of Curtiss's work on European and American thought has been very great indeed; it may even be compared, in its repercussion on biblical scholarship and the history of Semitic religion, to the influence of the studies of the Grimm brothers on Germanic and comparative religious studies generally. There can be no doubt that the great increase in attention to modern Arabic folklore during the past generation is directly traceable to the influence of Curtiss.

When I went out to Palestine over twenty years ago I was strongly affected by the views of Curtiss, though never an adherent of his school. Fifteen years of personal research, as well as of constant collaboration with native Arab folklorists,<sup>8</sup> convinced me, however, that his main conclusions with regard to the historical significance of his results were entirely erroneous. So far from reflecting primitive Semitic religion, the *welī* cult of Palestine and Syria is merely

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<sup>6</sup> Cf. my remarks, *Jour. Pal. Or. Soc. (JPOS)* I 51 f.

<sup>7</sup> *Islam-Studien* II 463 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Their contributions, in so far as they have been published, have nearly all appeared in the *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* since 1921.



a phase of the saint-cult of the Mediterranean region and differs only in detail from the saint-cults of the lower classes in other Mediterranean lands. Moreover, this saint-cult goes back to the Christian saint-cult of the Eastern Roman Empire in early Byzantine centuries and is Hellenistic-Roman, not Semitic, in origin. If one studies the standard treatises of Goldziher,<sup>9</sup> Doutté<sup>10</sup> and Canaan (see below) on the cult of the *awliyā* (welis) and then examines Père Delehayé's standard Catholic treatise *Sanctus* (1927) and P. Saintyves' monograph, *Les saints successeurs des dieux* (1907), written from the standpoint of an historian of religion with anticlerical bias, one cannot doubt the formal parallelism between the two classes of phenomena. To be sure, this formal similarity between Christian and Moslem saint-cult decreases rapidly as one goes up the scale of literacy and intelligence in both spheres, and in more cultivated and more spiritual circles there is undoubtedly wide difference in attitude and approach to saints. *Ṣūfī* conceptions have also influenced the *welī* cult strongly in the doctrine of a hierarchy of saints containing seven stages, and in attributing powers of levitation, etc., to welis.

The rich collections of Palestinian material in Canaan's *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries in Palestine* (1927) offer a solid foundation for a classification of the principal types of *welī*, with reference to their historical position and origin. Most of the Moslem saints of Palestine are of two classes: Jewish, Christian, Quranic and early Moslem saints; saints of recent origin, either ancestors of modern families or clans, or dervishes. In addition to these two chief groups there is a class of eponymous saints, some of whom may go back to Jewish ancestors of clans or to pagan deities, though most seem to belong to Delehayé's class of "les saints qui n'ont jamais existé!"<sup>11</sup> The most interesting group is an extremely small class of figures which certainly or probably reflect pagan deities—mostly of Graeco-Roman type, as we shall see below.

Since we cannot possibly hope to cover the general theme which

<sup>9</sup> *Muhammedanische Studien* I 275-378.

<sup>10</sup> *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du nord* (Algiers, 1909). For a recent survey of the literature see McCown, *AASOR* II-III 49, n. 6. McCown's paper (*ibid.* 49-79) contains some valuable material not found elsewhere, though it is too much influenced by Curtiss.

<sup>11</sup> Delehayé, *op. cit.* 208-232.



we have set for ourselves in the allotted space, I shall give some concrete examples of Islamic figures, beliefs, and practices which are of much more recent origin than often supposed and which in no case go back directly to the ancient Near East. I shall then give a few cases which do go back to pre-Hellenistic times, though even here sometimes through Graeco-Roman transmission. These cases have been selected either because of their intrinsic interest or because I have new data or suggestions bearing on them.

The Qur'ân itself contains a number of references to extra-biblical figures of Arab tradition, figures which have frequently been traced back to hoary antiquity. It has been supposed that the legendary city of *Īram dât al-'Imâd* reflects extremely ancient tradition. The discoveries of Horsfield and Savignac have demonstrated that Iram is the ruined Nabataean sanctuary and settlement at Jebel Ram (Ramm) in northern Midian.<sup>12</sup> The sanctuary was built somewhere in the first two centuries A. D. and was still standing in the third, possibly in the fourth century. The tribe of Thamûd, to which Şâlih was sent as prophet, had already existed, it is true, in the eighth century B. C, but it did not disappear until about the same time, since it was still mentioned by the Graeco-Roman geographers of the first two centuries A. D.<sup>13</sup> As for Şâlih, it is remarkable that his name, which means simply "sound, sincere, virtuous" in Arabic, has not been shown to occur in pre-Islamic inscriptions or in authentic literature from the Jâhiliyah, so one may suspect that he also is a reflection of some biblical character like Idrîs (Enoch),<sup>14</sup> Shu'eib (Jethro), etc. One may recall that

<sup>12</sup> See *Revue Biblique* (RB) 54. 245 ff. and Glidden, *BASOR* 73. 13 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Pliny and Ptolemy. The Thamûd seem to have replaced the Nabataeans in the region of Midian before the end of the third century A. D.; cf. Savignac, *RB* 54. 251 f. If the late Thamudic inscriptions really belong to them and not to another group, the Thamûd continued to exist as a tribe until the fourth century A. D. (F. V. Winnett, *A Study of the Lihyanite and Thamudic Inscriptions*, Toronto, 1937).

<sup>14</sup> The best recent treatment of the problem of Idrîs remains A. J. Wensinck's article in *Enc. Islam* II 449 f. I see no reason, however, to give up my own view, that *Idrîs* reflects Greek *Poimandrês* (a pagan Gnostic form of Hermes which became very popular in the third-fifth centuries A. D.); cf. my provisional observations in *JPOS* II 197 f. Arabic authors expressly identify Idrîs with Enoch and with Hermes Trismegistus (= Poimandres). Moreover, the abbreviation of the name has numerous good parallels; e. g., Greek *diabolos* became *Iblîs* in Arabic (no doubt through Aramaic inter-



Job, whose home was in North Arabia, was also a "virtuous man" (*iš tām*). Moreover, it is increasingly unlikely that the tribe of 'Âd and its prophet Hûd come from genuine Arabic tradition, since neither name has any parallel in native pre-Islamic nomenclature. The name *Hûd* is suspiciously like *Yahûd* or *Hûd* (an abbreviated form found already in the Qur'ân), "Jews," and one may suspect that it owes its origin, as in the case of some more recent Arab saints (e. g., Nebī Nûn worshipped at Yānûn) to a popular etymology of *Yahûd*, explaining it as *yâ Hûd*, "O Hûd." The tribe of 'Âd may perhaps go back ultimately to a misunderstood Hebrew *minnî 'ad*, "from of old."<sup>15</sup> Whatever the explanation of these names may be, it is evidently not safe to regard them as reflecting genuine native tradition. There are probably few today who would follow Dérenbourg and Eduard Meyer<sup>16</sup> in identifying Qurānic Luqmân with biblical Balaam, even as a retrojection of the latter. Disregarding the speculations of mediaeval Arab scholars and their modern successors, who thought that *Luqmân* was a translation of the name of Balaam (erroneously derived from Heb. *bl'*, "to swallow"),<sup>17</sup> we may safely suppose that *Luqmân* was a native sage of the comparatively recent past.

Among figures of later Islamic hagiography none is more prominent or more intriguing than el-Khiḍr (properly Khaḍir, "the one who becomes green, the green one"). After the elaborate discussions and collections of data already given by such scholars as Clermont-Ganneau, Lidzbarski, Dyroff, Vollers, I. Friedländer, R. Hartmann and A. J. Wensinck<sup>18</sup> one can hardly add anything of

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mediation). It is hardly necessary to observe that Gr. *η* was pronounced *i* in Roman times and later.

<sup>15</sup> On 'Âd see the sober sketch by F. Buhl, *Enc. Islam* I 121. Wellhausen deduced from the form of the name (which he compared with Heb. 'ôḏ) and from the pre-Islamic phrase *min al-'Âd* that it was an appellation and not a proper name, referring primarily to an "ancient" people (*Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1902. 596). To be sure, as Professor Jeffery points out, this phrase may be purely Arabic and have nothing to do with a possible Hebrew or Aramaic source of the name.

<sup>16</sup> *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme* 378 f. The best recent treatment of the figure of Luqmân is by B. Heller, *Enc. Islam* III 35 ff.

<sup>17</sup> For the correct etymology see *AJSL* 40. 32; *JBL* 46. 161 ff., 54. 174 n. 3; 57. 228.

<sup>18</sup> See especially the article of A. J. Wensinck in *Enc. Islam* II 861 ff., in which most of the pertinent literature of significance is cited. Wensinck



consequence to the subject. I formerly held the view first advanced by Guyard and still assumed in many quarters, that el-Khidr reflects the Mesopotamian figure of Atrakhasis, "the Very Wise One" (Old Accadian *Watram-hasis* or *Watar-hasisam*),<sup>19</sup> then supposed to appear also in the transposed form *Hasisatra*, whence Greek *Xisuthros* was falsely derived.<sup>20</sup> However, no such transposed form is demonstrable or even plausible, and the Greek is unquestionably derived from Sumerian *Ziusuddu* or *Ziusudra*, name of the Flood-hero, translated into Accadian as *Utnapishtim* (*rûqu*).<sup>21</sup> As I have tried to show in a still unpublished paper, there are points of contact between the Mesopotamian figure of Atrakhasis and the Islamic el-Khidr, but they are all of so general or indirect a type<sup>22</sup> that they must have been transmitted through such channels as the Alexander Romance or the post-biblical Jewish Elijah cycle. The suggestion of Clermont-Ganneau and Dyroff that el-Khidr reflects Greek Glaukos, whose name also means "the Green One," and who attained immortality like the former, becoming like him a patron of fishermen and mariners, is almost certainly correct, as recognized by Friedländer.<sup>23</sup> The principal objection to this view has been

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did not mention the important discussion by R. Hartmann, *ZDMG* 1913. 739-751.

<sup>19</sup> For the alternative forms of the name see *JBL* 54. 201.

<sup>20</sup> For the Sumerian derivation of this name see my discussion, *JAOS* 38. 60 f., 43. 326 (*Ziusuddu*) and now especially Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List* (Chicago, 1939) 76 n. 34 (*Ziusudra*); both forms seem to have been used.

<sup>21</sup> *JAOS* 38. 60 f.

<sup>22</sup> The so-called Atrakhasis epic, known from Old-Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian tablets, represents its hero as saving mankind successively from famine, pestilence, and deluge, though details are still obscure because of the fragmentary condition of the text. This figure of the recurrent savior of mankind bears unmistakable similarity to the later Elijah cycle and through it may have influenced Islamic Khidr.

<sup>23</sup> *Die Chahirlegende und der Alexanderroman* 113 ff. The variations of the Glaukos myth (best listed in the article in Roscher) show its antiquity and popularity. E. g., Glaukos was a fisherman who tasted a miraculous life-giving plant, leaped into the sea, and became a sea-god and patron of fishermen, enjoying great popularity in the Eastern Mediterranean. There was also a Glaukos who was son of Minos and who was restored to life by a miraculous plant which Asklepios (or another) had seen used by a serpent to revive a comrade. This Glaukos is somewhat parallel to Iolaos the charioteer of Herakles, who brought the latter to life according to late



that no adequate syncretistic milieu was known for the prerequisite fusion of Greek popular religion with Aramaean paganism in the centuries immediately preceding Islam. This objection no longer holds. The remarkable archaeological discoveries at Dura and Palmyra during the past twenty years, supplemented by the excavation of Syrian and Nabataean temples and by a great increase in the number of Greek inscriptions from pagan Syria, have shown that there actually was such a full-bodied syncretism of Greek and Aramaean religion in Syria between 300 B. C. and 500 A. D., a syncretism which reached its height in the third century A. D. In the *Dionysiaca* of Nonnus, written in the fifth century A. D. we have the best literary reflection of this mixed Graeco-Syrian culture;<sup>24</sup> it is characteristic that our Glaukos figures rather prominently in this epic. Of course, the all-pervading figure of el-Khiḍr cannot be understood solely as derived from Glaukos, whether we consider either or both of the beings which bear this name in Greek mythology. El-Khiḍr is also Elias and St. George, and his composite personality contains elements which doubtless reflect various important pagan deities, both Semitic and Graeco-Roman.

A far less significant but equally curious figure of contemporary Arab religious folklore is Umm el-Gheith, "Mother of Rain," to whom the common folk address their petitions in time of drought.<sup>25</sup> The term is specifically applied to a rude doll-like figure of a woman, dressed up and carried in procession, with appropriate songs. It is significant that the Christians of Kerak in Transjordan, who preserve archaic practices, used to dress a hay-fork in women's clothes and call it *'arūs ilāh*,<sup>26</sup> "bride of God," since this appellation can only refer to the Virgin Mary. We may safely infer that the

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Phoenician mythology by making him smell a partridge (apparently sacred to Eshmun-Asklepios).

<sup>24</sup> See the valuable treatment of the material by Eissfeldt, *Ras Schamra und Sanchuniaton* (Halle, 1939) 128-151; also Faris and Glidden, *JPOS* 1939. 5 ff., on the general situation (Nonnus is mentioned on p. 11).

<sup>25</sup> There is already a considerable body of literature which deals with this subject; the latest important treatment is by Canaan, *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries in Palestine* 219 ff. For a valuable discussion see Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab* 323 ff.

<sup>26</sup> Or *'arūs Allāh*. For this idea see the discussion by Curtiss, *Ursemitische Religion* 119. Jaussen's skepticism (op. cit. 328) is probably due to the natural unwillingness of his Christian interlocutors in Transjordan to admit the existence of this popular belief.



Moslem *Umm el-Gheith* is a surrogate for the older Christian *el-Adhrâ*, the Virgin, to whom Christians still pray in time of drought.<sup>27</sup> The expression *Umm el-Gheith* should perhaps be compared with various appellations of the Virgin in Christian litanies, such as *stella maris*, *fons signatus*, and with such imagery as that of Gideon's fleece, which was wet when the ground around it was dry and thus became the symbol of the Virgin Mary. While we may safely suppose that the last pagans prayed for rain to Atargatis, later replaced by the Virgin, *Umm el-Gheith* would thus be directly attached to the cult of the latter.

As is well known, thanks particularly to the researches of Dr. T. Canaan, the peasants of Palestine and neighboring lands believe that many springs, especially those that flow intermittently or are peculiar in some way, are inhabited by good or evil spirits, either saints, male or female demons, or animals, especially chickens, camels, and sheep. The animal demons are considered to be *jinn*. Nearly half of the female demons are designated as *'arûs*, "bride," or are described as beautiful young women. There can, of course, be no doubt, despite the absence of scholarly recognition of the fact, that the term *'arûs* is derived directly from the Syro-Hellenistic conception of the nymph which guards the spring, since Greek *νύμφη* means precisely "bride." This Greek mythological idea has survived in Greek lands as well as in the Near East proper. The *jinn* which inhabit springs are similarly offshoots of minor Graeco-Syrian divinities and spirits. As might be inferred from the fact that the domestic fowl was not introduced into common use in the Near East until the Persian Age, though known before, cases where springs are supposed to be haunted by cocks, hens, and chickens,

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<sup>27</sup> Cf. Dalman, *Palästinischer Diwan* 56 f., for prayers to the Virgin for rain. Canaan is also of the opinion that *Umm el-Gheith* originally referred to the Virgin Mary (op. cit. 220), though he does not give any special reason for his view. Nor can it be an accident that the female saint *es-Sitt el-Bedrîyeh*, whose shrine is at the village of *Sherâfât* near Jerusalem, is regarded as one of the most potent givers of rain (Canaan 227). While it is true that her name and legends connect her with an historical saint, *Bedr* (see Canaan 305-8), it is certain that she does not figure in the literary account of the *Bedr* family from the fifteenth century (*Mudjîr ed-Dîn, Uns al-Djalîl*) and that she accordingly belongs to the category of "Les saints qui n'ont jamais existé." In other words, *Bedrîyeh* is again a surrogate for the Virgin, once worshipped at *Sherâfât*, which was a Christian village down to the late Middle Ages.



though relatively common, cannot be very ancient. One, at least, is traceable to a popular etymology: 'Ain Dûq near Jericho, which receives its name from the fortress Dôq, the Dokos of Josephus, is now called 'Ain ed-Dyûk, "Spring of the Cocks," and the natives believe that it is haunted by several cocks! It must be strongly emphasized that these ideas cannot be traced back to the pre-Hellenistic Near East, contrary to the opinion of some modern scholars, who have insisted without the slightest proof that animal names applied to springs in the Bible reflect similar ideas.<sup>28</sup>

The *jinn* themselves were probably introduced into Arabic folklore in the late pre-Islamic period. I have pointed out elsewhere,<sup>29</sup> utilizing suggestions of Nöldeke and Lidzbarski, that the word is neither Arabic nor Ethiopic, but a slight modification of Aramaic *genê*, "hidden," plural *genên*, "hidden things," and emphatic plural *genayyâ*, which appears as the name of a class of deities in inscriptions from the third century A. D. at Dura and in the Jebel esh-Shâ'r, northwest of Palmyra (written ܓܢܝܐ).<sup>30</sup> On Aramaic incantation-bowls of about the sixth or seventh century from Babylonia we find the word appearing in the sense of "(evil) spirit."<sup>31</sup> In

<sup>28</sup> For animal names of springs in the Bible cf. L. B. Paton, *AASOR* I. 52, with which cf., e. g., Canaan, *JPOS* I 162, n. 3. These biblical designations (En-eglaim, "spring of the two calves"; En-gedi, "spring of the kid"; En-hakkore, "spring of the partridge"; En-hattannin, "spring of the dragon") are, however, ordinary place-names and require no explanation except in the first and last cases. The first name belongs with the parallel *Bêth-'eglaim*, name of an ancient town near Gaza (cf. my remarks *AJSL* 55. 337 n. 1); the last name is presumably on a par with such German place-names as *Drachenfels*, and does not indicate any permanent sojourn on the part of a dragon.

<sup>29</sup> *JAOS* 57. 319 f.

<sup>30</sup> For the designation of deity in the monuments from Jebel esh-Shâ'r see the preliminary account by Schlumberger, *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1935, 623. Dr. Harald Ingholt showed me photographs of several of the inscriptions in question, which leave no doubt as to the correctness of this interpretation. For the inscription from Dura see Torrey in *Excavations at Dura Europos, Sixth Season* 240, and his note in *Seventh and Eighth Seasons* 442, where he concedes that his first interpretation was wrong.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur* 80, and Gordon, *Archiv Orientalní* 6. 334, as well as my observations, *Journal* 57. 320. It is possible that the form ܓܢܝܐ is a loan-word from Arabic, but the reverse is probably true, since there are no other certain indications of Arabic influence in these texts.



Syriac the derived substantive *genyâtâ* (emphatic feminine plural) means "pagan shrines" and "female divinities"; in the Peshîttâ it stands for Hebrew *ʾĀštārôt* while Ephrem Syrus (fourth century) and Jacob of Serûg (fifth century) use it as a synonym of *gaddâ*, "(good) fortune" and "pagan divinity, demon."<sup>32</sup> The passage from an Aramaic \* *ganyâ* or \* *genyâ*, feminine \* *gênâtâ*, "demon," to Arabic *jinnîy(un)*, *jinnîyat(un)* offers no difficulty whatever when one remembers that Aram. *gênâ* and Arab. *janna* are synonyms and that a slight morphological adaptation would therefore be normal. The occult figures of depotentized pagan deities with which the imagination of the Christian Aramaeans peopled the underworld, the darkness of night, ruined temples and sacred fountains, were organized by Arab imagination into the *jinn* of the Arabian Nights, creatures of smoke, intermediate between the fiery devils of hell and the angels of light.

A peculiar custom of the modern Arabs, which may be traced back with virtual certainty to Christian Aramaic practices, is that of making a paste of powdered henna and water or melted butter which is then smeared on the walls of a *welî*, especially around the prayer-niche or *mihrâb*.<sup>33</sup> When the natives are asked what the purpose of this rite is, they invariably respond that it is performed in payment of a vow or as a sign that a vow has been duly fulfilled. Struck by the fact that I had found similar ancient daubs on the walls of a recently opened Byzantine tomb near Beit Jibrîn, I was led, nearly twenty years ago, to combine this custom with the Syriac practice of making a paste of dust and oil, which was then smeared on a sick person, or on an object, or was dissolved in water and drunk.<sup>34</sup> The Syriac word for this "Heiligendreck," as German Orientalists call it, is *hênânâ*, "(act of) mercy, grace," and it is obvious that the Arab use of henna (*hinnâ*) as the principal ingredient of the paste is due, in part at least, to some popular etymology or association of words. Originally, we may safely derive the Syriac practice from New Testament tradition: Jesus mixed dust and spittle, smearing the resulting paste on the diseased part of a patient. There was naturally a conceptual background for the idea in ancient Oriental magic and medicine. The *tertium comparationis* between

<sup>32</sup> See the references given by Payne-Smith I 476 b.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Canaan, op. cit. 14.

<sup>34</sup> See the references in Payne-Smith, s. v. *hênânâ*. In 1928 I called the late Hans Bauer's attention to this parallel, with which he was much struck.



Syriac and modern Arabic practices may be the connection of the paste with sanctuaries; the Nestorians collected the dust from holy places and the Arabs smear the paste on the walls of holy places.

A great deal of confusion has been introduced into our field by the naïve assumption of many modern scholars and students that folk beliefs and practices of the modern peasants and nomads of the Arab world go back to pre-Arab times, whether to recent or to remote ages, without essential modification. We have seen that this assumption is quite wrong in certain selected cases; we shall now see that it was *a priori* improbable and ought never to have been advanced even as a working hypothesis. Students of Doutté, Canaan and other authorities on magical beliefs and customs can hardly help but realize that popular astrology, popular magic, popular divination, etc., are almost throughout derived from literary sources. The astrology comes straight from the Arab systematists of the classical age, such as Abū Ma'shar in the ninth century. Even oneiromancy, or the prediction of the future from dreams, goes back through the latest and most popular authority, 'Abd al-Ghânī of Nâblus in Palestine (late seventeenth century) to Artemidorus.<sup>35</sup> The frequency with which Canaan, for example, resorts to 'Abd al-Ghânī for an explanation of popular belief illustrates the derivation of the latter from learned tradition. It may confidently be said that the form and content of Arabic amulets have changed but little for many centuries; the tradition regarding them is a learned and not a popular one, using "popular" in the usual sense of "folkloristic."

As for the stories and songs which circulate among the people, nearly all of the former are derived with comparatively slight modification from such repertoires as the Arabian Nights and the Sîrat 'Antar, which took their form in the late Middle Ages. Juḥā and Qaraqôz are, as is well known, of Turkish (i. e., Byzantine) origin. The songs are generally of comparatively recent date, going back either to café-songs composed for the cafés of Cairo, Beirût, Damascus and other urban centers,<sup>36</sup> or to local poets such as the famous Nimr ibn-'Adwân who flourished in Transjordan in the first years of the nineteenth century.<sup>37</sup> W. Norman Brown pointed

<sup>35</sup> Cf. the remarks of A. Fischer, *ZDMG* 1914, 305 f.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Stephan, "Modern Parallels to the Song of Songs" (*JPOS* II 199 ff.), especially pp. 223 ff.

<sup>37</sup> He died in A. H. 1238 (A. D. 1821-22) and his poems first became



out over twenty years ago that the folk-tales of India are mostly derived from the great literary repertoires, such as the Panchatantra, which themselves, of course, come from still older oral sources.<sup>38</sup> No student of folklore can afford to neglect this cyclic aspect of his material, which seldom goes back directly to any considerable antiquity in any given land or group.

It would, of course, be absurd to deny that there are any direct reflections of the Ancient Orient in Islamic literature and folklore. By direct reflections we mean cases where passing through Hellenistic-Roman channels has not appreciably altered the resulting picture, or where practices and figures escaped Greek influence entirely. Since Aramaic and Arabic survived as languages through the millennium of Hellenism, and since Aramaean and Arabic paganism sometimes persisted into the Islamic Age, as at Harrân, the existence of such direct reflections is not surprising; it is only remarkable that there are relatively few of them. The following illustrations will clarify the situation as we see it.

Some expressions, like *qaus quzah*, "rainbow," literally "bow of (the North-Arabian storm-god) Quzah,"<sup>39</sup> and *zauw al-manîyah*, literally "the scissors of fate,"<sup>40</sup> belong to the domain of linguistic fossils and are not properly to be considered as illustrations of

known in the West through an article of Wallin in 1852; see now H. H. Spoer, *JAOS* 43. 177 ff.; *Zeits. Sem.* 7. 29 ff., 7. 274 ff., 9. 93 ff.

<sup>38</sup> *JAOS* 39. 3 ff.

<sup>39</sup> The best treatment of this deity still remains that of Tuch nearly ninety years ago (*ZDMG* 3. 208 f.). However, there can be little doubt that Josephus, who calls the chief Idumaeen god *Koçe* (i. e., *Qūzah*), confused the Edomite deity *Qôš* (*Kws*) with the similar Arab divinity *Quzah*. The god *Qôš* is now well known from a score of personal names scattered through Greek, Aramaic Hebrew, Old North Arabic, and cuneiform inscriptions (a partial list is given by Glueck in *BASOR* 72. 11 f.) and the original form is known to have been *Qaus* (*𐤒𐤍𐤔*, Assy. cun. *Qausš*). Wellhausen's idea that Edomite *Qaus* is Arabic *Qais* (*Reste arabischen Heidentums*<sup>2</sup> 67) is hardly tenable; on the other hand, I see no reason not to identify the Edomite name of the storm-god with Arab. *qaus*, "bow," which is then to be separated etymologically from Heb. *gešet*, "bow," and its cognates.

<sup>40</sup> This convincing explanation of the enigmatic Arabic phrase was first proposed by Wellhausen (*ZDMG* 1912. 697 f.), on the basis of the passages where the expression occurs and the fact that *zawwâ* actually has the meaning "shears" in Aramaic. Wellhausen's suggestion was favorably received by no less a scholar than A. Fischer (*ZDMG* 1913. 113-122).



religious survival. Such expressions belong to the same class as the Lithuanian expletive *Perkunas*, really the name of the pagan Lithuanian storm-god, but explained to me once by an illiterate Lithuanian immigrant as meaning "son (of) a bitch." To this category belongs the Quranic *hapax legomenon*, *kautar* (Sûrah 108). The *sûrah* runs as follows:

"Behold we have given thee *kautar* (الكوثر)—  
And pray to thy Lord and offer sacrifices—  
Behold he that hateth thee is childless!"

The word *kautar* is explained by some native commentators as meaning "abundance (of good, of wisdom, of prophecy)," from the stem *k-t-r*, "to be abundant." That this etymological explanation is too simple is indicated by the variant interpretation according to which *kautar* is the name of a river of Paradise which is specially connected with the Prophet. While we cannot be sure of the idea actually present in Mohammed's mind when he used this word, we can hardly be far wrong in combining it with the old Northwest-Semitic figure of Kauthar, which is known from Ugaritic, Phoenician, Biblical, and Aramaic sources. *Kauthar* (whence Ugaritic *Kôtar*, Phoenician *Kûšôr*)<sup>41</sup> was the name of the Phoenician Hephaestus, the skilled craftsman and artificer *par excellence*, and the inventor of musical instruments and of the art of music generally. As G. Hoffmann<sup>42</sup> and H. L. Ginsberg<sup>43</sup> have shown, Kauthar was identified with Egyptian Ptah. Kauthar (*Kautar*) is also said to have been the father of Tammûz in Aramaean mythology,<sup>44</sup> a fact which shows that he is concealed under the name of Kinyras, the eponym of players on the lyre and harp, who was the father of Paphian Adonis in Cyprian Greek mythology.<sup>45</sup> Both in Ugaritic

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Phoenician *'ûlôm*, "eternity," for Heb. *'ôlām*, originally *\*'aulām* (the Aramaic and Arabic forms are loan-words from Hebrew), according to the phonetic principles discussed by Harris, *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language* 34, 37.

<sup>42</sup> *ZA* 11. 253 ff.

<sup>43</sup> *Orientalia* 9 (1940) 39 ff. Ginsberg's main contention is strikingly confirmed by an Egyptian inscription from Megiddo, which proves that there was a temple of Ptah at Ascalon in the thirteenth century B. C.

<sup>44</sup> Mentioned by Pseudo-Melito; cf. Hoffmann, loc. cit.; Baudissin, *Adonis und Esmun* 74.

<sup>45</sup> The ancient derivation of the name from *κινύρα*, "lyre," itself a loan from Phoenician *kinnûr* (Heb. *kinnôr*, Late-Eg. *kennûra*), "lyre, harp,"



and in the Bible the word *kôṭar-kôšār* is also a word for "musician," properly, "the very skilful, the highly skilled."<sup>46</sup> A great deal more can be said on this subject, but it must be reserved for a more suitable occasion. As a personal name the word may be traced from 2000 B. C. to about the third century A. D.<sup>47</sup> The Bible calls Heman and his musical colleagues "sages" on one occasion and "seers" on others, illustrating the extraordinary interpenetration of these ideas.<sup>48</sup> If we suppose that the word *kauthar* meant to Mohammed something like "supernatural gift of poetic inspiration and of clairvoyant or prophetic power," we are perhaps not far from the truth.

A very curious rapprochement, almost certainly correct, was made by P. de Lagarde when he derived the Greek word "anemone" from the Semitic precursor of literary Arabic *šaqâ'iq an-Nu'mân*, "the anemone."<sup>49</sup> Since Greek *ἀνεμώνη* can at a pinch be derived from *ἄνεμος*, "wind," as the "wind-flower," and since an-Nu'mân was a famous king of al-Ḥîrah in the late sixth century A. D., it is not surprising that sober scholars like Wellhausen rejected the idea.<sup>50</sup> However, the equation is really very plausible indeed. In the first place it is quite certain that Adonis was sometimes called *Nu'mân* or *Ne(a)'môn* in Phoenician, as we know from a number of occurrences of *N'mn* as a divine appellation in the Keret and

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may now be regarded as certain, since there are many striking confirmations and illustrations of this derivation, with which I hope to deal later. One of the most remarkable parallels, hitherto unrecognized, comes from Hebrew tradition.

<sup>46</sup> See Ginsberg, *BASOR* 72. 13. I have collected evidence showing that the form *fau'al* was used as an augmentative.

<sup>47</sup> The earliest occurrence is in the hieratic execration texts from cir. 2000 B. C. which have been published by Sethe. Here it appears as *Kwšr*, name of a chief of *Šwtw* (otherwise unknown), along with a Job and a Zebulun (cf. *JPOS* 8. 239); in Amorite (East Canaanite) original *t* appears as *š*. The latest occurrence is in a recently published Greek inscription of about the third century A. D. from Syria, where the name is spelled *Xavθap* (see *AJA* 1938. 593 a), a perfect transcription of Aramaic כוּתָּר.

<sup>48</sup> I expect to deal with this subject in detail in a paper which will probably appear in *JBL*.

<sup>49</sup> *Semitica* I 31 f., und *Uebersicht über die . . . Bildung der Nomina*, p. 205, note; cf. Loew, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen* 205, note, and Baudissin, *Adonis und Esmun* 88.

<sup>50</sup> *Reste des arabischen Heidentums*<sup>2</sup> 10 n. 2.



Dan'el epics of Ugarit,<sup>51</sup> from the term *niṭ'ê na'amānām*, "Adonis gardens," found in Isaiah, from the fact that the native name of the river Belus in the Plain of Acre is preserved in Arabic as the *Nahr Nu'mein* (properly a diminutive of *Na'mân*, a common place-name in Syria and Arabia), and from the fact that the word *na'em* is found in Canaanite and Aramaean inscriptions as an appellation of deity both in the singular and the plural.<sup>52</sup> Moreover, just as we have the parallel forms *šulmân* and *šalmôn*, *Rušpân* and *Rašpôn*, *Yordân* and *Yardôn*,<sup>53</sup> where the first of each pair is the primary form and the other a secondary dissimilation from it, characteristic of Phoenician proper, so we may be reasonably sure that the Phoenician form of the name, about 1000 B. C., was \**Ne'môn* (form like \**Eprôn* from \**Uprân*). The initial *alpha* in the Greek form of the name would then be due to congeneric assimilation of a \**νεμώνη* (like Greek *ἀργεμώνη*, "poppy," from Phoenician \**argamôn*, Heb. *argāmān*) to *ἀνεμος*, "wind," a process for which innumerable parallels exist.<sup>54</sup> Unfortunately, we do not know what Arabic *šaqâ'iq*, or its singular *šaqîqah* means in this connection; the usual explanation that it means "wounds," being thus a reflection of the

<sup>51</sup> See Virolleaud, *Keret* 11; *Danel* 92. His two most striking appellations are "page of El" (*ḡlm 'el*) and "strongest of men" (*'mq nšm*).

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Baudissin, *op. cit.* 86 ff. See Harris's glossary, Gesenius-Buhl, *advoc.*, and cf. Ugaritic *'lm n'mm*, "the gracious gods," and the later feminine *Na'mat*, which seems to be the name of a goddess (cf. Baethgen, *Beiträge zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte* 150).

<sup>53</sup> For the morphological principle involved see my provisional observations (there is a great deal of pertinent material, which I hope to present at an early opportunity) *JPOS* 8. 238 n. 2, 14. 133 n. 172 a; *AfO* 7. 168; *The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography* 36, IV. 6; *Bull. Am. Sch. Or. Res.* 63. 28 n. 22. For Amorite *Rušpân* = Canaanite *Rašpôn* (*Raš-puna*) see Lewy, *Mélanges Dussaud* I 274 f. It may be added that the vocalization *Rāšāp* for the form of the name without an ending ("Resheph"), now established by the Mari texts (Lewy, *loc. cit.*), has been employed by the present writer since 1930 (see *JAOS* 50. 339 and *AfO* 7. 167 n. 20).

<sup>54</sup> For the linguistic process which Maurice Bloomfield named "congeneric assimilation" (German "Mischbildung" and "Reimwortbildung") see F. R. Blake (*Studies in Honor of Maurice Bloomfield*, New Haven, 1920, pp. 35-48) and C. Brockelmann (*Zeits. f. Sem.* 5. 6-38), both writing from a Semitistic point of view. The treatment of the etymology of the word *ἀνεμώνη* by E. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* 61, is inadequate and he does not even try to explain the origin of the anomalous suffix which he appears to assume.



Greek myth, where the anemone sprang from the blood of the dying Adonis, is lexicographically hazardous. Perhaps the native lexicographers are correct in explaining it as "lightning flashes of Nu'mân."<sup>55</sup> That Nu'mân of al-Hîrah should replace Adonis is on a par with queen Stratonike's replacement of Astarte in the Kombabos myth.<sup>56</sup>

In modern Syria and Palestine there are a very few direct reflections of paganism in the names and legends of modern welis. The most remarkable is the female saint remembered until recently by the common people as Seiyidet ez-Zahrah (= ez-Zuharah) or Seiyidet Afqā, "the lady Venus" or "the Lady of Aphaca," whose husband was slain while hunting.<sup>57</sup> As is well known, the greatest shrine of Aphrodite and Adonis in Graeco-Roman Syria was at

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<sup>55</sup> For convenient orientation see the data given by Lane I 1578c. There is no indication anywhere that there ever was an Arabic word *šaqqah* "wound," as often assumed without proof. Since the Arabic expression can hardly antedate the sixth century A. D. and may be still more recent, it is imprudent to set up an unattested word. On the other hand, the Arab lexicographers illustrate the meaning "lightning" in many ways. The verbal forms *šaqqā*, *tašaqqaqa*, and *inšaqqā* are all used of lightning which "splits" the sky; *šaqqātu 'l-barq* is "a flash of lightning which splits the clouds" (syn. *'aqqah*). The *Lisān al-'Arab* (12. 48 below) elucidates the meaning of *šaqqā* as follows: *hwa 'l-barqu 'lladī tarāhu yalma'u mustatīlan ilā wastī 's-samā'* "that is the lightning which you see prolonging itself to the midst of the sky as it flashes." Of the anemone the *Lisān* says (12. 49 above): *summiyat bi-dālika li-ḥumratika 'alā 't-tašbīhi bi-šaqqati 'l-barq*, "It has been called by this (name) for its redness for the sake of comparing it to a flash of lightning." It must be remembered that Adonis was often identified with the storm-god Baal and that it is at best very hard to distinguish between the functions and myths of the dying god and of the storm-god. At Ugarit Baal (Hadad) appears as the dying god; we also find later that Hadad was the dying god in different local cults. Moreover, expressions of this type were known in Canaanite: cf. *benē \*Rašap* as "vultures" (*Haupt Anniversary Volume* 149 f.) and the name of the town *Benē \*bārāq* (Massoretic *berāq*, cuneiform *barqa*, modern Arabic *ibrāq*), literally, "Children of Lightning." The original myth may have traced the creation of the anemone to a blow on the ground from the thunderbolt-spear of Baal (see the Ugaritic stele reproduced by Schaeffer, *Syria* 14. pl. XVI), just as Greek mythology traced the origin of the olive tree to a similar act of the storm-god Poseidon.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. also my remarks in *BASOR* 78. 27 n. 21.

<sup>57</sup> Curtiss, op. cit. 173 f.; Paton, *AASOR* I 55 f. (the spelling "*Ṣa'idat Afkā*" is naturally wrong).



Aphaca, at the source of the river Adonis. The "Green Lady" (el-Khaḍrā) at Ascalon can hardly be anything but a reflection of Derceto,<sup>58</sup> once goddess of the city. The saint called "Father of the Two Eyes" (Abū 'l-'ainein) near Rāmallāh, from whose two eyes sprang a tree,<sup>59</sup> can hardly be separated from a precursor of the Adonis type. A class of curious eponymous figures, such as Sheikh Riḥāb near Beisān, Nebī 'Ajlān near Gaza, Nebī Şeidūn in Sidon, whose names carry us back to pre-Israelite times, may possibly echo their remote pagan precursors.<sup>60</sup> On the other hand, they may be quite recent saints, whose personal names have been replaced by the names of the towns or villages where they resided.

In conclusion, we wish to assure our readers that our sampling has not been unfairly weighted on either side. There is an overwhelming mass of evidence in favor of the relatively recent date of most concrete elements in Islamic religion and culture. Becker was right in insisting on the thoroughgoing dependence of Islamic culture on Hellenistic. The gap which separates Graeco-Roman civilization from ancient Oriental is much greater than that which

<sup>58</sup> On this name cf. my remarks, *JPOS* 14. 130. 153, where I propose a derivation from Ugaritic *darkatu*, "dominion." It is most improbable that the name has anything to do with that of Atargatis.

<sup>59</sup> This saint has a shrine near Rāmallāh in Palestine. The Moslems believe that the sheikh is buried under a tree which sprang from his two eyes. With this motive compare the myths of Bitis, from two drops of whose blood sprang two persea trees, and of Agdistis, from whose testicles grew an almond or pomegranate tree (cf. *JBL* 37, 126).

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Canaan, *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries* 286 ff. Nearly twenty years ago I was present at a most interesting informal discussion between a teacher and a peasant at Beit Jibrīn, in which the latter maintained that the saint locally called Nebī Jibrīn was a true prophet (*nebī*) while the Hebronite teacher insisted that he was only a holy man (*welī*). The people of Beit Jibrīn believe that this "prophet" was their ancestor. Since the Israelites and Aramaeans shared a belief that the second element in a place-name formed with the element *bēt* (house) was the name of an ancestor of the people who lived there, this idea may go back to the Aramaean town of Bêt-gabrâ (Talmudic *Bêt-gubrīn*), regardless of the original meaning of the name. However, it is hard to separate the designation *nebī* from the fact that the second element, Jibrīl = Jibrīn, was explained in the Middle Ages as *Jibrā'il*, the angel Gabriel.



divides Islam from Hellenism. Religiously Islam is an integral part of the Judaeo-Christian tradition and owes very little directly to the religions of the Ancient Orient.<sup>61</sup>



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<sup>61</sup> In the discussion of this paper when it was presented at New York, a number of points were brought out. Professor Calverley called attention to rites and practices taken over by Mohammed or his followers from pre-Islamic times, such as the procession around the Ka'bah and the rite of circumcision. There can be no doubt that he is right, and I have not intended to exclude such survivals from the picture. Above I expressly stress the fact that there are many exceptions, though the sum of the exceptions is still far inferior to the total of later borrowings. In my report on the excavation of the earliest high place at Petra, *BASOR* 57. 20 ff., I have stressed the great antiquity of the *ṭawâf*. Professor Jeffery called attention to certain survivals from ancient Egypt in the folk-beliefs and practices of modern times. He is unquestionably correct, but the relative proportion of survivals remains insignificant. Professor Ogden pointed out that there are also Iranian, Zoroastrian elements in Islam. He is undoubtedly right and some of these elements (*Hârût* and *Mârût*, etc.) go back to the time of Mohammed. Yet the relative importance of the Iranian factor in Islam is very much smaller than is that of the Hellenistic-Roman factor, and some phenomena which are credited to the Iranians were really borrowed by the latter from the West.



## THE VOCALISM OF SINO-TIBETAN

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IT MAY seem strange that the comparative philology of some of the African, American Indian, Indonesian, and other lesser groups of languages has been more or less satisfactorily accomplished, while the comparative grammar of Sino-Tibetan, which from the point of view of the number of speakers, culture and economic importance ranks second in the world, has hardly begun. A number of difficulties have stood in the way, difficulties to which reference will be made below. But since there seems to be a general misconception of the present status of our knowledge of these languages, even by linguists working within that field, it will perhaps be well to survey just what has been accomplished to date.

While most linguists are inclined to agree that the languages frequently grouped under the name Sino-Tibetan are probably related, the opinion has rested in part upon unfamiliarity with what has been accomplished<sup>1</sup> and in part upon the general resemblance of the numeral systems of these languages and their monosyllabic and tonal characteristics.

Outside of these facts, the supposed relationship rests almost entirely upon a number of comparisons of words in two or more languages,<sup>2</sup> the sole criterion for such comparisons being general

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<sup>1</sup> Thus H. Maspero, BSLP. 39 (1938). 207, justly observes that it prejudices the question to give the name Sino-Tibetan to this group of languages when the relationship of Chinese and Tibeto-Burmic is still questionable. But in pointing this out, he employs Tibeto-Burmic (*tibéto-hirmanes*) as if the relationship of the many different linguistic groups which have been given that general name had been scientifically established. Nothing could be much farther from the truth as far as published data on these languages is concerned. Maspero, whose interest has centered in Chinese and Daic (Tai) was evidently not aware of the lack of knowledge of Tibeto-Burmic. While agreeing with Maspero's criticism of the use of the term Sino-Tibetan, both that and Tibeto-Burmic have been employed here, as one cannot conveniently name a few hundred languages each time it is wished to refer to all of them collectively.

<sup>2</sup> The principal comparisons of this type have been made by B. H. Hodgson, whose works have been collected in *Essays on the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepal and Tibet*, London, 1874; C. J. F. Forbes,



phonetic resemblance in most instances. This period of comparing "look-alikes" was due in part to certain serious difficulties in the way of accomplishing really scientific work based upon phonetic laws. One of these was the lack of information regarding certain of these languages. This obstacle was removed with the reconstruction of the pronunciation of Old Chinese of the sixth century A. D., by Bernhard Karlgren and Henri Maspero,<sup>3</sup> the publication of George A. Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India*,<sup>4</sup> and the publication of a considerable number of dictionaries and grammars of Tibeto-Burmic and Daic languages. For comparative purposes, one may now obtain a sufficiently accurate conception of at least one language in nearly every linguistic group, often of several.

With the appearance of this material and the general linguistic advance in other fields, came an improvement in the approach to the problem. Since the appearance of Wolfenden's work, there have been no major attempts to make comparisons without regard to phonetic equations. Houghton probably initiated the attempt to lay down phonetic laws with his "linguistic paleontology," evidently using previous work of Indo-Europeanists as a model. While he showed remarkable insight into the phonetic equations which have since been established by the writer, his equations were just

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Affinities of the dialects of Chepang and Kusundah tribes of Nepal with those of the hill tribes of Arracan, JRAS, v. 9 1877, pp. 421-424; Bernard Houghton, *Essays on the Language of the Southern Chins and its Affinities*, Rangoon, 1892, and *Outlines of Tibeto-Burman Linguistic Paleontology*, JRAS, 1896, pp. 23-55; A. Conrady, *Eine indochinesische causativ-denominativ Bildung und ihre Zusammenhang mit den Tonaccenten*, Leipzig, 1896, and probably also Conrady's are the comparisons from the dialects of Tibet in the first part of v. 3, pt. 1, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Calcutta, 1904; Stuart N. Wolfenden, *Outlines of Tibeto-Burman Linguistic Morphology*, London, 1929. After having worked out the phonetic equations for most of the linguistic groups discussed in these works, such comparisons of "look-alikes" are found to vary in accuracy from an estimated 90 per cent incorrect in Conrady's *Causativ-denominativ Bildung* to 90 per cent correct in his (?) comparisons of the Bodish dialects in the LSI; and the same favorable percentage for Forbes' short list. The two most prolific in comparisons, Houghton and Wolfenden, have about 30 per cent correct.

<sup>3</sup> Karlgren, *Etudes sur la phonologie chinoise* (*Archives d'études orientales*, v. 15), 1915, and *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese and Sino-Japanese*, Paris, 1933; Maspero, *Le dialecte de Tch'ang-ngan sous les T'ang*, BEFEO. 20 (1920). no. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Calcutta, 1904-1928.



far enough off to make approximately 90 per cent of his comparisons invalid, compared with a probable 50 per cent for his less ambitious attempt in his comparisons with Southern Chin.

It was more than thirty years later that Walter Simon<sup>5</sup> attempted to show the phonetic laws governing Chinese and Old Bodish (classical Tibetan), with some reference to Burmese. This was premature in that the phonetic laws for Tibeto-Burmic had not been established. Karlgren and Maspero<sup>6</sup> have so thoroughly criticised this attempt that it will suffice here to point out that he compared words such as *āgron*- "cowry," *puâi* (his no. 233); *glin* "region," *d'iei* (157); *glo*- "lung," *pi<sup>w</sup>pi* (195); *lob* "year," *si<sup>w</sup>ät* (266), etc., and as a result had ten Chinese equivalences for Old Bodish *-a* and 12 for Old Bodish *-u*.

Another attempt to find phonetic laws was made by Biren Bonnerjea,<sup>7</sup> using as a basis the comparisons probably made by Conrady between Bodish dialect words and Old Bodish. While nearly all of the comparisons are correct, they were insufficient to give an accurate idea of the complicated phonetic development of the Bodish dialects and Bonnerjea's use of methods which would have been appropriate for Indo-European but not for Sino-Tibetan languages, where position and phonetic environment of a phoneme may be all important, led him to inconsistent and often erroneous conclusions.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> "Tibetisch-chinesische Wortgleichungen," *Sem. f. Or. Spr., Mitt.*, v. 32 (1929). p. 157 ff. Some of Simon's most accurate comparisons seem to have been taken from Berthold Laufer's comparisons in pages 116-121 of his article on "The Si-hia language," *TP.* ser. 2, v. 17, 1916. But he added many more.

<sup>6</sup> Karlgren, "Tibetan and Chinese," *TP.* 28 (1931). 25-70; Maspero, *JA.* v. 222, pp. 74-79, 1933.

<sup>7</sup> "Phonology of some Tibeto-Burman dialects of the Himalayan region," *TP.* 32 (1936). 238-258.

<sup>8</sup> Thus in paragraph 18, he grouped together words with initial *kr*, *gr*, *dr*, whether prefixed or not, and paragraph 15 grouped words with *gs*, whether initial or final. In Indo-European there are generally no prefixed consonants (unless one might consider the first phoneme in some initial Greek compound consonants and *s* before a consonant in several IE languages, etc., to be such) and generally it makes no difference whether a phoneme is initial or final. But in some Bodish dialects the reactions are quite different, according as a consonant is prefixed, initial or final. In paragraph 45, Bonnerjea grouped words beginning in O. B. with all the different prefixes except the "indeterminate" nasal, and his conclusions at the



In quite a different class from the rather amateurish work of Houghton, Simon, and Bonnerjea, is that which has been done on the Daic languages. This was begun by Maspero,<sup>9</sup> who deduced a considerable number of phonetic and tonal laws of the Daic languages, and was carried further by K. Wulff,<sup>10</sup> who added a large number of comparisons with Chinese. Wulff's genius as a comparative philologist has not been fully appreciated, probably not even by himself.<sup>11</sup> In making these comparisons between Daic and Chinese, Wulff was primarily interested in deducing the tonal equations. He offered only seven phonetic equations between Chinese and Daic<sup>12</sup> since he considered the phonetics of these languages too variant for precise equations. Yet on collecting his scattered comparisons in illustration of his tonal laws, I have found that Wulff's conception of the phonetics of Old Chinese must have coincided on most important points with that which I had formed working independently from the point of view of Tibeto-Burmic. His comparisons on pp. 171-187 are probably 80 to 90 per cent correct, which is remarkable, considering the distant relationship of Daic and Chinese.

Some progress has therefore been made in the comparative philology of Sino-Tibetan. We have a reconstruction of Old Chinese, a considerable number of precise phonetic equations for the Daic languages, seven phonetic equations between Daic and Chinese, a considerable number of valid lexical comparisons between Daic and Chinese, some correct phonetic equations for the Bodish dialects and a large number of comparisons between various ST languages,

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beginning of the list is that all these prefixes drop, although this is contrary to the evidence in his paragraph 3, showing *b-* becoming *r-* in Bal., Pur., Lad.; his paragraph 7, showing *d-* becoming *s-*, *r-* in the same dialects; etc.

<sup>9</sup> "Contribution à l'étude du système phonétique des langues thai," BEFEO 11 (1911).

<sup>10</sup> "Chinesisch und Tai, sprachvergleichende Untersuchungen," *Danske Videnskabernes Selskab., Hist.-filolog. meddelelser*, v. 20, pt. 3, 1934.

<sup>11</sup> Thus Maspero, in reviewing in the BSLP. 36 (1935). 183-187, Wulff's article on Chinese and Daic, states that the essential section of the article is devoted to infixes. Actually the chief portion is concerned with the phonetics and tones of Daic and tonal equations with Chinese, the portion which Maspero's review almost entirely overlooked. Maspero's judgment of Wulff's section on infixes is sound, but it is the weakest and least important part of the latter's work.

<sup>12</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 170.



most of which are false. On the phonetics of Tibeto-Burmic or equations between Tibeto-Burmic on one side and Chinese or Daic on the other, nothing of much value has yet been published.<sup>13</sup>

These gaps in our knowledge of Sino-Tibetan are the most serious. Karlgren pointed out in his article on Tibetan and Chinese, p. 25, that the first step in the comparative philology of Sino-Tibetan should be to compare all the Tibeto-Burmic languages and dialects.

More than ten years ago, shortly before the appearance of Karlgren's article mentioned above, the writer set out to make such comparisons. But it became apparent after several years work in the field of Tibeto-Burmic, that because of the very great number of languages or quite distinct dialects, one person could not satisfactorily accomplish the objective in a lifetime. The difficulty was therefore solved in the only possible way, mass linguistic production, the first attempt, as far as is known to the writer, in this field.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Paul K. Benedict, *Semantic Differentiation in Indo-Chinese*, HJAS. 4 (1939). has a few scattered phonetic equations from my manuscript material on pp. 215, 217 note 11, 220 note 16 mixed with a considerable number of phonetically doubtful comparisons.

<sup>14</sup> This was accomplished through as many as 36 persons being engaged upon the work at one time. Ten manuscript volumes covering 12 Tibeto-Burmic groups have been completed: Bodish (all the dialects usually known as Tibetan, and the aberrant dialects of Rgyarong, the Murmi group, Takpa, and Tsangla), West Himalayish, West Central Himalayish, East Himalayish, Digarish, Dzorgaish (in Sifan), Hrusso, and Dhimalish, all completed by the writer; Burmish-Loloish, begun and partially completed by the writer, the balance by Paul K. Benedict from my material with the addition of some Loloish material; Nungish (Burmish), the work of Mr. Benedict, without phonetic tables. The work on Katsinish and Kukish is being completed by Mr. Benedict and myself respectively. Considerable work on all the remaining Sino-Tibetan groups has already been done under the direction of the writer.

The names of the linguistic groups mentioned above and throughout this paper are based upon a uniform system of nomenclature. In this field of research, where even the precise classification of the languages had not been determined and the nomenclature had consequently not become stabilized, it seemed preferable to introduce a logical system of nomenclature. First the names of linguistic groups were given terminations which have the widest similar application in the names of Indo-European linguistic groups. Thus the ending *-an* denotes the family, as *Sino-Tibetan*, corresponding to the same termination in *Indo-European*. The ending *-ic* denotes a main subdivision of a family, as *Sinitic*, *Manic*, *Daic*, *Bodic*, *Baric*, *Burmish* and *Karenic*, corresponding to similar subdivisions in Indo-European such as *Germanic*, *Keltic*, *Baltic*, *Slavic*, *Hellenic*. And the



As the result, the work has now progressed so far on all of the Tibeto-Burmic groups that it seems improbable that any important light will be shed upon proto-Sino-Tibetan by any existing data still untouched.

It is important to know whether the dozens of different finals<sup>15</sup> to be found in Luśei<sup>16</sup> represent the proto-Sino-Tibetan vocalism which has been contracted to a much more limited number of finals in Old Bodish. The importance of this will be apparent to anyone familiar with the very great number of finals to be found in Karlgren's *Etudes*, pp. 714-898, or to be found in Siamese.

This problem of the vocalism of Sino-Tibetan is the main objective of the present study. But in presenting the evidence from the four great Sino-Tibetan literary languages, Old Chinese, Old Bodish, Burmese, and Siamese, and from Luśei, which has the most highly developed vocalic system in Tibeto-Burmic, this monograph will present a sort of résumé of the work so far accomplished. Hundreds of phonetic equations for other languages and dialects not mentioned here form the basis on which this essay rests.<sup>17</sup>

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ending *-ish* indicates a sub-group of one of the main subdivisions of the family; thus *Burmish*, *Loloish*, *Katsinish*, *Kukish* and *Luish* are sub-groups of the Burmic subdivision of Sino-Tibetan. This ending is similarly employed to denote the IE sub-groups: *English*, *Irish*, *Lettish*, *Polish*, *Spanish*, *Swedish*, *Danish*, and in slightly corrupted form in *Welsh* and *French*. Secondly, half a dozen names exist for some of the languages and some choice which would become standard seemed advisable. At present there is a tendency in Europe to give to a people the name they apply to themselves and this was the criterion generally employed in choosing the name of languages and linguistic groups, where the native name was known. Thus *Bodish* rather than Tibetan was used because *Bod* is the native name for Tibet and its language is known as *Bod-skad*. "Classical Tibetan" is referred to as *Old Bodish*. The written language was preferred to the spoken, which varies from place to place. Thus *Daic*, from the written *Dai*, was used, since *Dai* is today pronounced both *Thai* and *Tai* according to the region.

<sup>15</sup> "Final" is used as in Chinese to refer to all that portion of the root which follows the initial.

<sup>16</sup> One of the Central Kukish languages. Kukish includes all the Naga languages except the northernmost. The division in the LSI into Naga and Kuki-Chin is geographical and not based on linguistic evidence.

<sup>17</sup> While the greater portion of the comparisons made here originated with the author, he wishes to acknowledge the considerable number of TB-Chinese and Daic-Chinese comparisons made by Donald Walters and E. H. Emminger respectively, working under the author's direction. Nearly all of the Daic-Chinese comparisons of nasal finals comes from the work of



Initials

This article does not attempt to show the phonetic equations for the initials, which will be presented at a later date. But for an understanding of the data regarding the finals, the following information about the initials may be of value.

Nearly <sup>18</sup> all of the sonant stops in O(ld) B(odish) correspond to surd stops in Burmese, as shown by what correspondences have been found between the two languages. That this condition was not original in Burmish is shown by the preservation of the original sonants in some of the Loloish languages.<sup>19</sup> Examples of sonancy preserved in Loloish:

meaning	O. B.	Bu.	Ahi	Nyi	Lolo.	Lisu	Moso	PKS	KSY
nine	<i>dgu</i>	<i>kùì</i>	<i>kě</i>	<i>kə</i>	<i>kě</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>gu</i>	<i>gu</i>	<i>gu</i>
hear	<i>sgra</i>	<i>krà</i>	<i>dzo</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>-dzo</i>	<i>-dza</i>	...	...	<i>gě</i>
copper	<i>grì</i>	<i>kre</i>	<i>dzi</i>	<i>dza</i>	<i>džě</i>	<i>dzi</i>	...	<i>džě</i>	...
big	<i>bgres</i>	<i>krì</i>	...	<i>gie</i>	...	...	<i>džri</i>	<i>džě'</i>	...
	(pf.)								
insect	<i>ābu</i>	<i>pui</i>	<i>bě-</i>	...	<i>bě</i>	...	...	<i>bu</i>	...
give	<i>byin</i>	<i>pè</i>	<i>-bi</i>	...	...	...	...	<i>biě</i>	<i>biě'</i>
bamboo rat	<i>byi-ba</i>	<i>pwè</i>	<i>-bi</i>	<i>-bi</i>	...	...	...	...	...
hole, cave	<i>doñ</i>	<i>twàñ</i>	...	<i>-du</i>	...	<i>du</i>	...	<i>-tu</i>	...
eat	<i>za-ba</i>	<i>tsà</i>	<i>dzo</i>	<i>dza</i>	<i>dzo</i>	<i>dza</i>	<i>dze</i>	<i>džě</i>	<i>dze</i>
leopard	<i>gzig</i>	<i>sats</i>	<i>zě</i>	<i>zo</i>	<i>zě</i>	...	<i>dže</i>	...	<i>zě</i>

Wulff, op. cit., but has been rearranged to show the phonetic shifts. Other Daic comparisons were nearly all made by Mr. Emminger or myself. My friend, Paul K. Benedict, has offered many valuable suggestions and comparisons. This work has naturally profited by the comparisons made by previous authors. But it has been the general practice to first draw the phonetic equations from the material gathered by the writer or his assistants before referring to the comparisons made by predecessors, thus avoiding many, at least, of the same errors.

<sup>18</sup> Although Burmese has sonant stop initials, so many of the words having them are borrowed that it is doubtful if any of them are original except the *b'* which today is pronounced *p'*. In the dictionary so many words that begin with *b'* are also to be found under *p'* that one is uncertain whether those beginning with *p'* represent the spoken form of the original beginning with *b'*, or whether *p'* was the original initial which has falsely been written with *b'* initial. The whole question of which were original sonants is so involved that it cannot be considered in detail here. The evidence cited above does, however, indicate that Burmish-Loloish originally agreed with Bodish as to sonancy of initials.

<sup>19</sup> Burmish-Loloish really forms one group, with two slightly divergent sub-groups, Burmish and Loloish. The divergences are more phonetic than lexical. The Loloish languages cited above have lost all final consonants.



There has been fluctuation between sonant and surd initial in the word for "nine" in the ST languages, with the surd initial predominating. The finals of the words cited are in accordance with the phonetic laws for Ahi, Nyi, and Lolopho, and in the main for Lisu, although the latter has not been as well recorded as the first three. Moso, Pakishan, and Kangsiangying have not been sufficiently well recorded to be certain of the phonetic shifts, particularly for the vowels. The latter, therefore, cannot be taken as certain evidence.

In Karlgren's reconstructions of Old Chinese, all initial sonant stop consonants are marked with the aspiration. Central Bodish also aspirates its initial sonant stops, but the written language is not recorded with the aspirated stops. It may have been that all ST languages originally aspirated slightly their initial sonant stops. But for comparative purposes, the aspiration of Chinese sonant stops has no significance.

Old Bodish prefixes have been generally dropped in the other ST languages cited here. This will be discussed more fully at a later date.

However attention should be called to the aspirating effect of *s*-prefix on the Burmese initial:

	O. B.	Bu.
shore	<i>skam</i>	<i>k'âm</i> (arch.)
shell, bark	<i>skog</i>	<i>k'ok</i>
fear	<i>skrog</i>	<i>k'rok</i>
borrow	<i>bskyis</i> (pf.)	<i>k'yè</i>
thousand	<i>stoñ</i>	<i>t'òñ</i>
axe	<i>sta-</i>	<i>t'à</i> "knife, sword"
hill	<i>sgañ</i>	<i>k'añ-</i> (arch.)
stout	<i>sbom</i>	<i>p'wam'</i>
frog	<i>sbal-pa</i>	<i>b'à</i>
nose	<i>sna</i>	<i>hna</i>
snot	<i>snabs</i>	<i>hnap</i>
heart	<i>snyin</i>	<i>hnats</i>
ripe	<i>smin-pa</i>	<i>hman'</i>
bamboo	<i>smyig-ma</i>	<i>hmyats</i> "bamboo sprouts"

Similar to the *h*- in the last few Burmese examples, *h*- before another consonant in Luśei represents an original *s*-prefix. The phonetic equations for Luśei are somewhat complicated, but among the most important changes to bear in mind is that any consonant (not a prefix) plus *r* becomes *t*- or *t'*- in Luśei, while any consonant



(not a prefix) plus \**l* becomes *tl-*, *tʰl-* in Luśei; Luśei *tʰ* may represent \**tʰ-*, but most frequently represents a spirant initial.<sup>20</sup> Initial *z* represents \**y-*. Original aspiration is generally lost in Luśei. Original prefixes, while exceptionally well preserved in some other Kukish languages, have been dropped in Luśei.<sup>21</sup>

The above observations are for strict phonetic equations. Those not familiar with Old Bodish, may look askance at comparisons of a word in one language beginning with a surd unaspirated initial, as *k*, compared with a word in another language beginning with the corresponding aspirate, as *kʰ*, and in a third language with the corresponding sonant, as *g*, when these are not strictly phonetic equations; or similarly to compare words beginning with *dz-*, *ts-*, *z-*, *s-*, when these also are not strictly phonetic equations.

But such changes occur in Old Bodish in the initials of the same root, as *āgeñs-pa* "fill" (pres.), *bkañ* (pf.), *dgañ* (fut.), *kʰon* (imper.), etc.; *ādzud-pa* (pres.), "put," *btsud*, *zud* (pf.), *tsʰud* (imper.). These changes in Old Bodish are confined almost entirely to verbs or derivatives from verb stems. But that this was not always the case in TB, is abundantly illustrated by comparative material. And that this same phenomenon existed in Chinese is also shown in both Karlgren's *Etudes* and dictionary, particularly in the phonetic exceptions in the footnotes to the former. It is even more clearly illustrated in the writer's manuscript material on Chinese. The reasons for these limited alternations in the consonantal initials are sometimes clearly morphological, but in other instances are unknown. An intensive study of the morphological role of such phonetic changes has not yet been made. Karlgren's criticism of this aspect of Simon's phonetic equations was no doubt due to Karlgren's unfamiliarity with Old Bodish. Most of the fluctuations of initials of words with the same phonetic in Karlgren's dictionary, nevertheless follow the same principle.

### *Final Consonants*

Final stop consonants, whether followed by *-s* or not, are always recorded as sonant in Old Bodish, but usually correspond to similar

<sup>20</sup> The restoration of original spirants is a difficult problem, partly due to the fact that Burmese and Taic have only one set of affricates and one sibilant (not considering Aryan loan-words).

<sup>21</sup> Luśei was not chosen because of prefixes which it has entirely dropped, but because of its vocalism which is the point under discussion.



surd consonants in the other ST languages, as well as in nearly all the modern dialects of Tibet. Actually in all these ST languages, final stop consonants are probably sonant but sound surd; see Karlgren, *Etudes*, p. 261, last paragraph. Consequently it is probably a matter of historical tradition whether one writes *-g* or *-k*, etc. for a final. The dictionaries have been followed in this respect, however, although the difference is probably meaningless.

For a strict phonetic equation for final consonants, O. B. *-g* should equal Bu., L., Ch., S., Lao *-k*, (except O. B. *-ig* = Bu. *-atś*), while *\*-ñ* should correspond to *-ñ* in any of the languages under discussion here (except O. B. *-in* = Bu. *-ań*), and similarly with the other stop and nasal final consonants. But this is not always the case. We frequently find a stop consonant in one language changing to the corresponding nasal, as *-p* > *-m*, in another, or vice versa. This occurs in the root for "sleep," for example, *ip* (or *ib'*) and *im*, in closely related languages such as those belonging to the West Himalayish group.

Although the reasons for this are not as clear as we could wish, we know that such changes occur not only from language to language and from group to group, but in the same language. In Kanauri (West Himalayish), a final stop consonant of the root changes to the corresponding nasal when followed by a suffix with a nasal initial, and the reverse process occurs in Tsangla, an aberrant dialect of Bodish, where final nasals change to the corresponding stops before a suffix beginning with an initial stop consonant. As long as we know so little about the morphology of the larger ST sub-divisions and of proto-Sino-Tibetan, we cannot discount the possibility of such changes in the final root consonant due to the influence of now or formerly existing suffixes.

But a more plausible explanation seems to be offered by Bahing, an East Himalayish language recorded by B. H. Hodgson.<sup>22</sup> Hodgson recorded unknown or practically unknown languages at a period when any information was welcome. His knowledge of phonetics was not even elementary. His knowledge of grammar was confined to the classical languages, into the mould of which he tried to force the non-Aryan languages he sometimes recorded in considerable detail. While one cannot accept either Hodgson's phonetic record or his grammatical analysis with confidence, nothing

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<sup>22</sup> JASB 26 (1857). 486 ff.



of importance has been done since his time in the greater part of the field he covered. However, his work is sufficiently accurate to give us an insight into phonetic changes of a possible morphological nature which occur in Bahing, which may be of considerable importance in explaining the phonetic changes mentioned above from nasal to stop and vice versa. These changes occur in the Bahing verb:

	tr.	pass.	reflex.	tr. caus.
uncover	<i>hok-o</i>	<i>hoñ-yi</i>	<i>hoñ-so</i>	<i>hoñ-pāto</i>
to crook	<i>kūk-o</i>	<i>kūñ-yi</i>	<i>kūñ-so</i>	<i>kūñ-pāto</i>
put in	<i>pik-o</i>	<i>piñ-yi</i>	<i>piñ-so</i>	<i>piñ-pāto</i>
prevent	<i>tyak-ko</i>	<i>tyañ-yi</i>	<i>tyañ-so</i>	<i>tyañ-pāto</i>
scratch	<i>bap-to</i>	<i>bap-ti</i>	<i>bam-so</i>	<i>bam-pāto</i>
push	<i>nyap-to</i>	<i>nyap-ti</i>	<i>nyam-so</i>	<i>nyam-pāto</i>
strike	<i>teup-po</i>	<i>teum-yi</i>	<i>teum-so</i>	<i>teum-pāto</i> <sup>23</sup>

It will be observed that the final stop consonant of the root always changes to the corresponding nasal in the reflexive and transitive causative, while it sometimes changes in the passive and sometimes does not. The forms with the nasalized final are here designated for convenience the oblique forms of the verb. While no conclusions based upon Hodgson's data alone may ever be certain, it does seem probable that the interchange of a stop and nasal plays a morphological role in Bahing, and Hodgson left enough evidence to indicate that this change also occurred in other E. Him. languages.

Thus we find both forms of the verb "sleep," *ip* and *im*, in Bahing *ip-o* "sleep," *im-pato* "cause to sleep."

### Vowels

The complex phonetic shifts and morphological phonetic changes of ST are still further complicated by vowel gradation and "vowel

<sup>23</sup> The question may arise whether this interchange of final stop and nasal in Bahing, like that in Kanauri and Tsangla, is not due to assimilation, due to the initial of a suffix. Thus a transitive ending occurring much more frequently than the above table would indicate, is *-to*. If one assumes that the root for "scratch" was not *bap-* but *bam-*, that the tr. was originally *bam-to*, which by assimilation became *bap-to*; that the root for "prevent" was not *tyak-* but *tyañ-*, that the transitive was originally *tyañ-to*, which by assimilation became *tyak-to* > *tyak-ko*, one may make out a case for assimilation. The strongest evidence against such a conclusion is that one finds transitives such as *gram-do* "hate" and *mim-to*



levelling.” The gradation is similar in many respects to that of the short *i* and *u* series in Sanskrit.<sup>24</sup> Thus in the *i* series of ST, we find the low grade *i*, guṇa *e*, vṛddhi *ai* and samprasāraṇa *ya*. For the *u* series, we have the low grade *u*, guṇa *o*, vṛddhi *au* (Luśei, Dimasa *ao*), samprasāraṇa *wa*. These two series are probably richer than in Sanskrit. What indications there are of this will be discussed in the comparisons. Whether there is also an *r* and an *a* series in ST corresponding to the similar Sanskrit series has not been determined.

Vowel gradation seems no longer to function in any ST language. We only know of its former existence from the comparative data. The following examples will illustrate this:

Low grade L. *ni* “aunt,” guṇa O. B. *ne*. For exact vocalic equation should be *ni—ni* or *nei—ne*.

Burmese “mother”: low grade *’ă-me* < *\*-mi*, guṇa *’ă-mi* < *\*-me*, vṛddhi *’ă-may*.

Guṇa O. B. *nye-ba* “near,” vṛddhi L. *nai*.

Low grade O. B. *mig* “eye,” samprasāraṇa Bu. *myak*. For exact vocalic equation should be *mig—matś* or *myag—myak*.

Further examples will be found in the tables. Where the comparisons are quite irregular as to vowels due to vowel gradation, they will be noted in a subsequent article.

The term “vowel levelling”<sup>25</sup> has been employed here to designate a phenomenon which occurs in the perfect of O. B. verbs. In many of these verbs where a guṇa vowel, *e* or *o*, occurs in the present tense, it is replaced in the perfect by *a*; as, pres. *ādebs-pa* “strike,” pf. *btab*; *ādogs-pa* “bind,” pf. *btag*; *gsod-pa* “kill,” pf. *bsad*; etc. But comparative data indicate that this vowel levelling was not confined to verbs nor to the guṇa vowels *e* and *o*; *i* and *u* may also be replaced by *a*. The process in the latter instances may

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“understand” where no such assimilation to *grap-to* > *grap-po* > *grap-o* occurs.

<sup>24</sup> See Jacob Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, I, Göttingen, 1896, or A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar*, p. 14 ff. (*Grundriss der Indoarischen Philol. u. Altertumskunde*, v. 1, pt. 4, Strassburg, 1910).

<sup>25</sup> “Levelling” because the tongue is flat or level in the mouth as compared with its raised position in uttering any of the front or back vowels. This term has been chosen as a useful one for the moment, but is perhaps not the most appropriate one that could have been selected, as it is not at all certain that the process was in the direction suggested.



have been  $i > e$  by guṇa gradation  $> a$  by vowel levelling, and similarly for  $u$ .

For the sake of brevity, words in one of the languages which have undergone vowel gradation differentiating them from the same root in most of the other languages compared have been placed in parentheses ( ); those which have undergone vowel levelling are placed in brackets [ ].

Since all medial vowels are supposed to be short in both O. B. and Bu. and generally so in Luṣei, only the long medial vowels have been marked in the latter. Since all final vowels are supposed to be long in O. B. and generally so in Bu. and L., only the short final vowels in the last two languages have been given distinguishing marks of length.

For Siamese and Lao, the spelling has been followed literally, including that for the inherent vowel (ə) and for the "vowel support," which was really a glottal opening when initial ('). I know of no reason for assuming that it was not a glottal closure when medial and consequently it has been so marked (').<sup>26</sup>

Although the Kukish languages do distinguish between short and long final vowels, unfortunately this distinction has not generally been made in the best recorded Kukish language, Luṣei.

Since only Old Bodish of the languages under discussion failed entirely to distinguish between long and short vowels,<sup>27</sup> it seems probable that proto-Sino-Tibetan did distinguish them. Whether a

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<sup>26</sup> There is more question as to the correct transcription of the Siamese and Lao writing than there is to the Burmese writing and syllabaries based upon it. This is in part due to considerably greater number of phonetic symbols employed, in part due to the lack of sufficiently precise information regarding the modern pronunciation, and in part due to the fact that in most syllabaries every consonant and semivowel theoretically carries with them the inherent vowel. When they are not followed by this vowel, this is indicated in Old Bodish and Burmese, but not in Siamese and Lao. Moreover O. B. and Bu. have subscript signs to indicate the semi-vowels when medial, following an initial consonant, while Siamese and Lao employ the initial semi-vowel signs for the medial semi-vowel. The question arises how many inherent vowels are involved. The modern pronunciation is the only guide and sometimes this is of little or no help. The modern pronunciation alone would lead one quite astray.

<sup>27</sup> It seems probable that the inherent vowel was originally pronounced like the  $a$  in America, while the long and short vowels were pronounced approximately like the corresponding long and short vowels in Italian and German, i. e., the short vowels were more open than the long.



long vowel in one language corresponds to a long vowel in another, and a short vowel to a corresponding short vowel, is another matter, and one which will be considered here to the best of the comparative material collected.

Because of the limitations of space, it is impossible to give a complete definition of each word cited, as in some instances this would occupy half a page. But for the benefit of those not familiar with all the languages discussed, the page numbers in Jäschke's and Judson's dictionaries and the phonetic group number in Karlgren's dictionary<sup>28</sup> are here cited so that the reader may check on the semantic agreement. It should be pointed out that the first of several meanings for a character given by Karlgren is not necessarily the original or essential meaning, particularly when the character is used as a phonetic. Thus he frequently places first the meaning which best explains the character, not its essential meaning. Some Chinese entries are taken from the writer's manuscript material on Chinese. All such entries are marked with an asterisk.

The following marks indicate tones: ' rising, ` falling, ^ rising-falling, while a dot below a vowel indicates a low tone. They are all placed over or below vowels, as *má*, *mà*, *mâ*, *mạ*, *mậ*. The abbreviation (Ls) after an entry in the Siamese column indicates that the Lao form and tone is the same as in Siamese.

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<sup>28</sup> The following sources are the principal ones used: O. B., H. A. Jäschke, *A Tibetan-English Dictionary*, London, 1881; Bu., *The Judson Burmese-English Dictionary*, revised and enlarged by Robert C. Stevenson, revised and edited by F. H. Eveleth, Rangoon, 1921; L., J. Herbert Lorrain and Fred W. Savidge, *A Grammar and Dictionary of the Lushai Language* (Dulien dialect), Shillong, 1898; S., *Dictionnaire siamois francais anglais*, by D. J. B. Pallegoix, revised by J. L. Vey, Bangkok, 1896; Lao, Theodore Guignard, *Dictionnaire laotien-francais*, Hongkong, 1912. It is not possible to give here all the other sources referred to but occasionally the name of the author has been indicated at least in abbreviated form.



Table 1. Final -ə

meaning	O. B.	Bu.	L.	Ch.	S.
1 dumb	.....	'ă (1)		啞 癡 'a < -g? (209)	.....
2 raven	.....	kyî-'ă (216)	....	鴉 a (208)	a (Dioi)
3 rejoice, be glad	dga-ba (82)	.....	....	嘉 ka (342)	.....
4 not	ma (408)	mă (735)	....	.....	.....
5 yawn	ha (595)	hă (1052)	....	.....	.....
6 horse	.....	.....	....	馬 ma (592)	mă (Ls)
7 moon	zla-ba (490)	lă (878)	t'la	.....	.....
8 father	p'a (338)	b'ă (718)	pa	爸 pa' (683)	pā (Nung)
	'a-p'a (604)	'ă-p'ă (75)	....	.....	.....
9 mother	ma (408)	.....	....	媽 *ma (592)	.....
10 meadow	na (298)	.....	....	.....	nā (Ls)
11 earth	sa (568)	.....	....	沙 sa < s- (846)	.....
12 crow	k'wa-ta (37)	.....	....	.....	kā
13 tea	dža (171)	.....	....	茶 d'a < d'- (1322)	džā (Ls)
14 I	.....	.....	ka	.....	k'ā (Ls)
15 price, value	.....	.....	.....	賈 ka' (348)	gā
16 dregs	.....	.....	.....	渣 tsa < ts- (1155)	sā (Ls)
17 a cangue	.....	.....	.....	枷 ka (342)	γā
18 tooth	.....	.....	.....	牙 nga (208)	nā (Ls)
19 cane	spa } (329) sba }	.....	....	筴 pa (683)	.....
20 palm	lag-pa (541) }	{p'ă-wà (686) -p'a'	.....	.....	fā
sole	rkañ-pa (15) }	{b'ă-wà (723) ....	.....	.....	.....
21 father	'a-ta (Desgodins)	.....	....	爹 t'ia < t- (1006)	tā
22 night	.....	nyă (432)	....	夜 ia' < z-g (187)	.....
23 handkerchief	.....	pă-wa (627)	....	帕 p'a' < -g (685)	.....

## Notes to Table 1

2. kyî "crow or raven."

3. Ch. "happy; joyful event."

5. Probably both the long and short forms of this word have always existed in ST, but there has arisen some slight confusion in the meaning. Jäschke 595 has *ha* "a yawn; breath; the sound of laughter." If there was any difference in length of final vowels in O. B., it is seldom reflected in the written language. One of these instances is *ha-ha*, *hā-hā* "the natural sound of laughter," indicating both the long and short vowel were employed. Karlgren 414 has 呵 *xa* "to puff; laugh" (according to Kanghi also means "breath escaping"), but notes that Mand. reads *xa* for the meaning "laugh." Canton has *ho* for this character in the meanings "sound of laughter, breath escaping," and in comp. "to yawn," and *ho'* "to expell the breath," *ho ho* "the sound of laughter" (cf. second O. B. redupl. form); but 噶 *hā* "to laugh." Bu. "to gape."



10. S., Lao "field, rice field."
11. Ch. "sand."
12. Dimasa *-k'ă*; Lao *kă*. O. B. medial *w* disappears everywhere except in W. Bodish.
14. The vowel is short in Kukish.
15. Lao *gā*.
17. Lao *gā*.
18. S., Lao, "ivory." In Luṣei, *n'o* "tooth, tusk" occurs with a final *-o* for some unknown reason, but in the closely related dialect of Kapwi *na* "tooth" was recorded by two authors.
19. In Sikkim the meaning is "bamboo." Ch. "a kind of bamboo."
20. O. B. "hand," "foot." The O. B. *-pa* was probably originally aspirated but the aspiration has been lost through analogy with the "masculine" suffix, which is now *-pa*. Lao *fă*. Bu. also *lak-wà* "palm" (892). Dimasa *-p'ă*.
21. Also *ta-ta* by Desgodins. Rgyarong *a-ta-ta*. S. *tā* "mother's father; old man," *bə'ə tā* "father-in-law," Lao *bə tǎ* (*o* wr.  $\dot{+}$ ) "father-in-law."
22. Does not occur in L., but Luhupa languages show *-ya* following a nasal, but which nasal was original has not been determined.

In the above table, one L. root, *-p'a'* is closed with a glottal stop. In most Luṣei words for which comparisons have been found, a final glottal stop indicates the loss of *\*-s*. But this is probably not always the case.

With this exception, the equation for the above table is O. B. *-a* = Bu. *-ă* = L. *-a* = Ch. *-a* = S., Lao *-ā*.

It will be seen in the following table that Bu. *-ā* is also represented in S., Lao by *-ā*. But final *-ə'* occurs fairly frequently in Siamese and Lao, and the question arises as to what, then, it may be equivalent in the other ST. languages. Unfortunately the words in which it occurs are not of the type for which one would expect to find many comparisons, and only the following have been found:

- O. B. *-na* "in" (298), S., Lao *nə'*.  
 O. B. *g-ya-ya* "yes" (517), S. *yə'* (Lao *yā* is from Annamite, according to Guignard).  
 L. *t'a* "good; well-to-do" (Kukish *\*p'rə*), Midju *-pra* "rich." S. *p'rə'* "excellent, great; god," Lao *bə'*.

Apparently S., Lao *-ə'* corresponds to L. *-a* (Kukish *-ə*), O. B. *-a*, but the comparative material so far collected is far too little to establish such an equation.



Table 2. Final -ā

meaning	O. B.	Bu.	L.	Ch.	S.
1 flesh, meat	śa (554)	sà (1019)	śa	.....	.....
2 mouth	a (Mantcati)	ʼa (126)	..	.....	.....
3 ear	rna-ba (312)	nà (569)	..	.....	.....
4 ill	na-ba (299)	na (567)	na	.....	.....
5 remain	gnas-pa (310)	nà (572)	..	.....	.....
6 nose	sna (316)	hna (594)	..	.....	hnā (Ls)
7 mouth	k'a (33-34)	.....	ka	.....	.....
8 eat	bzas (pf.) (485)	tśà (366)	..	.....	.....
9 right (hand)	g-yas-pa (517)	-ya (889)	..	.....	.....
10 to place	t'a (Tsangla)	t'à (519)	..	.....	.....
11 son	ts'a-bo (443)	sà (1019)	fa	.....	.....
12 axe, hatchet	sta-, -sta (22)	t'à (518)	ta- (Mikir)	.....	.....
13 sound	sgra (119)	krà (233)	..	.....	.....
14 hundred	brgya (123)	-ra (97)	za	.....	.....
15 radish	la (539)	.....	..	蘿 lâ (569)	.....
16 salt	ts'wa (442)	tś'à (406)	..	鹽 *ts'â "brine, salt"	.....
17 times	mya (Kanauri)	myà (781)	za	.....	.....
18 bird	bya (372)	pyà (661)	..	.....	.....
19 illness	ts'a (442)	.....	..	瘡 *ts'â	.....
20 arrow *mlda	mlda (272)	hmrà (810)	..	.....	.....
21 word, speech	bka (12)	tśā-kà (343)	ā ka	歌 kâ (413)	.....
22 wave	dba (386)	.....	..	波 puâ (753)	.....
23 interrog. part.	ma (408)	.....	..	麼 muâ (593)	.....
24 borrow	brnyas (pf.) (201)	hnà (340)	..	.....	.....
25 fish *ñya	nya (184)	nà (325)	n'a	魚 ngiwo (1332)	.....
26 I, we	ña (124)	ña (325)	..	吾 nguo (1280)	.....
				我 ngâ (679)	.....
26 five	lna (135)	nà (325)	ña	五 nguo (1280)	hā (Ls)
27 bitter	k'a (33)	k'à (271)	k'a	若 k'uo (421)	.....
28 fox, jackal	wa (470)	.....	..	狐 yuo (432)	.....
	gña (Tsamba	.....	..	.....	.....
	Lahuli)	.....	..	.....	.....
	gwa-nu (Bunan)	.....	..	.....	.....
29 partridge		k'a (269)	..	鵠 *kuo	.....

## Notes to Table 2

2. Bu. "the inside of the mouth."

6. S., Lao "face."

8. O. B. pres. za-ba.

11. O. B. "grandchild, nephew."

12. Bu. "knife."

13. Bu. "hear." The O. B. form is causative to the Bu.



14. Hor *rhya*, O. Bu. *rya* (Charles Duroiselle, "Extract from the Burmese face of the Myazedi inscription," JBRs, v. 6, p. 205).

15. Ch. "a kind of turnip."

17. The Kanauri denotes the number of times, Bu. and L. "many."

18. Bu. "bee." A peculiar semantic differentiation, explainable only if one assumes the original meaning was "that which flies, the flying thing," but probable exact phonetic correspondence as indicated by Loloish sonant initial.

20. Hor *lda*, Ukhul (Kukish) *māla*.

21. L. also *ā* alone. Ch. "to sing, song."

24. O. B. pres. *brnya-ba*.

26. Probably none will doubt that the Daic forms of this word represent the same original root, although the reason for the shift from *\*ñ > h* are not known. The same shift occurs in the word for "goose." This change has also probably occurred in Barish where the *h* is preserved in Moran *bāha*, (probably actually *bāhā*, as *bā-* is a prefix found with this numeral in Southern Tibeto-Burmic). In most of the other Barish languages, this word has contracted to *bā*.

29. But Lao has *k'o* (o wr.  $\dot{+}$ ).

Karlgren's *Études* show that there are no *pâ*, *b'â*, *mâ*, but only *puâ*, *b'uâ*, *muâ*; i. e. following a labial initial, a labial vowel occurs before final *-â*. In fact, all through his *Études*, it will be found that *pâ-*, *p'â-*, *b'â-*, *mâ-* occur very few times, but that after a labial initial an epenthetic labial vowel occurs before a following *â*. This medial *-u-* is perhaps sometimes original but probably more often secondary to the labializing influence of the initial. This is the case in No. 22 and 23 above.

From the above table, there can be no doubt that O. B. *-a* = Bu. *-a* = L. *-a*. But for Chinese and Daic, no certain conclusions may be drawn from present comparisons. For Siamese and Lao the indications are that the vowel in these languages is *-ā*, but not enough comparisons have been found to establish this. One might conclude that *-â* is correct for Chinese and that the comparisons with *-uo*, *-wo* are incorrect, or that the latter are correct and the former incorrect. If we accept the first conclusion we are eliminating comparisons of words which are almost universal in Tibeto-Burmic, nos. 25-27. If we accept the second conclusion, we are confronted with the question of what Ch. *-â* is equivalent to in the other ST languages, as it will be found that the other Chinese vowel and diphthong finals are generally accounted for. Due to the practical inaccessibility of the writer's collection of Chinese materials, it is regrettable that a more satisfactory solution cannot



be offered at present. But under the circumstances, the most plausible explanation seems to be that  $*-a$  became  $-uo$ ,  $-^wo$  after guttural initials (nos. 25-29), and  $-â$  after other initials. In this connection it may be pointed out that  $\dot{n}$ - has a labializing influence on a final  $-â$  in a number of TB languages, particularly in Loloish.

Karlgren, "Problems in Archaic Chinese," JRAS, 1928, has pointed out 衙 *nga* "office" has the phonetic 吾 *nguo* "I," and that 𩺰 *ka* rimes in the Shi-king with 魚 *ngi<sup>w</sup>o* "fish." On p. 781, *op. cit.*, Karlgren compared Ch. *nguo* "I" and O. B. *ña*, *ngi<sup>w</sup>o* "fish," O. B. *nya*, *nguo* "five," O. B. *lna*, but later rejected, without sufficient reason it seems to the writer, the idea that the Ch. vowel in ancient times was  $-a$  in these words. In this connection, it should be pointed out that we find not only 吾 *nguo* but also 我 *ngâ* "I," while in TB we have only *ña*. And for an exact phonetic equation, either  $*-a$  became  $-uo$  in Chinese after a guttural or it did not. It cannot become both  $-a$  and  $-uo$  under the same phonetic conditions. It may be added that 狐 *γuo* "fox" has the phonetic *k<sup>w</sup>a*. This question will be considered further at the conclusion of the next table.



Table 3. Final -o

meaning	O. B.	Bu.	L.	Ch.	S.
1 commission, charge a person with work	<i>bskos</i> (pf.) (23)	.....	.....	雇 <i>kuo'</i> (428)	.....
2 belly, stomach	<i>lto-ba</i> (219)	.....	.....	肚 { <i>'tuo</i> } (1129) ..... { <i>'d'uo</i> }	
3 spittle	<i>t'o-le</i> (236)	.....	.....	吐 <i>t'uo'</i> (1129)	.....
4 woman	<i>mo</i> (419)	.....	mo	姥 <i>'muo</i> < -u (515)	.....
5 vinegar	<i>mts'o</i> (Rgyarong)	.....	.....	醋 <i>ts'uo'</i> < -g (777)	.....
6 worth, importance	<i>āk'os</i>	.....	.....	估 <i>'kuo</i> (421)	.....
7 eye-sight, look, mien	<i>mig-ltos</i> (413-414)	.....	.....	睹 { <i>'tuo</i> } (1187) <i>tā</i> { <i>'tuo</i> }	
8 leg	.....	.....	<i>k'ā</i>	腧 <i>'kuo</i> (421)	<i>k'ā</i> (Ls)
9 to sell, buy	.....	.....	<i>k'ā'</i>	沽 <i>'kuo</i> (421)	<i>gā</i> (Ls)
10 to bet	.....	.....	.....	賭 <i>'tuo</i> (1187)	<i>dā</i> (Lao)
11 crossbow	.....	.....	.....	弩 <i>'nuo</i> (674)	<i>nā māi</i>
12 to boil	<i>btsos</i> (pf.) (460)	<i>ts'u</i> (412)	<i>šo</i>	煮 <i>'ts'uo</i> < t- (1187)	.....
13 number, host, troop; pl. termination	<i>ts'o</i> (451)	.....	.....	諸 <i>'ts'uo</i> < t- (1187)	.....
14 commander, captain, headman, principal; beginning, origin, source	<i>āgo</i> (95)	.....	.....	巨 <i>'g'uo</i> (482)	<i>gō</i> (Ls)
15 to dig a hole	.....	.....	<i>tšo</i>	鋤 <i>'d'uo</i> (1250)	.....
16 3d pers. pron.	<i>k'o</i> (42)	.....	.....	渠 <i>'g'uo</i> (483)	<i>k'ō</i>
17 talk, report, saying	<i>lo</i> (551)	.....	.....	.....	<i>lō</i>
18 an equal, a match	<i>do</i> (256-257)	<i>tu</i> (487)	.....	.....	<i>dō</i>
19 thorn	<i>ts'o-ma</i> (Choni) <i>tso'</i> (Kanauri)	<i>ts'ū</i> (412)	.....	楚 <i>'ts'uo</i> (904)	.....
20 to prepare	<i>g-yos</i> (pf.) (519)	.....	.....	預 <i>'uo</i> < d- (1319)	.....

Cf. also 舒 *siwo* "to open out, unroll; at ease, comfortable," also means "happy" (1319); Shan *suiw*<sup>2</sup> "to spread open (as a mat), *suiw*<sup>4</sup> "to rejoice, be glad"; 鑢 *\*liwo* "to file," Shan *liuw*<sup>3</sup>

The equation for Table 3 is:

$$\text{O. B. } -o = \text{Bu. } -u = \text{L. } -o = \begin{cases} \text{Ch. } -uo = \text{S. } -ā \\ \text{Ch. } -iwo = \text{S. } -o \end{cases}$$



## Notes to Table 3

1. O. B. pres. *sko-ba*. Ch. "hire."
3. Ch. "vomit, spit out."
4. L. "bride," but Thado by *vṛddhi* gradation *mao* "woman." Ch. "matron."
6. Cf. also O. B. *āk'o-ba* "to want." Ch. "put a price on; estimate, guess"; but also means "value; price."
7. Dhimal *do-* (root) "see." Cf. also Dbus (Sandberg) *mī'-do* "eyeball," Dandjongka (Sandberg) *mi-do* "eye," Hloke (Hodgson) *mī-dō*. Desgodins 745 gives O. B. *mig-rdog* "eyeball," but it is doubtful if these words are from such a root as Dandjongka usually preserves *\*-g* when final in a word or compound, while Hloke nearly always preserves *\*-g* (as *-k*). This root is not found in Burmese but probably in Loloish "eye": Lolopho (Liétard) *mā-du*<sup>4</sup>, Shepete (d'Orleans) *ne-du*, Laichow White (Lefèvre-Pontalis), Chaotung (Hicks) *nie-tu*, Chaotung (Nicholls) *mari-tu*, Nuoku (Lepage), Anshunfu (Clarke), Weining (Hicks), Laka (Nicholls) *na-tu*, Ulu (Lepage) *na-du*). The phonetic equations have only been worked out for Weining, Ulu, Laichow White, and Lolopho. In these languages *-u* usually corresponds to Bu. *-u*, which usually corresponds to O. B. *-o*. The first Chinese character cited means according to Karlgren "to look at, observe." It also means "to see." 阿堵 "in the passage in the Tsin shu, according to a gloss in the P'ei wên yün fu assumes the significance 'eyes'" (Pelliot, *Les nouvelles revues d'art et d'archéologie en Chine*, v. 9, p. 573). Cf. this with the Siamese word, which means "eye," Lao *tā*.
8. This root does not occur in Luści and consequently the vocalism is not quite certain. The form cited is based upon the occurrences of this root in Southern and Naga Kukish. S. "thigh, leg," Lao "thigh." Ch. "thigh."
9. S., Lao "carry on trade." L. *k'ā'-ral* "to spend (money), to sell."
11. Lao *hnā* (Guignard 508).
12. O. B. pres. *āts'od-pa*. The Bu. verb is intr.
13. Ch. "all; pl. particle."
14. Ch. "large, great, chief." S. beginning, cause," Lao "beginning, origin." Ch. Shan *k'uiw*<sup>5</sup> "be great, large in bulk, size; be proud, self-important"; yet cf. the latter with 倨 *kiwo* "haughty, rude" (486).
15. Dimasa *džao*, by *vṛddhi* gradation? Ch. "to hoe," but also means "excavate."
17. S. "relate, recite," Lao *hlo* "narrate, recite."
18. Bu. "be like, similar." S. "equal, similar."
19. Choni is an E. Bhotish dialect.
20. Pres. *g-yo-ba*. The O. B. meaning is restricted to the preparation of food.



The two preceding tables should be considered in connection with Karlgren's *Problems in Archaic Chinese*, where he points out that a number of characters with phonetics which he considered to have ended in *-uo*, *-i<sup>w</sup>o* rimed in the Shi-king with characters with phonetics in *-a*; or that words ending in *-a* have a phonetic ending in *-uo*. Karlgren suggested that some of these *-uo* endings were pronounced *-a* at the time of the Shi-king.

In Table 2, it was found that TB *-ā* sometimes seems to correspond to Ch. *-â*, sometimes to *-uo*, *i<sup>w</sup>o*. It was suggested that TB. *-ā* became Ch. *-uo* after guttural initials, *-â* after other initials. There is one serious difficulty to this solution, however. It is that we find both *nguo* and *nga* "I" in Chinese, corresponding to TB. *\*ña*.

And in Table 3, Chinese *-uo* corresponds to Siamese *-ā*, and Ch. *-i<sup>w</sup>o* to S. *-o*, both to TB. *\*-o*. If we accept these equations, we would have to conclude that Ch. *-uo* corresponds sometimes to TB. *-a*, S. *-ā*, sometimes to TB. *\*-o*, S. *-ā*.

This may be the correct solution, at least for the words adduced. But the writer suspects that it is not merely a matter of simple phonetic equations, but one of morphological phonetic changes. Thus the *-ltos* in no. 7, Table 3, is from O. B. *ltos-pa* "to look at" (219) = *lta-ba* (216). The latter form may be the one which is equivalent to S. *tā*. This brings up the question of whether at the time of the Shi-king or earlier, a Chinese character was always pronounced in the same manner. If Old Bodish were ideographic instead of phonetic, we should probably find one symbol for both *ltos* and *lta* "look," another for *āgeñs* (pres.), *bkañ* (pf.), *dgañ* (fut.) and *k'oñ* (imperat.) "fill," possibly even for *āk'eñs* (pres.), *k'eñs* (pf.) "be full." With the progress of writing, this ideograph might be employed as a phonetic in a character pronounced *bkañ*, in another pronounced *k'oñ*, in a third pronounced *āgeñs*, etc. This hypothesis for O. Ch., would explain many of the divergencies in the employment of the same phonetic in characters with phonetically similar, but not precisely the same pronunciation. It could explain the correspondence of Ch. *-uo* to Ch. *-â* noted by Karlgren. I must leave this question to Sinologues to decide, and in the meantime cannot accept the above equations with entire confidence.

In the following table we are back once more on surer ground:



Table 4. Final \*-i

meaning	O. B.	Bu.	L.	Ch.	S.
1 four *b <sup>z</sup> li	b <sup>z</sup> i (483)	lè (922)	li	四 si' (809)	sī (Ls)
2 parrot	tsa ki (Rgyarong)	kyè (218)	-ki	.....	.....
3 die	śi (pf.) (169)	se (1034)	t'i	死 'si (959)	.....
4 sun	nyi-ma (187)	ne (578)	ni	.....	.....
5 give	byin (pf.) (405)	pè (646)	.....	界 pji' (716)	.....
6 paint	rtsi (438)	tś'è (413)	.....	.....	.....
7 evil demon	sri (581)	.....	hri	.....	.....
8 two	gnyis (192)	.....	hni'	二 n <sup>z</sup> i' < n- (8)	yī
9 man	mi (412)	.....	mi	.....	.....
10 tame female yak	ābri-mo (401)	.....	.....	牝 'b'ji (713)	.....
11 urinate	gtsis (pf.)	sè (n.) (1037)	.....	厠 tś'i' < -g (1044)	.....
12 knife	gri (76)	krè (237)	.....	.....	.....
13 lion	.....	k'rañ-se' (301)	.....	獅 sī (893)	.....
14 flea	ld <sup>z</sup> i-ba (183)	-hlè (310)	-hli	.....	.....
	ād <sup>z</sup> i-ba (175)				
15 heavy	ld <sup>z</sup> i-ba (183)	lè (923)	.....	.....	.....
	lt <sup>z</sup> i-ba (149)				
16 grandmother	p'yi-mo (350)	.....	pi	妣 'pji (714)	.....
17 sticky matter	ts'i-ba (447)	tśè (383)	.....	.....	.....
18 anus	skyi-sa (26)	k'yè (295)	.....	.....	k'ī (Ls)
19 markings	ri-mo (526)	rè (854)	.....	.....	.....
20 guitar	{pi-wañ pi-bañ	.....	.....	琶 ,b'ji (714)	.....
21 borrow	b <sup>z</sup> skyis (pf.) (26)	k'yè (295)	.....	.....	.....
22 dung	lt <sup>z</sup> i-ba (149)	.....	.....	屎 'si (878)	.....
23 bile	mk'ris-pa (55)	-k're (991)	.....	.....	.....
24 fear	k'ri-le-ba (50)	.....	{ti ti'	忌 g'ji' (319)	.....
25 seat, chair; couch; frame	k'ri (50)	.....	.....	几 'kji (318)	.....
26 break wind	piso (intr.) } pito (tr.) }	Bahing	.....	屁 p'ji' (714)	.....
27 self; thou, you	nyid (187)		ni (Hor)	{而 n <sup>z</sup> i (10) 你 'ni (14)	.....
28 finger, toe; point at, indicate	.....	.....	.....	指 'tśi < t- (1215)	d <sup>z</sup> ī (Ls)
29 good, nice, ex- cellent; also "beautiful"	.....	.....	.....	旨 'tśi < t- (1215)	sī
30 earth, region, place	.....	.....	.....	地 d'i' (223)	dī
31 come, go	mtś'i-ba (164)	tśe' (383)	.....	至 tśi' < t—d (1214)	.....
32 dwell	ni (W. Him)	ne (580)	ni	尼 nji (659)	.....
33 wash	tsi (Kanauri)	tś'è (415)	.....	.....	.....
34 market	.....	d <sup>z</sup> è (431)	.....	市 'zi < d'- (884)	zū'



Notes to Table 4

3. O.B. pres. *āts'i-ba*. Cf. also Ch. 尸, *śi* "corpse, body" (878).
  5. O.B. pres. *sbyin-pa*, which also means "gift, present." None but the Bodish group has a final *-n* in this root. It apparently has originated from the nominal form with the nominal *-n* suffix, and later the original verbal form without *-n* was lost.
  8. The Bu. form originally ended in *-k* and corresponds to forms found in the Himalayas. Lao *nî*.
  10. Ch. "cow; female of animals."
  11. O.B. pres. *gtśid-pa*. Ch. "latrine, privy."
  12. Bu. "copper." The semantic differentiation in this word, would indicate that the two groups separated at a period when copper and knife were practically synonymous.
  14. S. *rai* "louse" is possibly related by *vṛddhi* gradation and change of \**l* to *r*, which seems occasionally to occur. But beside the phonetic differentiation, there is also the semantic one, which makes the comparison quite doubtful.
  16. Cf. Bu. *b'è* "great-grandfather," *b'è-mă* "great-grandmother" (730). Ch. means "deceased mother."
  17. Bu. "sticky."
  18. Bu., Lao and S. "dung."
  19. Bu. "write."
  20. See Berthold Laufer, "Loan Words in Tibetan," TP, ser. 2, v. 17, 1916, p. 512.
  21. O.B. pres. *skyi-ba*.
  24. The form given in the Old Bodish column is one which Jäschke evidently heard in the Central Bodish dialect and reconstructed as best he might. He was evidently not sure of the form, as he follows the entry with a question mark. There were perhaps two forms of this root *k'ri* and *k'ris*, the second L. form coming from the latter, as well as the Ka. *k'rit*. Thado *kî* would also indicate this, although Thado is unreliable.
  25. Ch. "small table, a stand; stool," also means "bench."
  27. *-d* is a common O. B. pronominal suffix. Ka. *ni* "you" (pl.).
  28. Barish *-śi*, *-sî* "finger." S. "show, indicate," Lao "point out with the finger."
  29. S. "pretty, beautiful, glorious," Lao *tśî* "pure, clean, handsome, beautiful," *tśî* "beautiful."
  30. S. "place, spot," Lao *dî* "place."
  31. Ch. "go to, arrive at," also "come." The Bu. comparison is doubtful, as it means "come, arrive (as an appointed time)" and the real meaning of the Bu. root seems to be "join."
  32. W. "remain; dwell; be." Bu. "remain; dwell." L. "be." Ch. "stop."
  34. Ch. "market; to trade." S. "buy," Lao *dśû* "buy." The vowel change in Daic may be due to the sonant spirant initial.
- Bu. *b'î* "comb, brush" (727) looks like a possible borrowing from Daic: S. *hwî* "to comb, to card; comb," Lao *hwî* (vi), Tai Noir *bî* "comb" (Wulff, p. 90, pointed out that S. *hw-* has become *b-* in TN.)



The equation for Table 4, is ST.  $*-i =$  O. B.  $-i =$  Bu.  $-e =$  L.  $-i =$  Ch.  $-i =$  S., Lao  $-i$ .

The evidence does not point so far to the development of an  $-e$  vowel in ST. It points rather to the conclusion that TB had developed an  $-e$  in a few roots before the TB stocks separated, as these roots have a very wide extension. Yet in the five roots cited below which are found in all three of the TB languages with which we are principally concerned here, two of these roots have undergone vowel gradation in one language.

While I have written of a TB.  $-e$  above, it is doubtful if this represented the original pronunciation. For corresponding to O. B.  $-e$ , we find Bu.  $-i$ , L.  $-ei$ , and in a number of TB languages besides Burmish we find  $-i$ . It was probably either a high narrow  $-e$  approaching  $-i$ , or  $-ei$  as in Luśei. Luśei also has an  $-e$  and  $-ä$  of not very frequent occurrence, whose equivalences in other TB languages are not certain. From the practical as well as theoretical viewpoint, it seems preferable for the present to consider the original phoneme to have been  $-ei$ . But in vowel gradation this will be considered as the guṇa grade in the  $i$  series.

Table 5. Final  $-ei$ 

	meaning	O. B.	Bu.	L.	Ch.	S.
1	fire	<i>me</i> (417)	<i>mì</i> (755)	<i>mei</i>	.....	<i>hmài</i> (Ls)
2	near	<i>nye-ba</i> (189)	<i>nì</i> (575)	( <i>nai</i> )	邇 <i>'níe</i> < <i>n—ā</i> (13)	.....
3	fruit	<i>se-</i> (575)	<i>-sì</i> (120)	<i>t'ei</i>	.....	.....
4	tongue	<i>llsé</i> (150)	( <i>hlya</i> ) (946)	<i>lei</i>	.....	.....
5	to open, divide, separate	<i>p'yes</i> (pf.) (398)	.....	.....	披 <i>p'jiē</i> < <i>-ā</i> (721)	.....
6	tail	<i>me</i> (Thebor)	<i>mri</i> < <i>*rmi</i> (790)	<i>mei</i>	尾 <i>'mjwei</i> (601)	.....
7	to grow old	<i>bgres</i> (pf.) (89)	<i>krì</i> (235)	.....	耆 ( <i>g'ji</i> ) (340)	.....
8	axe	<i>sta-re</i> (220)	.....	<i>hrei</i>	.....	.....
9	know	<i>śes-pa</i> (562)	<i>sī</i> (1021)	.....	思 ( <i>si</i> ) (998)	.....
10	flower	<i>me-tog</i> (417)	.....	.....	.....	<i>tə'ək mái</i> (Ls)

## Notes to Table 5

1. S. "be on fire, burn, be burned," Lao "burn." The Daic looks like a causative form, with  $*s-$  prefix, to the TB noun.

3. This very common TB root is only found in O. B. in *se-ābru* "pomegranate," *se-yab*, *bse-yab* "fig."

5. O. B. pres. *ābyed-pa*. Cf. S., Lao *p'ē* "spread out, be scattered."

6. The Ch. superscript  $w$  is due to the labializing influence of the initial.

7. Bu. "big." Ch. "sixty years of age, old." O. B. pres. *bgre-ba*.



9. Ch. "think, reflect; remember."

10. Daic has reversed the elements of the compound. Daic *mâi* seems to mean vegetation. This root is only found in O.B. in the compound for "flower."

There is not at present enough evidence to establish Daic *-ai* as the equivalence of TB *-ei*.

Of all the Chinese finals, *-ie* and *-ei* seem to present the most likelihood of being shown to represent a Ch. *\*-e* vowel, perhaps two types of such vowel. However, the possibility of equating either of these with TB *-ei* seems small, since TB itself has developed this phoneme so meagerly. It seems probable that Chinese has developed its own *guna* grade or grades of the *i* series independently of Tibeto-Burmic.

Some evidence of this are the instances in which Chinese *-ie* represents TB *-i*. Compare, for example 而 *ńzi*, 你 *ni* "you" in No. 27, Table 4, with 爾 *ńziē* < *ń-a* "you" (13); O.B. *mi* "not" (413) with 靡 *mj'wie* < *a* (593), and S. *mĩ*; Bu. *prè* "to flee" (674), 避 *pjiē* < *-g* (723); 騎 *g'jiē* "to ride; astride" (337), S. *k'ĩ* "sit down, sit upon, get upon, mount (a horse)," Lao (same) "mount on, sit on, mount (a horse), ride (a horse)";<sup>29</sup> O. B. *p'yi* "the outside" (349), Ka. *p'yi* "skin, bark," Mru *pi* "skin," 皮 *b'jiē* < *-a* (721); Bu. *sè* "small" (1037), 此 *\*ts'ie*, but S. *ts'è*.

The only comparison so far noted that indicates a final *-a* as believed by Karlgren, is Lao *tśyěă* (*tśia*) "paper," 紙 *tśie* < *t-a* (879).

As for the Ch. final *-ei*, note the following Daic comparisons with final *-i*: 肥 *b'j'wei* "fat" (683), S., Lao *bĩ*; 幾 *k'jei* "how much? how many?" (328), S. *kĩ*, *kĩ*, Lao *kĩ*.

While there is practically the same weight of evidence of Ch. *-ie* and *-ei* being equivalent to ST *-e* (*-ei*) as to ST *-i*, it seems preferable for the moment to consider these Chinese phonemes to represent an *-e* of some sort, and where they are equivalent to *-i* in ST to consider them to be the *guna* gradation of the latter.

<sup>29</sup> Mara (Kukish) *kia* "sit upon, mount, ride" may be from the same stem but probably represents *\*kai*.



Table 6. Final \*-ui

	meaning	O. B.	Bu.	L.	Ch.	S.
1	nine	<i>dgu</i> (84)	<i>küi</i> (204)	..... 九	' <i>kiəu</i> < -ui (399)	<i>kò</i> (Ls)
2	insect	<i>ābu</i> (393)	<i>püi</i> (657)	.....	.....	.....
3	cuckoo	<i>k'u-byug</i> (40)	<i>k'ui</i> (281)	..... 鳩	' <i>kiəu</i> < -ui (399)	<i>k'ó</i> (Ls)
4	bone	<i>rus-pa</i> (533)	<i>rüi</i> (859)	<i>ru'</i> .....	.....	.....
5	carry on back	.....	<i>püi</i> (658)	<i>pu</i> 負	' <i>b'ieu</i> (55)	.....
6	dove	.....	<i>k'rüi</i> (307)	<i>t'u-</i> .....	.....	.....
7	spirits	<i>yu</i> (Thebor, Dhimal)	.....	* <i>zu</i> 酉	' <i>ieu</i> (258)	.....
8	rat	<i>byiu</i> (377) <i>pyu</i> (W.)	.....	- <i>zu</i> 鼯	' <i>ieu</i> < d—g (253)	.....
9	hook	<i>kyu</i> (148)	.....	..... 斗	' <i>kiəu</i> (400)	.....
10	smoke	<i>k'u</i> (NNW Him.)	- <i>k'üi</i> (756)	- <i>k'u</i> .....	.....	.....
11	pupil of eye	<i>miu</i> (413)	.....	<i>mu</i> 眸	' <i>miəu</i> (640)	.....
12	to blow	<i>p'us</i> (pf.) (393)	<i>p'ui</i> (695)	.....	.....	<i>pò</i> (Ls)
13	knee	.....	.....	* <i>k'u</i> .....	.....	<i>k'ó</i>
14	weep	<i>nus</i> (pf.) (127)	<i>nüi</i> (333)	..... 嗽	(,* <i>ngäu</i> )	.....
15	hooded snake, serpent demon	<i>klu</i> (8)	.....	..... 蚪	' <i>g'ieu</i> (400)	.....
16	owl	.....	<i>ku</i>	..... 舊	' <i>g'ieu</i> (403)	<i>gô</i> (Lao)
17	to help	.....	<i>ku</i> (195)	..... 救	' <i>kiəu</i> (407)	.....
18	young, tender, delicate, to be made soft	.....	<i>nü</i> (575) } <i>nü</i> (577) }	<i>no</i> 柔	' <i>ñziəu</i> < ñ- (942)	.....
19	uncle	<i>k'u-bo</i> (40)	* <i>k'u</i>	..... 舅	' <i>g'ieu</i> (403)	.....
20	gather	.....	<i>tšü</i> (377)	..... 迨	' <i>dz'ieu</i> (1087)	.....
21	pot	.....	' <i>üi</i> (146)	..... 聚	' <i>dz'ieu</i> (1122)	.....
22	blind	<i>dmus-loñ</i> (423)	.....	..... 甌	' <i>əu</i> (494)	<i>ü</i> (Lao)
23	spittle	<i>t'u</i> (232)	.....	..... 瞽	' <i>məu</i> < -g (1286)	.....
24	steal	<i>brkus</i> (pf.) (16)	<i>k'üi</i> (283)	..... 音	' <i>t'əu</i> (756)	.....
25	to cough	* <i>sus</i> (pf.) (574)	.....	..... 寇	' <i>k'əu</i> (420)	.....
26	suck	<i>nus</i> (pf.) (305) }	.....	..... 嗽	' <i>səu</i> < -g (910)	.....
	breast	<i>nu-ma</i> (305) }	<i>nui'</i> (585)	<i>hnu-</i> 乳	' <i>ñziəu</i> < ñ- (48)	<i>hnü</i> (Lao)
27	grandfather	.....	<i>b'üi</i> (732)	<i>pu</i> 父	' <i>b'iu</i> (42)	<i>pü</i> (Ls)
28	to bend	<i>dgu-ba</i> (84)	.....	.....	.....	<i>gü</i>
29	fog	<i>rmu-ba</i> (424)	<i>müig'</i> (771)	..... 霧	' <i>miu</i> < g (1287)	.....
30	water	<i>tš'u</i> (157)	<i>tšui</i> (388)	..... 注	' <i>tšiu</i> < t- (1245)	.....
31	body	<i>sku</i> (21)	.....	..... 軀	' <i>k'iu</i> (494)	.....
32	ell	<i>k'yu</i> (47)	.....	<i>kiu</i> 矩	' <i>k'iu</i> (482)	.....
33	body hair	<i>spu</i> (330)	.....	..... 膚	' <i>piu</i> (1309)	<i>p'iu</i> ( <i>p'iu</i> ) (Ls)
34	nest	.....	.....	<i>bu</i> 孚	' <i>p'iu</i> (48)	.....
35	beard	<i>tě-mdža šu</i> (Rgyarong)	.....	..... 須	' <i>siu</i> (839)	.....
36	business, affair	.....	' <i>ā-hmü</i> (90)	..... 務	' <i>miu</i> (1286)	.....
37	axe	.....	<i>pü-tš'in</i> (638)	..... 鉄	' <i>piu</i> (41)	.....
38	to coo	.....	<i>ku</i> (195)	.....	.....	<i>kü, gü</i>



Notes to Table 6

3. Cf. also O.B. *ku-hu* "ring-dove" (3). Bu. "pigeon." Ch. "pigeon, turtle-dove." S., Lao "turtle-dove."
5. L. "carry on the shoulder," Mikir *bu*.
7. Does not occur in L., but *yu* in Meithei, Hrangkhoh, Thado, etc. Ch. "wine must."
8. O.B. *byiu* is by Schmidt, and perhaps should be written *byu*; it means "alpine hare," cf. L. *-zu-pui* (*-pui* augment.) "hare, rabbit, full grown female cat." L. *-zu* is from Kukish *\*p-yu*. Ch. "weasel."
9. O.B. root found only in comp. *tsags-kyu* "iron hook."
11. There is no *-i-* semivowel following *m-* in Lusei. It has apparently been lost by assimilation due to the labializing influence of the initial.
12. O.B. pres. *ābud-pa*. Bu. "bellows." S. "blow, blow upon," Lao "blow." But cf. also S. *vũ*, *vũ* "blow, hiss," Lao *p'ũ* "exhale."
13. Not in Lusei, but based upon Kukish *\*m-k'u* "knee, leg." Lao *k'o*.
14. O.B. pres. *ñu-ba*. Ch. "sobs, wailing."
15. Ch. "horned dragon; writhe."
16. Not in Burmese, but in the dialect of Tavoy (Pe Maung Tin, "The Dialect of Tavoy," JBRs, v. 23, 1933, p. 34). For Burmish the form was probably *\*gũ* as *gũ* is found in Lisu (Enriquez). Ka. *-k'u*.
18. L. "young; tender; soft." Ch. "weak, tender; soft."
19. O.B. "paternal uncle." The Burmish form is based on Maru *k'au* "brother-in-law." Ka. *ku*, *gu* "father-in-law; brother-in-law." Ch. "maternal uncle; man's brother-in-law; father-in-law."
20. Ch. "to collect."
21. Ch. "bowl, cup." Lao "vase, jar."
22. Ch. "dim sight."
23. Ch. "spit out." Cf. Garo *stu*.
24. O.B. pres. *rku-ba*.
25. No perfect form such as that suggested has been found; Jäschke gives only *sud-pa*.
26. O.B. pres. *nu-ba*. Bu. "breast, milk." Ch. "to suckle; milk, breast, nipple." Lao "breast."
27. Ch. "father, elderly relatives of the same surname, old man."
28. Lao *gũ*, *kũ*.
29. Bu. "sky; clouds; rain." The final *-g'* in the written language is a learned addition by analogy with the corresponding Indo-Aryan word.
30. Bu. "wet." Ch. "flow (as water)."
32. L. "elbow." Ch. "carpenter's square, but also means "corner."
33. Ch. "hide, skin." S. Lao "pellicle, epidermis."
34. Ch. "to brood."
35. Rgya *tě-mdžũ* "chin." Wolfenden, p. 171, pointed out that *a* instead of *ũ* in the word for "beard" may be due to the influence of the following back vowel.
36. Ch. "important business, affair."



One may state with certainty that Bu. *-ui* corresponds to O. B. and L. *-u*, allowing for a few exceptions due to vowel gradation. And this is true for the other Tibeto-Burmic languages. Since the Bu. *-ui* is today pronounced as a simple vowel, some authors have considered the *-ui* of the written language to be merely a symbol of a vowel, not of a diphthong. There are two arguments against such a conclusion. One is that while we may conceive of the early Burmese using two vowel symbols to record a simple vowel for which they had not inherited a symbol, it would be a clumsy system that required two vowels and a semi-vowel to record a simple vowel. For where we have *-ui* in the written language today, Old Burmese of the inscriptions employed *-uiw*. Thus corresponding to Bu. *ʔi*, *kʔi*, and *kʔi* (nos. 21, 3, 24, Table 6), O. Bu. wrote *uiw*, *kʔuiw*, *kʔiuiw* (Karl Seidenstücker, "Beiträge zur altbirmanischen Wortkunde," AM, v. 4, pt. 1, p. 4, 5.)

A second argument against the simple vowel theory, is that in a number of series, Karlgren suggested that the Old Chinese ending was *-ui* (see nos. 1 and 3, Table 6). On the basis of O. Bu., it may be suggested that the O. Ch. ending was also *-uiw*. Such an ending would well account for the fact that in all the other TB languages the correspondence is *-u*. For *-i* between a labial vowel and semi-vowel would have slight chance of survival.

As for the correspondence between Chinese and Daic, it seems that Ch. *-iəu* = S., Lao *-o*; Ch. *-iu* = S., Lao *-ū*.

In nos. 16-20, 36-38 we find Bu. *-u*, *-ũ* instead of *-ui*. In Table 3, Bu. *-u* was seen to compare with ST *-o*. While the evidence for this is not conclusive, it seems the most plausible explanation to consider the Bu. words with *-u*, *-ũ* in this table as *gun* grade (also L. *no* in no. 18) of *-u* in ST. With this explanation, then Ch. *-iəu*, *-əu*, *-iu* are equivalent to Bu. *-ui*, O. B., L. *-u*. The only other group in which these Chinese endings are distinguished is the Daic.

Besides the examples given above, cf. 酒 *ʔsiəu* "wine" (258), Garo *tʃu* (Bonnerjea).



Table 7. Final -au (-ao?)

meaning	O. B.	Bu.	L.	Dim.	Ch.	S.
fat	<i>ts'o-ba</i> (451)	<i>tś'u</i> (412)	<i>t'ao</i>	<i>t'ao</i>	臊 <i>sâu</i> (771)	.....
hammer	<i>mt'o-ba</i> (241-242) <i>t'o-ba</i> (236) <i>sdo</i> (Kanauri)	<i>tu</i> (n.) (487)	( <i>tu-</i> )	<i>dao-bu</i>	搗 <i>tâu</i> (899)	.....
to roast	<i>br̥nos</i> (pf.) (134)	.....	.....	.....	熬 <i>ngâu</i> (6)	.....
speech	.....	.....	* <i>pao</i>	.....	報 <i>pâu'</i> (664)	<i>pāw</i> (Ls)
steal	.....	.....	.....	<i>k'ao</i>	拷 * <i>k'âu</i>	.....
bay, bank	.....	.....	.....	.....	澳 <i>·âu'</i> (7)	<i>'āw</i> (Ls)
younger sibling	<i>no</i> (W. B.) <i>nu-bo</i> (O. B.) (305)	.....	<i>nao</i>	.....	.....	.....
hot	.....	<i>pu</i> (644)	.....	.....	暴 <i>b'âu'</i> (698)	.....
glistening	.....	.....	.....	.....	皤 <i>'γâu &lt; g'-</i> (310)	} <i>k'āw</i> (Ls)
white	.....	.....	.....	.....	皤 <i>'kâu</i> (308)	
white silk	.....	.....	.....	.....	縞 <i>'ts'âu</i> (1037)	.....
grass	.....	.....	* <i>tsao</i>	.....	草 <i>'γâu &lt; g'-</i> (358)	.....
to call	.....	<i>'o</i> (144)	<i>ao</i>	.....	号	.....
angry	.....	<i>to</i> (493)	<i>tao</i>	.....	.....	.....
quick	.....	<i>so'</i> (1041)	<i>sao'</i>	.....	.....	.....
early	.....	<i>tso</i> (384)	.....	.....	早 <i>'tsau</i> (1037)	.....
to abuse,	.....	<i>ho</i> (1059)	<i>hao</i>	.....	.....	.....
upbraid	.....	.....	<i>hao'</i>	.....	.....	.....
to bespeak	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Lao	.....	<i>lo</i> (925)	.....	.....	.....	<i>lāw</i> (Ls)
glue	.....	<i>ko</i> (200)	.....	.....	膠 <i>kau</i> (546)	<i>kāw</i> (Ls)
liquor	.....	<i>lo-dza</i> (929)	.....	.....	醪 <i>lâu</i> (546)	(lò)

## Notes to Table 7

1. Dimasa "oil." Ch. "fat of pork or dog."
2. Ch. "pound, beat." Bu. (2) "pound," Rawang *dũ-ma*, Garo *tu-re* "hammer."
3. O. B. pres. *rñod-pa*. Ka. *kə-nau* "fry" (Hn.) (O. B. also "fry").
4. Not in Lusei, but common in Kukish, as Thado *pao*. Ch. "report, inform; information, news; journal, gazette," also "declare." S. "divulge, announce, publish," Lao "divulge, proclaim, publish." Cf. also Bu. *po* "to appear, rise to view, come to light, become known (as a secret)."
6. S. "gulf, river bend," Lao "bay, gulf."
7. Ka. *nau*.
8. Ch. "scorching heat."
10. S., Lao "white."



11. L. based on Khimi (S. Kukish) *a-tsau*, *a-tsau'*; reconstruction therefor uncertain as Khimi *-au* corresponds both to L. *-ao* and *-o*. O. B. *rtswa* (437) is a possible samprasāraṇa grade of this root, as the *-w-* is represented in the modern dialects.

13. Bu. "resent an insinuation, demand satisfaction."

15. Ka. *džau* (Hn.).

16. Bu. "preach."

19. Bu. "an intoxicating preparation of rice"; the word is spoken in Bu. as if written *hlo-dža* (cf. Lao). Ch. "lees of spirits; wine." S. "*arak*, distilled and intoxicating liquors," Lao *hlò* "all fermented liquors, wine, alcohol, etc."

The equation for table 7 may be considered to be O. B. *-o* = Bu. *-u*, *-o* = L. *-ao* = Dim. *-ao* = Ka. *-au* (see notes) = Ch. *-âu* = S., Lao *-āw*. Here again Burmese upsets precise equivalences with both *-u* and *-o* finals. That this represents gradation by Burmese is a possibility.

We cannot assume at this stage of the investigation that ST had originally only the low grade vowels *a*, *i*, *u*, and developed later the gradations in the various groups independently. We must first try to determine whether the gradations were not already developed in the common stock before the groups separated, with only minor gradation subsequently. The *vrddhi* grades are well developed in Chinese, Daic, and the southern TB groups: Kukish, Barish, Katsinish, and to some extent in Burmish. The lack of these grades in the northern TB groups may only be due to subsequent contraction. The above table would seem to substantiate this conclusion fairly well. But the table does not present the entire picture as the materials entered therein has been selected somewhat to avoid too great complication at the beginning. Besides the examples of apparent gradation in the table, particularly in the Burmese column, there are others. Thus Dim. *k'ao* "to steal" no. 5, Table 7, is quite irregular for TB, as generally wherever the root is found in TB, it ends in *-u* < *\*-ui* (*-uiw*), and besides Ch. *'k'âu* (Table 7) we find Ch. *k'əu* (Table 6, no. 24). For the word for "hammer," Garo has *tu-re*, where one would expect *to-* (Dim. *-ao* probably = Garo *-o*); cf. also Rawang (Nungish) *dŭ-ma*.

Hereafter, for economy of space, extended discussion of gradation will be avoided as much as possible, the assumption usually being that gradation has occurred. Whether it was original in ST or developed subsequently must be left to more detailed investigation.



Table 8. Final -ai

	meaning	O. B.	Bu.	L.	Dim.	Ch.	S.
1	young	....	<i>ñay</i> (323)	....	....	倪 <i>ngiei</i> (12)	....
2	to save	....	<i>tš'ay</i> (403)	....	....	濟 <i>tsiei'</i> (1060)	....
3	paddy, unhusked rice	....	....	....	<i>mai</i>	米 <i>'miei</i> (615)	....
4	close the eyes; to no purpose	....	....	<i>mai</i>	....	{ 眯 <i>'miei</i> (615) 迷 <i>'miei</i> (615)	....
5	rice field	....	<i>lay</i> (904)	<i>lai</i>	....	....	<i>rài</i>
6	a plough	....	<i>t'ay</i> (517)	....	....	....	<i>t'ai</i> (Ls)
7	cock, hen	....	....	....	....	雞 <i>'kiei</i> (126)	<i>kai</i> (Ls)
8	lift up, draw (as water from well), draw up	....	....	<i>k'ai</i>	....	....	<i>k'ai</i>
9	species of reed	....	....	<i>p'ai</i>	....	....	<i>p'ai</i> (Ls)
10	push or butt with tusks (as a hog, etc.)	....	....	<i>tai</i>	....	牴 <i>'tiei</i> (984)	....
11	endure	....	....	<i>ñai</i>	....	捱 <i>ngūi</i> (2)	....
12	playing card	....	<i>p'ai</i> (691)	....	....	牌 <i>b'ai</i> (703)	<i>bai</i>
13	to steer	....	<i>pai'</i> (647)	<i>vai</i>	....	....	<i>bāy</i>
14	to divide	<i>gyes</i> (pf.) <i>bgyes</i> (pf.) <i>*bkyes</i> (pf.)	{ (97) (Meithei)	<i>k'ai</i>	....	解 <i>'kai</i> (366)	<i>kē</i> (Ls)
15	suffer defeat	....	....	....	....	敗 <i>b'wāi'</i> (702)	<i>bē</i> (Ls)
16	crab	....	....	<i>ai</i>	....	蟹 <i>'γāi &lt; g'</i> (366)	<i>gey</i>
17	shave	....	....	....	....	剃 <i>t'iei'</i> (985)	<i>t'ē</i> (Ls)
18	divide, open	....	....	....	....	開 <i>'kai</i> (609)	<i>k'ai</i>
19	great	<i>te</i> -(W.)	....	( <i>t'ei</i> )	....	太 <i>t'ai'</i> (963)	....

## Notes to Table 8

2. Bu. "take up or out of the water; extricate, deliver, save from drowning." Ka. *s'ai* "save (rescue)" (Hz.). Ch. "ford a stream, help over; help, save."

3. Garo *mi* "rice." Ch. "rice, millet."

4. Ch. (1) "to blind (as dust), dim sight; error, illusion," (2) "confuse the sight; lead into error." The second character seems to be tr. to the first.

5. L. "place"; *lai* for "field" does occur in comp. in Old Kuki. S. "field, plantation," Lao *rāi* "field in the mountains, dry rice field." The change from *l* to *r* initial, not as a regular phonetic shift, seems to be particularly characteristic of southern ST languages. No reason for the change is known. It seems as erratic as *r* and *l* in the Vedas.

6. S., Lao "to till; a plough."



8. S. "raise, pull out."
9. S. "bamboo tree," Lao "big spiny bamboo."
10. Ch. "to butt."
12. Ch. "writing tablet; ticket, card." S. "playing card," Lao *bâi* "playing card, domino."
13. L. "to row, paddle," S. "oar, paddle."
14. O.B. pres. (1) *āgye-ba* (intr.), (2) *āgyed-pa* (tr.), (3) reconstruction based on W.B., which is nearly always from a perfect form; "divide, separate, disperse." Ch. "divide, separate, loosen, dissolve, explain." S. "loose, untie, solve," Lao "untie."
15. S. "be conquered, be surpassed, yield," Lao "conquer."
16. S. "small prawns."
17. TN. *t'ai*.
18. S. "to open," Lao *k'āi* "to open." Cf. no. 14.
19. This root does not occur in well-known TB languages, and the initial fluctuates between \**t*- and *d*-; but everywhere that it occurs in TB, the final indicates \*-*ei*, or is not inconsistent with that ending. The Ch. word is clearly of a different grade from TB.

The tentative equation for this table is Bu. *-ay* = L. *-ai* = Ch. *-iei* = S., Lao *-ai*. Ch. *-āi* seems perhaps generally to correspond to S., Lao *-ē*. The one word from Meithei which compares with Chinese *-āi* would seem to substantiate Karlgren's conclusion regarding the length of the *a* in the diphthong. Unfortunately we have not enough Meithei vocabulary to be of value in comparing languages as diverse as those considered here, and different length of final vowels and diphthongs has almost never been marked for Lusei.

Table 9. Final *-wi*

meaning	O. B.	W.	Bu.	L.	Ch.	S.
1 dog	<i>k'yi</i> (46)	<i>k'ui</i>	<i>k'wè</i> (309)	<i>ui</i>	犬 <i>'k'ien</i> (498)	....
2 rat	<i>byi-ba</i> (376)	....	<i>pwè</i> (679)	<i>bui</i>	蝙蝠 <i>piwen</i> (733)	....
3 blood	....	<i>sui</i>	<i>swè</i> (1048)	....	血 <i>wiwet</i> (172)	....
4 water	<i>ti</i> (203)	<i>ti</i>	<i>t'wè</i> (537)	<i>tui</i>	....	....
	(Ladwags)					
5 to rub, whet	....	....	<i>swè</i> (1050)	<i>sui</i>	....	....
6 to make whirl	....	....	<i>hmwe'</i> (812)	<i>hmui-</i>	....	....
7 fine, delicate	....	....	<i>mwe'</i> (798)	....	微 <i>mjwei</i> (1314)	....
8 great	....	....	....	<i>pui</i>	丕 <i>p'jwi</i> (37)	....



Notes to Table 9

2. O. B. "mouse, rat, and various other animals," *mts'an-byi* "bat" (= "night-rat"). Bu. and L. "bamboo rat." Ch. "bat."

3. Magari *hui*.

4. The relationship of these words is puzzling. While *ti* for O. B. would be phonetically correct, judging from the first two examples in this table, Jäschke states that this was not originally a Bodish root but made its way into Ladwags dialect where it occurs only in Ladwags *k'a-ti* "saliva (water of mouth)" and *na-ti* "snot (nose water)." There are two things, however, which makes one question the correctness of Jäschke's statement and consider the possibility that Ladwags *ti* may be a survival in that dialect of an old TB root. One is the distance of Ladwags from the W. Him. territory. If Jäschke had mentioned the root as occurring in Lahul dialect, his statement would have to be accepted as the W. Him. villages adjoin those of the Lahuls. The second point is that the usage is restricted to "mucus" and not applied to water in general as in W. Him. The Ladwags usage reminds one of the Dhimal *-t'i* "water" (but restricted apparently in use to "snot," "sweat," "pus," and probably "blood" (*-wr. -tti*), and to Bu. *t'wè*, Ka. *mə-t'wi* "to spit." Only the W. Him. and Kukish roots mean "water in general," and the W. Him. word seems irregular phonetically, judging by nos. 1 and 3 of this table. Perhaps the W. Him. *ti* is a different root, and Kuki *tui* should be compared with Bu. *twe* "to flow moderately and incessantly," and perhaps with Tsangla *t'ui* "to mix something in water" (i. e. "to water").

5. L. "to scrape."

6. L. "spindle" (in comp.).

7. Ch. "small, minute, subtle, detail; slight, trifling, mean." For Ch. *-ei* = ST. *-i*, see above.

In addition to the above, cf. Bu. *mwe'* "sleep" (798), S. *mə'dy* "slumber."

Karlgren and Simon have written extensively upon the lost finals of Chinese. The comparative data offers little if any substantiation for these theories, but points rather to the conclusion that if any finals have been lost it is in the TB languages. The first three examples in this table indicate that Chinese roots ended in a dental consonant which has been dropped in TB. It will be noted that all of these roots have the falling tone in Burmese. While reluctant to propose any theories of lost consonants, the meager evidence that has been found to the contrary, nos. 7 and 8, is not very convincing as the roots have a poor extension in TB and cannot be weighted the same as the first three. Moreover, No. 7 has a different tone in Bu., than the first three, which may or may not be significant.



The conclusion on this table, then, is that TB. *\*-wi* = O. B. *-i* = W. *-ui*(?) = Bu. *-wè* = Ch. *-iwe-*+ dental consonant, or Bu. *-we'* = Ch. *-j<sup>w</sup>ei*, *-j<sup>w</sup>i*(?).

The following data on Bu. *-wa*, final and medial, in comparison with O. B. is presented with a few comparisons with other ST languages.

Table 10. Bu. *wa*

	meaning	O. B.	Bu.	L.	Ch.	S.
1	a span	<i>m'to</i> (241)	<i>t'wa</i> (v.) (536)	....	....	....
2	tooth	<i>so</i> (578)	<i>swà</i> (1047)	....	....	....
3	rain	<i>ro-</i> (W.)	<i>rwa</i> (864)	<i>rua'</i>	....	....
4	nine	<i>go</i> (70)	....	<i>kua</i>	....	....
5	crooked	<i>koñ</i> (5)	<i>kwàñ</i> (245)	....	....	....
6	net	<i>rkon-pa</i> (17)	<i>kwan</i> (246)	....	....	....
7	hole, pit	<i>doñ</i> (258)	<i>twàñ</i> (507)	....	....	....
8	stout	<i>sbom-po</i> (405)	<i>p'wam'</i> (706)	....	....	....
9	loose	<i>lhod-pa</i> (602)	<i>hlwat</i> (949)	....	....	<i>hlüt</i>
10	come	<i>hhons</i> (pf.) (501)	<i>wam</i> (954)	<i>*wam</i>	....	....
11	bear (n.)	<i>dom</i> (259)	<i>wam</i> (962)	<i>vom</i>	....	....
12	cattle	<i>nor</i> (307)	<i>nwà</i> (587)	....	....	....
13	rub	....	<i>pwat</i> (678)	....	拂 <i>p'iuət</i> (47)	....
14	dig out	<i>rkod-pa</i> (Gtsang) (17)	....	....	掘 <i>g'iuət</i> (493)	<i>k'üt</i>
15	leech	....	<i>krwat</i>	<i>-vat</i>	....	....
16	onion	....	<i>krak-swan</i> (228)	....	蒜 <i>suân'</i> (824)	....
17	round	....	<i>wàn</i> (959)	....	繭 <i>wan</i> (1296)	....

## Notes to Table 10

4. O. B. "nine" (in the nineties).
5. Bu. "make circular; be circuitous."
9. Bu. "release." S. "be untied, be loosened, slip."
10. Bu. "enter." O. B. pres. *hhon-ba*; *hl-* represents the O. B. "easy vocalic ingress." This root not in L.; the reconstruction is for Kukish.
11. O. B. *d-* in this word is a prefix, unrecognized as such by the native grammarians since the initial *w* contracted with the following vowel to form *-o-*. The labial semivowel as initial frequently labializes *\*-a-* in L.
13. Ch. "wipe off."
14. S. "dig, hollow out," Lao *k'üt*.
15. This Bu. form not in Judson's *Burmese-English Dictionary*, but in



his *English-Burmese Dictionary*. The incorrect form with *y* is given in the former.

16. Ch. "garlic."

17. Ch. "curve, bend." But the Ch. word, at least, may compare with L. *val* "circular," ST *\*waln*?

The equation for Table 10 is *\*wa* = O. B. *o* = Bu. *wa.* = L. *-ua* (following initial consonant), *va-* (at beginning of root). The labial element of the diphthong at least seems to be preserved in Chinese. We may go further on the basis of nos. 9, 13, 14, and surmise that O. B. *-od* = Bu. *-wat* = Ch. *-uat* = S. *-ūt*. But Ch. *-uat* probably is the equivalent not only of Bu. *-wat*, O. B. *-od*, but of Bu. *-ut*, O. B. *-ud*, and consequently the pronunciation of the Chinese words in nos. 13, 14 may have been in O, Ch. *\*-ut*, corresponding with the final *-ut* in Siamese.





## THE AVYAKTA UPANIṢAD

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THE AVYAKTA UPANIṢAD has been published only in the collection of Vaiṣṇava-Upaniṣads edited by Pandit A. Mahādeva Sastri (Adyar, 1923), and in the large collection of one hundred and eight Upaniṣads, as in that edited by the Tattva-Vivecaka Press (Bombay, 1895) and that edited by Wasudev Laxman Shāstrī Paṇsīkar (Nirnaya Sagara Press, Bombay, 1917). There is, to the best of my knowledge, no Western translation or commentary on it; and yet it is not without interest.

The Avyakta Upaniṣad is a sectarian Upaniṣad, a Vaiṣṇava Upaniṣad, and is related to the Nṛsimha-tāpanīya Upaniṣad. Like the Nṛsimha-tāpanīya Upaniṣad, it is a text belonging to the Vaiṣṇava sect that worshipped Viṣṇu as Nṛsimha, the Man-Lion. We do not know the date of composition of the Nṛsimha-tāpanīya Upaniṣad; we know only that it was commented upon by Gauḍapāda and Śaṅkara, and that consequently it was composed before the seventh century A.D. It seems that the sect which worshipped Viṣṇu as Nṛsimha did not flourish very widely or very long, and it is therefore probable that the Avyakta Upaniṣad belongs to the same period as the Nṛsimha-tāpanīya.

The Avyakta Upaniṣad combines the theism of the Vaiṣṇava sects, some conceptions of the old Upaniṣads, and some conceptions of the Sāṃkhya philosophy—not the later classical atheistic Sāṃkhya, but the old theistic Sāṃkhya of the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, the Sāṃkhya-Yoga doctrine.

As a whole, the Avyakta Upaniṣad is a glorification of Viṣṇu worshipped as Nṛsimha. But, on the one hand, the idea that the world was created by Prajāpati and the idea that it was created by means of penance and by means of the divine Vāc, conceived as a creative power, are old Aupaniṣadic ideas; and, on the other hand, the idea of the Avyakta, and the idea of the Puruṣa, opposed to the Māyā, which must be identified with the Prakṛti, are ideas related to the conceptions of the Epic and Purāṇic Sāṃkhya.

The author of the Avyakta Upaniṣad imitates the style of the old Upaniṣads, and likes to use old or rare verbal forms. For instance:



*abhi-jñāsata* (augmentless imperfect middle of the desiderative of *abhi-jñā*) ; the desiderative forms *jijñāsasi* and *jijñāsasva* ; *āsiṣam* (1st person sing. of the *iṣ-* aorist of *as*, to be) ; *āsiṣta* (3rd person sing. middle of the *iṣ-* aorist of *ās*, to sit) ; the aorist passive forms : *aśrūvi* and *ajñāyi* ; the aorist forms : *aśakat*, *vyadhāt*, *prādāt* ; and, if the text is correct (which is doubtful), the strange form *adhideyuh* (which would be the optative of the root aorist of *adhi-dā*).

But some expressions of the Upaniṣad clearly show its relatively modern character. For instance : 1. *tato 'paśyāj jyotirmayaṃ, śriyā 'liṅgitam, suparṇaratham śeṣaphaṇācchāditamaulim mṛga-mukham naravapuṣam, śāsisūryahavyavāhanātmakanayanatrayam* (2. 2) ; 2. *kamaṭhākāram indranāgabhujaṅgendrādhāram bhadraśanam prādāt* (6. 2).

Like the Nṛsiṃha-pūrva-tāpanīya Upaniṣad (which is the first and, according to A. Weber, the older part of the Nṛsiṃha-tāpanīya Upaniṣad), the Avyakta Upaniṣad, principally or rather exclusively, consists of the explanation and glorification of an Anuṣṭubh stanza, which was the great prayer of the Nṛsiṃha sect and was called Mantra-rāja, the King of prayers : *ugram vīram mahāviṣṇum jvalantam sarvatomukham, nṛsiṃham bhīṣanam bhadram mṛtyum mṛtyum namāmy aham*.—"Before the terrible one, the powerful, the great Viṣṇu, before him who is flaming, having his face turned everywhere, before the Man-Lion, the terrifying one, the prosperous, the death of death, I bow."

#### Text and Translation of the Avyakta Upaniṣad \*

##### *avyaktopaniṣat*

##### The Avyakta Upaniṣad

##### [Introductory Prayer]

*svājñānāsurarādgrāsa-svajñānanarakesarī / pratiyogivinirmuktaṃ brahmamātram karotu mām<sup>1</sup> // om.<sup>2</sup>*

\* Abbreviations of published texts and manuscripts :

T = edition of the Tattva-Vivecaka Press (Bombay, 1895).

N = edition of the Nirṇaya Sagara Press (Bombay, 1917).

M = edition of Pandit A. Mahadeva Sastri (Adyar, 1923).

A, A1, A2, U, U1, K, Mu : manuscripts on which the edition of Pandit A. Mahadeva Sastri is based.

<sup>1</sup> In M this śloka is put in front of the commentary.

<sup>2</sup> M omits *om*.



*āpyāyantu iti.*<sup>3</sup>  
*śāntiḥ. hariḥ. om.*<sup>4</sup>

May the Man-Lion (Viṣṇu), who is knowledge of one's self, devouring the prince of the demons, who is ignorance of one's self, deliver me from my enemy and make me brahmamātra (consisting only of Brahman) !

Om ! May my limbs grow strong, etc.<sup>5</sup>  
 Peace ! Hari ! Om !

### *prathamah khaṇḍah*

#### First Section

1. 1. *purā kile 'daṃ na kiṃcanā 'sīn, na dyaur nā 'ntarikṣaṃ na pṛthivī. kevalaṃ jyotirūpam*<sup>6</sup> *anādy-anantam ananv-asthūla-rūpam arūpaṃ rūpavad aviññeyam jñānamayam ānandamayam*<sup>7</sup> *āsīt.*

1. 1. Formerly there was nothing here, neither the sky, nor the atmosphere, nor the earth. There was only an appearance of light, having no beginning and no end, neither small nor large, formless

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<sup>3</sup> The complete text of this prayer may be either Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra III. 16. 1: *āpyāyantu me 'ṅgāni vāk prāṇas cakṣuḥ śrotram yaśo balam / yan me śrutam adhītam tan me manasi tiṣṭhatu tiṣṭhatu*: "May my limbs grow strong, my voice, my breath, my eye, my ear, my fame and my power! What I have heard and studied, may that be fixed in my mind, may that be fixed in my mind!"—or, more probably, the introductory prayer of the Kena Upaniṣad: *āpyāyantu mamā 'ṅgāni vāk prāṇas cakṣuḥ śrotram atho balam indriyāṇi ca sarvāṇi. sarvaṃ brahmopaniṣadam. mā 'haṃ brahma nirākuryāṃ, mā mā brahma nirākarod. anirākaraṇam astv anirākaraṇam me 'stu. Tad ātmani nirate ya upaniṣatsu dharmās te mayi santu, te mayi santu*: "May my limbs grow strong, my voice, my breath, my eye, my ear, and also my strength and all my senses! The mystery of the Brahman is every thing. May I not reject the Brahman. May the Brahman not reject me. May no rejection (of the Brahman) be (made by me); may no rejection of me be (made by the Brahman)! And thus may the ordinances (the teachings) taught in the Upaniṣads stay in me who delight in the Self! May they stay in me!"

<sup>4</sup> These three words are omitted in M.

<sup>5</sup> See note 3.

<sup>6</sup> M *kevalajyotirūpam*.

<sup>7</sup> So A, A1, A2, K; M *aviññeyam ānandamayam*; T and N *aviññeyam jñāna-rūpam ānandamayam*.



and (still) having a form, undistinguishable and (still) consisting of knowledge, consisting of bliss.<sup>8</sup>

1.2. *tad ananyat tad<sup>9</sup> dvedhā 'bhūd, dharitam ekaṃ raktam aparam. tatra yad raktam tat puṃso rūpam abhūt. yad dharitam tan māyāyāḥ. tau samagacchataḥ. tayoṛ vīryam evaṃ anandat. tad avaradhata. tad aṇḍam abhūd dhaimam. tat pariṇamamānam abhūt. tataḥ parameṣṭhī vyajāyata.*

1.2. That one being, without a second, then split in two. One part of it was yellow; the other part was red. Then that part which was red assumed the aspect of the Puruṣa (the Spirit); and that part which was yellow assumed the aspect of Māyā (the power which creates the universal illusion).<sup>10</sup> They united. Thus their procreative power rejoiced. It developed. It became a golden egg. That ripened. Of that (egg) the great Lord (Prajāpati, the Lord of the creatures) was born.

1.3. *so 'bhijijñāsata: kiṃ me kulam kiṃ me kṛtyam iti. taṃ ha vāg adṛśyamānā 'bhyuvācā: bho bho prajāpate tvam avyaktād utpanno 'si, vyaktam te kṛtyam iti. kim avyaktam yasmād aham āsiṣam, kiṃ tad vyaktam yaṃ me kṛtyam iti. sā 'bravīd:<sup>11</sup> avi-jñeyam hi tat saumya tejaḥ. yad avijñeyam tad avyaktam. tac cej jijñāsasi mām avagacche 'ti.<sup>12</sup> sa ho 'vāca: kai 'ṣā tvam brahmavāg yad asi<sup>13</sup> śaṃsā 'tmānam iti. sā tv abravīt: tapasā mām jijñāsasve 'ti. sa ha<sup>14</sup> sahasram samā brahmacaryam adhyuvāsā 'dhyuvāsa.*

<sup>8</sup> This is the Avyakta, the Unmanifested One, the primordial being, which seems to be identified with Nṛsiṃha, the Man-Lion, Viṣṇu.

<sup>9</sup> So T, N, A, A1, A2; M *tad anya 'ttad*.

<sup>10</sup> Here we have a combination of the Sāṃkhya-Yoga doctrine and the Vedānta doctrine, incorporated in the Vaiṣṇava worship. As in the Sāṃkhya-Yoga philosophy the Puruṣa is opposed to the Prakṛti, here the Puruṣa is opposed to the Māyā. The Māyā of the Vedānta doctrine seems to be identified with the Prakṛti of the Sāṃkhya-Yoga doctrine. And it also seems, if we consider the following, that, on the one hand, the Puruṣa is identified with Viṣṇu and, on the other, the Māyā or Prakṛti is identified with the Śakti of Viṣṇu, i. e. with his creative power, the goddess Śrī, his consort.—The fact that both the Avyakta and the Puruṣa are identified with Viṣṇu must not be considered a contradiction, since the Māyā, the second aspect of the Avyakta, has no transcendental reality.

<sup>11</sup> A1, A2, U, K *so 'bravīd*.

<sup>12</sup> T *mā (ma) (' )vagacche 'ti*.

<sup>13</sup> M *brahmavāg vadasi*.

<sup>14</sup> A, A1, A2, K, U1 omit *sa ha*.



1. 3. He desired to know: "What is my origin? and what is to be the object of my activity?"

An invisible voice<sup>15</sup> spoke to him: "O Prajāpati (Lord of the creatures), thou hast been born of the Unmanifested One; and what is to be the object of thy activity is the Manifested One."

He said: "What is that Unmanifested One of which I have been born (out of which I have come into existence)?<sup>16</sup> and what is that Manifested One which must be the object of my activity?"

And the voice said: "That splendour, O friend, is undistinguishable.<sup>17</sup> Because it is undistinguishable, it is the Unmanifested One. If thou wishest to know it, understand me."

Then he said: "Who art thou? What is that divine voice that thou art? Declare thyself."

But the voice said: "Strive to know me by asceticism."

Then he continuously practised asceticism for a thousand years.

### *dvitīyāḥ khaṇḍaḥ*

#### Second Section

2. 1. *athā 'paśyād ṛcam ānuṣṭubhīm paramām vidyām yasyā 'ṅgāny anye mantrāḥ, yatra brahma pratiṣṭhitam, viśve devāḥ<sup>18</sup> pratiṣṭhitāḥ. yas tāṃ na veda kim anyair vedaiḥ kariṣyati.*

2. 1. Then he saw that Anuṣṭubh stanza, the highest spell, the stanza of which all the other prayers (*mantras*) are the limbs, the stanza in which the Brahman is firmly established, the stanza in which all the gods are firmly established. If one does not know it, what will one do with the other Vedas?

2. 2. *tāṃ viditvā sa ca raktam jijnāsayām āsa. tāṃ evam anūcānām gāyann āsiṣṭa. sahasraṃ samā ādyantanihitonkāreṇa padāny agāyat. sahasraṃ samās tathai 'vā 'kṣaraśaḥ. tato 'paśyāj jyotirmayam śriyā 'līngitam suparṇaratham<sup>19</sup> śeṣaphaṇācchādita-*

<sup>15</sup> This invisible voice is the means by which Prajāpati will create the universe, it is the Vāc, the creative Word, by which, in the old Vedic texts, Prajāpati creates the world. And here, as in the Nṛsiṃha-pūrva-tāpanīya Upaniṣad, it is the glorious Anuṣṭubh stanza: *ugraṃ vīraṃ mahāviṣṇum*.

<sup>16</sup> *āsiṣam* as 1st person sing. of the *iṣ-* aorist of *as* "to be" has not been found in any other text, but it is quite regularly formed.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. 1. 1: *jyotīrūpam . . . avijñeyam*.

<sup>18</sup> M *viśvedevāḥ* [*vedāḥ?*].

<sup>19</sup> T *suparṇaratham* (*suvarṇaratham*).



*mauliṃ mṛgamukhaṃ naravapuṣaṃ śāśisūryahavyavāhanātmakana-  
yanatrayam.*

2. 2. Having known that stanza, he (Prajāpati) desired to know the red One (i. e. the Puruṣa, the Spirit). He continuously sang that stanza, as it was thus recited <sup>20</sup> (by the divine voice) [*:ugraṃ vīraṃ mahāviṣṇuṃ, jvalantaṃ sarvatomukhaṃ, nṛsiṃhaṃ bhīṣaṇaṃ* he sang the words of that stanza (he sang that stanza word by word), putting the holy syllable om in front and at the end (of each word). And for a thousand years he sang it in the same way syllable by syllable (i. e. putting the holy syllable om in front and at the end of each syllable). Then he saw that One who consists of light (i. e. the Puruṣa, the Spirit, Viṣṇu) embraced by the goddess Śrī, sitting on the divine bird (Garuḍa), with his head covered over by the expanded hood of the Serpent Śeṣa, having the face of a lion and the body of a man, and a threefold eye consisting of the Moon, the Sun, and Agni (the Fire-god).

2. 3. *tataḥ prajāpatiḥ pranīpapāta namo nama iti. tathai 'va* <sup>21</sup> *rcā 'tha tam astaut.—ugraṃ ity āha. ugraḥ khalu vā eṣa mṛgarū-  
patvāt.—vīraṃ ity āha. vīro vā eṣa vīryavattvāt.—mahāviṣṇuṃ ity  
āha. mahatāṃ vā ayaṃ mahān rodasī vyāpya sthitaḥ.—jvalantaṃ  
ity āha. jvalann iva khalv asāv avasthitaḥ.—sarvatomukhaṃ ity  
āha. sarvataḥ khalv ayaṃ mukhavān viśvārūpatvāt.—nṛsiṃhaṃ ity  
āha. yathāyajur evai 'tat.—bhīṣaṇaṃ ity āha. bhīṣā* <sup>22</sup> *vā asmād  
āditya udeti, bhītaś candramā, bhīto vāyur vāti, bhīto 'gnir dahati,  
bhītaḥ parjanya varṣati.—bhadraṃ ity āha. bhadraḥ khalv ayaṃ  
śrīyā juṣṭaḥ.—mṛtyumṛtyuṃ* <sup>23</sup> *ity āha. mṛtyor vā ayaṃ mṛtyur  
amṛtatvaṃ prajānām annādānām.—namāmī 'ty āha. yathāyajur  
evai 'tat.—aham ity āha. yathāyajur evai 'tat.* <sup>24</sup>

2. 3. Then Prajāpati threw himself down (before Viṣṇu), saying: “Homage! Homage (to thee)!”

And then he praised him with that stanza:

“Before the terrible One,” he said. For he (Viṣṇu, Nṛsiṃha,

<sup>20</sup> *anūcānām*: part. middle with passive meaning.

<sup>21</sup> T, N, M, A1, A2, K, U *tathai 'va*; A *tayai 'va*.

<sup>22</sup> N *bhīṣā*; T *bhīṣo* (*bhīṣā*); M *bhīṣo*.

<sup>23</sup> T, N *mṛtyor mṛtyuṃ*.

<sup>24</sup> A and A1 omit *aham ity āha. yathā . . . 'tat*.



the Puruṣa) is terrible indeed since he has the aspect of a lion (of a beast of the forest).—"The powerful," he said. For he is powerful indeed since he possesses the essence of that which is powerful.—"The great Viṣṇu," he said. For he is great among the great indeed, and stands pervading the two worlds (the earth and the sky).—"Before him who is flaming," he said. For he has been established as flaming, as it were.—"Having his face turned everywhere," he said. For he has his face turned everywhere indeed since he is omniform.—"Before the Man-Lion," he said. He said that according to the yajus (according to the text).—"The terrifying One," he said. From fear of him indeed does the Sun rise. Frightened (by him) does the Moon (rise). Frightened (by him) does the Wind blow. Frightened (by him) does the Fire burn. Frightened (by him) does Parjanya (the Rain god) rain.—"The prosperous," he said. For he is prosperous indeed, being endowed with prosperity (being accompanied with the goddess Śrī).—"The death of death," he said. For he is the death of death, that is immortality (the cause of not dying) for the food-eating creatures.—"I bow," he said. He said that according to the yajus (according to the text). "I," he said. He said that according to the yajus (according to the text).

### *tr̥tīyaḥ khaṇḍaḥ*

#### Third Section

3. 1. *atha bhagavāṃs tam abravīt: prajāpate, pr̥to 'haṃ, kim tave 'psitaṃ, tad āśaṃse 'ti.*<sup>25</sup> *sa ho 'vāca: bhagavann, avyaktāḍ utpanno 'smi,*<sup>26</sup> *vyaktaṃ mama kṛtyam iti purā 'śrāvi. tatrā 'vyaktaṃ bhavān*<sup>27</sup> *ity ajñāyi.*<sup>28</sup> *vyaktaṃ me kathaye 'ti. vyaktaṃ vai viśvaṃ carācarātmakam. yad vyajyate tad vyaktasya vyaktatvam iti.*

3. 1. Then the blessed Lord (Viṣṇu) said to him (to Prajāpati): "O Prajāpati, I am pleased (with thee). Declare what thou desirest." Then Prajāpati said: "O blessed Lord, I formerly heard that I was born of the Unmanifested One, (and) that that which

<sup>25</sup> M *tad dadāmi śaṃse 'ti.*

<sup>26</sup> T, N, M, Mu *utpanno 'smi*; A, A1, A2, K *utpanno 'si.*

<sup>27</sup> T, N, M *bhavān*; A1 *bhagavān.*

<sup>28</sup> M, A, A2, K *ajñāyi*; U, U1, A1 *ājñāya*; T *ajñāyi (ājñāpaya).*



is to be the object of my activity is the Manifested One. Then I learned that it is thou who art the Unmanifested One. Tell me (now) what is the Manifested One.” (And the blessed Lord said :) “The whole world which consists of what is movable and immovable, that is the Manifested One. The fact that it is manifested, that is the manifestedness of the Manifested One (that is the reason why it is called the Manifested One).”

3. 2. *sa ho 'vāca: na śaknōmi jagat sraṣṭum, upāyaṃ me kathaye 'ti. tam uvāca puruṣaḥ: prajāpate, śṛṇu sṛṣṭer upāyaṃ paramaṃ yaṃ viditvā sarvaṃ jñāsyasi, sarvatra śakṣyasi, sarvaṃ karisyasi. mayy agnau svātmānaṃ havir dhyāyet*<sup>29</sup> *tayai 'vā 'nuṣṭubha rcā. dhyānayaājño 'yam eva.*

3. 2. Prajāpati said: “I am not able to create the world. Tell me the means (to create it).” Then the Puruṣa (the Spirit, Viṣṇu) said to him: “O Prajāpati, learn from me the supreme means to create. Knowing it, thou wilt know everything, thou wilt be able to do everything, thou wilt accomplish everything. One should meditate upon one's self as upon an oblation poured into me as into the fire, while reciting that Anuṣṭubh stanza (*ugraṃ vīraṃ mahāviṣṇum . . .*). That is the sacrifice by meditation.

3. 3. *etad vai mahopaniṣad, devānāṃ guhyam. na vā etasya sāmāna na rcā na yajusā 'rtho na vidyate. ya imāṃ*<sup>30</sup> *veda sa sarvān kāmān avāpya sarvāṃl lokāñ jitvā mām evā 'bhyupaiti, na ca punar āvartate ya evaṃ vede 'ti.*

3. 3. That is the great Upaniṣad, the secret of the gods. The meaning of that is to be found neither in the Sāma-veda, nor in the Ṛg-veda, nor in the Yajur-veda. He who knows that (Upaniṣad, *imām*) obtains the fulfilment of all his desires, wins all the worlds, and comes to me. And he never comes back (to this world), he who knows that.”

#### *caturthaḥ khaṇḍaḥ*

#### Fourth Section

4. 1. *prajāpatīs taṃ yajñāya vasīyāṃsaṃ ātmānaṃ manyamāno manoyajñene 'je. sapraṇavayā tayai 'va rcā havir dhyātvā 'tmānam*

<sup>29</sup> M *dhyātvā*.

<sup>30</sup> M *imām*; T, N *imā (iha)*.



*ātmany agnau juhuyāt. sarvam ajānāt, sarvatrā 'śakat, sarvam akarot.*

4.1. Prajāpati, considering that, for the sacrifice, his own self was better (was a better oblation than any other thing), offered the sacrifice by thought. Meditating upon one's self as an oblation, one should pour the self into the Self as into the fire, while reciting that stanza (*ugram vīram mahāviṣṇum . . .*) accompanied with the holy syllable om. [Thus did Prajāpati. And] Prajāpati knew everything; he was able to do everything; he accomplished everything.

4.2. *ya evaṃ vidvān imaṃ dhyānayajñam anutiṣṭhet sa sarvajño 'nantaśaktiḥ*<sup>31</sup> *sarvakartā bhavati. sa sarvāṃl lokāñ jitvā brahma param prāpnoti.*

4.2. He who, knowing thus, performs this sacrifice by meditation, becomes all-knowing, all-powerful, the maker of all things. Having won all the worlds, he attains the supreme Brahman.

*pañcamah khaṇḍah*

Fifth Section

5.1. *atha prajāpatir lokān*<sup>32</sup> *sisṛkṣamānas tasyā eva vidyāyā yāni triṃśad akṣarāṇi tebhyas triṃl lokān. atha dve*<sup>33</sup> *akṣare. tābhyām ubhayato dadhāra. tasyā eva ro dvātriṃśadbhir akṣarais*<sup>34</sup> *tān devān nirmame. sarvair eva sa indro 'bhavat. tasmād indro devānām adhiko 'bhavat. ya evaṃ veda samānānām adhiko bhavet.*

5.1. And then Prajāpati, desiring to create worlds, created the three worlds (the earthly world, the atmosphere and the sky) out of thirty syllables of that spell. And (there remained) two syllables (since the stanza is composed of thirty-two syllables).<sup>35</sup> With these two (syllables) he sustained (the three worlds, held them fast) on both sides. By means of the thirty-two syllables of that stanza

<sup>31</sup> T 'nantaśaktis.

<sup>33</sup> T, N, M *dve dve akṣare.*

<sup>32</sup> T *lokānst.*

<sup>34</sup> Al, K *dvātriṃśadbhir evā 'kṣarais.*

<sup>35</sup> I read *atha dve akṣare* instead of *atha dve dve akṣare*. One might possibly retain the reading *atha dve dve akṣare*, and interpret as follows: "And (there remained) two and two syllables (since the stanza is composed of thirty-two syllables plus the holy syllable om put in front and the same syllable put at the end of it). With these two syllables on each side he sustained the worlds."



(separately) he created the gods (i. e. thirty-two out of the thirty-three gods). By means of all the (thirty-two) syllables (together) Indra was born. Therefore Indra became greater than the other gods. He who thus knows will become greater than those who are his equals.

5. 2. *tasyā ekādaśabhiḥ padair*<sup>36</sup> *ekādaśa rudrān nirmame. tasyā ekādaśabhir ekādaśā* "dityān nirmame. *sarvair eva sa viṣṇur abhavat. tasmād viṣṇur ādityānām adhiko 'bhavat. ya evaṃ veda samānānām adhiko bhavet. sa caturbhir caturbhir akṣarair aṣṭau vasūn ajanayat.*

5. 2. By means of the eleven words of that stanza, he created the eleven Rudras.<sup>37</sup> By means of the eleven words of that stanza, he created eleven Ādityas (out of the twelve Ādityas).<sup>38</sup> By means of all the (eleven) words together, Viṣṇu (the twelfth of the twelve Ādityas) was born. Therefore Viṣṇu became greater than the (other) Ādityas. He who thus knows will become greater than those who are his equals. By means of each group of four syllables ( $8 \times 4 = 32$ ) he created the eight Vasus.<sup>39</sup>

5. 3. *sa tasyā ādyair dvādaśabhir akṣarair brāhmaṇam ajanayat. daśabhir daśabhir viṭkṣatre. tasmād brāhmaṇo mukhyo bhavati. evaṃ tan mukhyo bhavati ya evaṃ veda. tūṣṇīm sūdrām ajanayat. tasmāc chūdro nirvidyo 'bhavat.*<sup>40</sup>

5. 3. By means of the twelve first syllables of that stanza he created the Brahman (the priest). By means of each group of ten (of the remaining twenty syllables), he created the Kṣatriya (the warrior) and the Vaiśya (the agriculturist). Therefore the Brahman is the best (better than the Kṣatriya and better than the Vaiśya). Similarly, he who thus knows will be the best. Then, silently (without uttering any word or syllable), he created the

<sup>36</sup> T, N *pādair*; M *pādair* (*padair*). We probably must read *padair*.

<sup>37</sup> According to the Vāyu Pūrāṇa the eleven Rudras are: Ajaikapād, Aḥirbhudnya, Hara, Nirṛta, Īśvara, Bhuvana, Aṅgāraka, Ardha-ketu, Mr̥tyu, Sarpa, Kapālin.

<sup>38</sup> According to the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa there are eight Ādityas: Mitra, Varuṇa, Aryaman, Amśa, Bhaga, Dhātar, Indra, Vivasvant. But according to later texts there are twelve.

<sup>39</sup> According to the Viṣṇu Purāṇa the eight Vasus are: Āpa, Dhruva, Soma, Dhava, Anila, Anala, Pratyūṣa, Prabhāsa.

<sup>40</sup> A, K *nirvidyo bhavati*.



Śūdra. Therefore the Śūdra was unlearned (without any knowledge of the Veda).

5. 4. *na vā idam*<sup>41</sup> *divā na naktam āsīd avyāvṛttam*.<sup>42</sup> *sa prajāpatir ānuṣṭubhābhyām ardharacābhyām ahorātrāv akalpayat.*

5. 4. This world was neither by day nor by night,<sup>43</sup> being undivided (for it was undivided). By means of the two half-stanzas of that Anuṣṭubh stanza Prajāpati made day and night.

5. 5. *tato vyaucchat*.<sup>44</sup> *vy evā 'smā ucchati. atho tama evā 'pahate.*—*ṛgvedam asyā ādyāt pādād akalpayat. yajur dvitīyāt. sāma tṛtīyāt. atharvāṅgirasaś caturthāt.*—*yad aṣṭākṣarapadā tena gāyatrī. yad ekādaśapadā tena triṣṭup. yac catuṣpadā tena jagatī. yad dvātriṃśadakṣarā tenā 'nuṣṭup. sā*<sup>45</sup> *vā eṣā sarvāṇi chandāṃsi.*—*ya imāṃ sarvāṇi chandāṃsi veda sarvaṃ jagad ānuṣṭubha evo 'tpannam anuṣṭuppratiṣṭhitam pratitiṣṭhati yaś cai 'vaṃ veda.*

5. 5. Then it was daylight. It is daylight indeed for him (who thus knows); and he beats off darkness (he who thus knows).

Out of the first pāda (the first quarter) of that stanza he (Prajāpati) made the Ṛg-veda; out of the second, he made the Yajur-veda; out of the third, the Sāma-veda; out of the fourth, the Atharva-veda.

Because that stanza consists of octosyllabic pādas, it is the Gāyatrī (which consists of three octosyllabic pādas). Because it consists of eleven words, it is the Triṣṭubh (which consists of four pādas of eleven syllables). Because it consists of four pādas, it is the Jagatī (which consists of four pādas of twelve syllables). Because it consists of thirty-two syllables, it is the Anuṣṭubh (which consists of four pādas of eight syllables). That stanza is all the Vedic metres.

He who knows that that stanza is all the Vedic metres, that the whole world has been born of the Anuṣṭubh stanza<sup>46</sup> and is firmly

<sup>41</sup> T, N *na vedaṃ*.

<sup>42</sup> T *avyāvṛttam* (*avyāvṛtam*); N *avyāvṛtam* (*avyāvṛttam*).

<sup>43</sup> *divā* and *naktam* may be considered as nouns (nom.): "This world was neither day nor night." Cf. Chānd. Up. 3. 11. 3.

<sup>44</sup> T, N, M *vyaicchat*; M Commentary *viśeṣeṇa icchāṃ kṛtavān*. But we must undoubtedly read *vyaucchat*. Cf. *vy evā 'smā ucchati* and the context of 5. 4.

<sup>45</sup> T, N *sā* (*sa*); M *sā*; A, A1, A2, K *sa*.

<sup>46</sup> It would be better to read *anuṣṭubha* (= *anuṣṭubhaḥ*) instead of *ānuṣṭubha* (= *ānuṣṭubhe*).



established in the Anuṣṭubh stanza, he too is firmly established,—he who thus knows.

ṣaṣṭhaḥ khaṇḍaḥ

Sixth Section

6. 1. *atha yadā prajāḥ* <sup>47</sup> *sr̥ṣṭā na jāyante prajāpatiḥ katham nu imāḥ prajāḥ* <sup>48</sup> *sr̥jeyam iti cintayann ugram itī 'mām ṛcam gātum upākrāmat.* <sup>49</sup> *tataḥ prathamapādād ugrarūpo devaḥ prādur-abhūt. ekaś śyāmaḥ purato raktaḥ pināki strīpum̐sarūpaḥ.* <sup>50</sup> *taṁ vibhajya strīṣu tasya strīrūpaṁ puṁsi ca puṁrūpaṁ vyadhāt. sa ubhābhyām aṁśābhyām* <sup>51</sup> *sarvam āviṣṭaḥ.* <sup>52</sup> *tataḥ prajāḥ prajāyante.*—*ya evaṁ veda (prajāpateḥ)* <sup>53</sup> *so 'pi tryambaka imām ṛcam udgāyann udgrathitajatakalāpaḥ pratyagjyotiṣy ātmany eva rantā ramati.* <sup>54</sup>

6. 1. And then, when the living creatures were not (yet) created, Prajāpati, who was thinking: “How shall I now create those creatures?” began to sing that stanza: “Before the terrible One,” etc.

Then out of the first pāda of that stanza (i. e. out of the pāda that begins with the word *ugram* “terrible”) <sup>55</sup> the god of terrible appearance (Śiva) arose, alone, dark coloured, red in front, holding his trident, having (at the same time) the aspect of a male and a female.

Having divided him (in two portions), he (Prajāpati) imparted the female form of him to the females and the male form of him to the male (*puṁsi* = to the males [*puṁsu*]). With these two portions of his he (Śiva) penetrated the universe. <sup>56</sup> Of that (thence) the creatures are born.

He who thus knows (about Prajāpati <sup>53</sup>), he also, (as) Tryambaka (Śiva), singing that stanza, having his matted hair tied up in a

<sup>47</sup> T *prajāś*.

<sup>48</sup> T *prajāś*.

<sup>49</sup> T, N, M *upākrāmat*; A *upakrāmat*; A1, A2, K *upakraman*.

<sup>50</sup> T, N, M *strīpum̐sarūpas*.

<sup>51</sup> N *aṁśābhyām*; T *aṁśābhyā*; M *āśābhyām*.

<sup>52</sup> T, N *ādiṣṭaḥ*; M *ādiṣṭaḥ (āviṣṭaḥ)*.

<sup>53</sup> N, A, A1, A2, K *prajāpateḥ*; T *prajāpates*; M omits *prajāpateḥ*.

<sup>54</sup> M, U1 *rantā ramati*; T, N, A, A1, A2, K, U *rantāramiti*.

<sup>55</sup> It would be better to read *prathamapādād* “out of the first word of that stanza (i. e. out of the word *ugram* ‘terrible’).”

<sup>56</sup> It does not seem possible to retain the reading *ādiṣṭaḥ*.



knot, will rejoice (will find peace) in that inner light which is his own self—he will rejoice.<sup>57</sup>

6. 2. *indro vai kila devānām anujāvara*<sup>58</sup> *āsīt. tam prajāpatir abravīd: gaccha devānām adhipatir bhavati. so gacchat. tam devā ūcur: anujāvaro*<sup>58</sup> *'si tvam asmākaṃ kutas tavā 'dhīpatyam iti. sa prajāpatim abhyetyo 'vāce 'mam devā ūcur: anujāvarasya*<sup>58</sup> *kutas tavā 'dhīpatyam iti. tam prajāpatir indram trikālāsair amṛtapūrṇair ānuṣṭubhābhimantritair abhiśicya tam sudarśanena dakṣiṇato rarakṣa pāñcajanyaena vāmato, dvayenai 'va surakṣito 'bhavat. raukme phalake sūryavarcaṣi mantram ānuṣṭubham vinyasya tad asya kaṇṭhe pratyamuñcat. tataḥ*<sup>59</sup> *sudurnirīkṣo 'bhavat. tasmai vidyām ānuṣṭubhīm prādāt. tato devās tam ādhipatyāyā 'numenire. sa svarād abhūt. ya evaṃ veda svarād bhavet. so 'manyata: pṛthivīm api*<sup>60</sup> *katham apām jayeyam*<sup>61</sup> *iti. sa prajāpatim upādihāvat. tasmāt prajāpatiḥ kamaṭhākāram indranāgabhu-jagendrādihāram bhadraśanam prādāt. sa pṛthivīm abhyajayat. tataḥ*<sup>59</sup> *sa ubhayor lokayor adhipatir abhūt. ya evaṃ vedo 'bhayor lokayor adhipatir bhavati. sa pṛthivīm jayati.*

6. 2. Indra indeed was the youngest and the last of the gods. Prajāpati said to him: "Go and be the ruler of the gods." So he went. But the gods said to him: "Thou art the youngest and the last of us. Why shouldst thou have the supremacy over us?" And he, having gone (back) to Prajāpati, said to him: "The gods have said to me: 'Why shouldst thou, who are the youngest and the last (of us), have the supremacy?' " Then Prajāpati consecrated Indra by pouring upon him, while reciting that Anuṣṭubh stanza (*ugram vīram mahāviṣṇum*), three jars filled with the beverage of immortality; and he protected him, on the right side, by means of the Sudarśana (Viṣṇu's discus), and on the left side, by means of the Pāñcajanya (Viṣṇu's conch). Thus he (Indra) was well protected by a pair. He (Prajāpati) put (wrote) on a golden plate which had the splendor of the sun, that Anuṣṭubh stanza, and

<sup>57</sup> I think that we must read *rantā ramati* instead of *rantāramiti* and that *ramati* is a gloss of *rantā*.

<sup>58</sup> M *ānujāv*°.

<sup>59</sup> T *tatas*

<sup>60</sup> T, N, A, A1, A2, K, Mu *pṛthivīm api*; M *pṛthivīm imām*.

<sup>61</sup> T, A, A1, A2, K, Mu *katham apām jayeyam*; N *katham apām jayeham*; M *katham jayeyam*.



he fastened it (as an amulet) to his (Indra's) neck. Then Indra became very difficult to look at. He (Prajāpati) gave him that Anuṣṭubh spell. Then the gods assented to his (Indra's) supremacy. And he became sovereign. He who thus knows will become sovereign.

Then he (Indra) thought: "How may I win the earth out of the water?"<sup>62</sup> Then he went to Prajāpati. Therefore Prajāpati gave him a splendid throne which had the shape of a tortoise and was supported by Indranāga and the king of the Serpents.<sup>63</sup> He (Indra) won the earth. Then he became the sovereign of both worlds (heaven and earth?). He who thus knows becomes the sovereign of both worlds; he conquers the earth.

6.3. *yo vā apratiṣṭhitam śīthilam bhrātrvyebhyaḥ 'param ātmānam*<sup>63a</sup> *manyate sa etam āsīnam adhiṣṭhet. pratiṣṭhito 'śīthilo bhrātrvyebhyaḥ vasiyān bhavati yaś cai 'vaṁ veda, yaś cai 'vaṁ veda.*

6.3. He who considers himself as having no stable foundation, as being unsteady and inferior to his adversaries, should rely upon him (Indra) who sits (on that throne). He has a stable foundation, he is steady, he is stronger than his adversaries, he who thus knows,—he who thus knows.

### saptamaḥ khaṇḍaḥ

### Seventh Section

7.1. *ya imāṁ vidyām adhīte sa sarvān vedān adhīte. sa sarvaiḥ kratubhir yajate. sa sarvatīrtheṣu snāti. sa mahāpātakopapātakaiḥ pramucyate. sa brahmavarcasam mahad āpnuyāt. ābrahmaṇaḥ pūrvān ākalpāṁś co 'ttarāṁś ca vaṁśyān punīte. nai 'nam apasmā-rādayo rogā adhideyuh.*<sup>64</sup> *sayakṣāḥ*<sup>65</sup> *sapretapiśācā apy enam*

<sup>62</sup> If the text is correct we here have an exceptional use of the genitive.—*apām* is omitted in some Mss.

<sup>63</sup> This translation is uncertain. I am inclined to believe that Indranāga is a Nom. pr. although it is not listed among the names of the Nāgas and the Serpents. It seems to be a synonym of Airāvata, which is not only the name of Indra's elephant (*nāga*) but also the name of a Nāga or mythical serpent.

<sup>63a</sup> T *bhrātrvyebhyaḥ paramā 'tmānam*.

<sup>64</sup> M *adhideyuh*; T, N *ādidheyuh* (*adhideyuh*).

<sup>65</sup> T *sayakṣās*.



*sprṣtvā dṛṣtvā śrutvā vā pāpinaḥ puṇyāṃl lokān*<sup>66</sup> *avāpnuyuh.*  
*cintitamātrād asya sarve 'rthāḥ sidhyeyuh.*<sup>67</sup> *pitaram ivai 'naṃ*  
*sarve manyante. rājānaś cā 'syā 'deśakāriṇo*<sup>68</sup> *bhavanti. na cā*  
*'cāryavyatiriktam śreyāṃsam dṛṣtvā namaskuryāt. na cā 'smād*  
*upāvarohet. jīvan-muktaś ca bhavati. dehānte tamasaḥ param*  
*dhāma prāpnuyāt. yatra virāṇ nṛsimho 'vabhāsate tatra khalū*  
*'pāsate tatsvarūpadhyānaparā munaya; ākalpānte tasminn evā*  
*'tmani līyante. na ca punar āvartante.*

7.1. He who recites that spell (*ugram viram mahāviṣṇum*), recites all the Vedas, he offers all sacrifices, he bathes in all sacred bathing places, he is released from the great sins and from the secondary sins, he attains great preeminence in sacred knowledge (great holiness), he purifies his relatives (the people of his line), his first ancestors from Brahman forth and his descendants unto the end of the world. Epilepsy and other diseases will not bind him (fall on him?).<sup>69</sup> The sinful, along with the Yakṣas (genii), the ghosts, and the Piśācas (vampires), will attain to the holy worlds by touching, by seeing, by hearing him. By mere thought all his undertakings will succeed. All people consider him as a father, and the kings carry out his commands. And, except his spiritual teacher, he will not have to bow before anybody of a higher rank. And he will not be put down from this (high situation?). He is already emancipated in this life. And when death comes, he will come to that abode which is beyond the darkness (of illusion and ignorance). There, where the radiant One (Viṣṇu) appears as the Man-Lion, there indeed the sages, meditating upon this true form of his, adore him. And at the end of the world they are absorbed in the Self, and they do not come back.

7.2. *na ce 'māṃ vidyām aśraddadhānāya brūyān nā 'sūyāvate nā*  
*'nanūcānāya*<sup>70</sup> *nā 'viṣṇubhaktāya nā 'nṛtine*<sup>71</sup> *nā 'tapase nā 'dān-*  
*tāya nā 'śāntāya nā 'dīkṣitāya nā 'dharmaśīlāya na himsakāya nā*  
*'brahmacāriṇa ity eṣo 'paṇiṣat.*

<sup>66</sup> M *puṇyalokān*.

<sup>67</sup> N, M *sarve 'rthāḥ sidhyeyuh*; T *sarve 'rthāś sidhyeyuh*; A, A1, K *sarve 'rthā adhyeyuh*.

<sup>68</sup> A, A2, K *cā 'syā 'deśādhikāriṇo*.

<sup>69</sup> The meaning of *adhi-dā* is not certain. It is not quoted in the dictionaries.

<sup>70</sup> T, N *nā 'nūcānāya*; M *nā (na-)nūcānāya*.

<sup>71</sup> U1 *nā 'vratine*.



7.2. And one should tell this spell (this doctrine) neither to a man who has no faith, nor to a man who is envious; neither to a man who is not well versed in the Vedas, nor to a man who is not a devotee of Viṣṇu; neither to a liar, nor to a man who is not an ascetic; neither to a man who has not subdued his passions, nor to a man who is not at peace; neither to a man who has not been initiated, nor to a man who is not virtuous; neither to a man who is cruel, nor to a man who is not chaste.

That is the teaching of the Upaniṣad.

[Final Prayer]

*om.<sup>72</sup> āpyāyantv iti.*

*śāntiḥ. hariḥ. om tat sat.*

*ity avyaktopaniṣat samāptā.*

Om! May my limbs grow strong, etc.<sup>73</sup>

Peace! Hari! Om! That is Reality.

End of the Avyakta Upaniṣad.

It is interesting to compare the Avyakta Upaniṣad with the Nṛsiṃha-pūrva-tāpanīya Upaniṣad.<sup>74</sup> The similarities are numerous.

Both essentially consist in the glorification of the Mantra-rāja, the Anuṣṭubh stanza: *ugraṃ vīraṃ mahāviṣṇum*. In both Prajāpati obtains the revelation of that stanza by practising asceticism. In both he creates the universe by means of that stanza, which is identified with the divine Vāc of the old Vedic texts. In both he creates the worlds, the four Vedas, the eight Vasus, the Rudras, and the Ādityas.

In both we have an explanation of the stanza word by word, and in some cases the explanation is almost the same. For instance, in the Nṛsiṃha-pūrva-tāpanīya, *mahāviṣṇum* is explained by *yaḥ sarvān lokān vyāpnoti, vyāpayati . . . yaḥ āviveśa bhuvanāni viśvā*. In the Avyakta Upaniṣad (2.3), it is explained by *mahatām vā ayaṃ mahān rodasī vyāpya sthitaḥ*. In the Nṛsiṃha-pūrva-tāpanīya

<sup>72</sup> *om āpyāyantv iti . . . samāptā*: omitted in M.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. note 3.

<sup>74</sup> The Nṛsiṃha-tāpanīya Upaniṣad is composed of two parts: the Nṛsiṃha-pūrva-tāpanīya Up. and the Nṛsiṃha-uttara-tāpanīya Up. It has been edited, commented upon and partially translated by A. Weber (*Ind. Stud.* 9. pp. 53-173); it has been completely translated by P. Deussen in *Sechzig Upanishad's des Veda* (pp. 752-797).



*bhīṣaṇam* is explained by a quotation of the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka: *bhīṣā 'smād vātaḥ pavate, bhīṣo 'deti sūryaḥ, bhīṣā 'smād agniś ce 'ndraś ca mṛtyur dhāvati pañcamah*; in the Avyakta Upaniṣad (2.3), it is explained by *bhīṣā vā asmād āditya udeti, bhītaś candramā, bhīto vāyur vāti, bhīto 'gnir dahati, bhītaḥ parjanya varṣati*.

In both we find the influence of conceptions of the Sāṃkhya-Yoga doctrine and the Vedānta philosophy. In the Nṛsiṃha-pūrva-tāpanīya, it is said that the Puruṣa has the aspect of Nṛsiṃha, the Man-Lion; in the Avyakta Upaniṣad, the Puruṣa is identified with Viṣṇu in the form of the Man-Lion. In both we find Māyā (the power which creates illusion). In the Nṛsiṃha-pūrva-tāpanīya, Māyā is identified with the Śakti (the divine power) of Viṣṇu, and according to the commentary of Śaṃkara, the Śakti of Viṣṇu is the goddess Śrī (his consort). In the Avyakta Upaniṣad, Māyā seems to be identified with the Prakṛti of the Sāṃkhya-Yoga doctrine and with Śrī (the consort of Viṣṇu).

In both Upaniṣads there is an allusion to the *sudarśana*, the discus of Viṣṇu.

In both there is an allusion to an amulet on which the Nārasimha Mantra-rāja, the Anuṣṭubh stanza *ugraṃ vīraṃ mahāviṣṇum* is to be written. In the Nṛsiṃha-pūrva-tāpanīya, it is said that one should attach that amulet either to the neck or to the arm, or to the *śikhā* (the lock of hair on the crown of the head). In the Avyakta Upaniṣad, Prajāpati fastens that amulet to the neck of Indra, and thus makes him the sovereign of the gods.

It seems difficult to decide which of these two Upaniṣads is the older. The Nṛsiṃha-pūrva-tāpanīya is much longer, but the composition of the Avyakta Upaniṣad is undoubtedly better, being clearer and more logical. In the Nṛsiṃha-pūrva-tāpanīya, the explanation of the Mantra-rāja is much more elaborate, much more complicated. But this is not necessarily a proof that it is later than the Avyakta Upaniṣad. The Nṛsiṃha-pūrva-tāpanīya constitutes only the first part of the Nṛsiṃha-Upaniṣad. The second part, which, according to A. Weber, is certainly later, has a much more marked Vedāntic character. The Nṛsiṃha-pūrva-tāpanīya contains many quotations from the old Vedic texts: quotations from the Rgveda, the Taittirīya-Saṃhitā, the Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka, the Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa, the Māṇḍūkya-Upaniṣad, the Vājasaneyi-



Samhitā. But this is not necessarily a proof of its higher antiquity. For it is quite possible—and I am inclined to believe it the fact of the matter—that those quotations were introduced into this Upaniṣad of the Nṛsiṃha sect in order to give it a more Vedāntic character.<sup>75</sup>




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<sup>75</sup> The Avyakta Up., the Nṛsiṃha-tāpanīya Up. and some other Vaiṣṇava Upaniṣads (e.g. the Rāma-tāpanīya Up.) show remarkable affinities with some texts of the Tantra literature, in which we also find the glorification and explanation of secret formulas (*mantras*) and diagrams (*yantras*) used as amulets (*kavacas*), as well as the identification of Prakṛti (primeval matter) or Māyā with the Śakti, the primeval energy conceived as the divine consort of the supreme god (i. e. Pārvatī, Śiva's consort; Lakṣmī or Śrī, Viṣṇu's consort; or Rādhā, the beloved of Kṛṣṇa). It is possible that the earliest of these Tantra texts, dating from the fifth, the sixth, or the seventh century A. D., belong to the same period as the Avyakta and the Nṛsiṃha-tāpanīya Upaniṣad (cf. Winternitz, *Indian Lit.*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1929, p. 590).



## SYMBOLS OF THE *nidānas* IN TIBETAN DRAWINGS OF THE "WHEEL OF LIFE"

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THE SYMBOLS traditionally representing the twelve links (*nidāna*) of "dependent origination" (*pratītya-samutpāda*) in Tibetan paintings may not, as Sénart asserts,<sup>1</sup> throw a new light on a problem which has baffled Western and Oriental scholars alike.<sup>2</sup> But tracing them back to their sources at least helps to establish the often suspected connection between the Buddhist way of thinking and that of the Upanishads. For the symbol usually has remained the same, even if its interpretation has varied. Thus, modern Tibetan paintings in depicting the *nidānas* agree with fragments of a "wheel of life" (*bhavacakra*) found at Ajanta, and both again with literary descriptions in the Divyāvadāna and in the Chinese canon of the Mūlasarvāstivādins. Modifications are slight; slighter still since Przyluski<sup>3</sup> proved from Chinese sources that only gradually was the number of *nidānas* reduced to twelve,<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> E. Sénart "À propos de la théorie bouddhique des douze *nidānas*," *Mélanges Ch. de Harlez* (1896), p. 281.

<sup>2</sup> The latest discussions of the *pratītya-samutpāda* may be found in: Har Dayal, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine* (London, 1932), p. 238; and Edward J. Thomas, *History of Buddhist Thought* (London, 1933), p. 58; also in my paper "Notes on the 'Wheel of Life,'" *The Review of Religion*, May, 1939, p. 402 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Jean Przyluski "La roue de la vie à Ajanta," *JA.* 16, 1920, p. 313 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Przyluski assumes a varying number of from seventeen to nineteen *nidānas* to have been represented previously. A Chinese picture of a *bhavacakra* reproduced in *Mythologie asiatique illustrée*, p. 347, shows at least eighteen symbols, too indistinct, however, to be identified. That the Tibetans also knew the chain with eighteen links seems likely, and a work mentioned in Saras Chandra Das' dictionary called "Eighteen different wheels of dependent origination (*rten-ciñ 'brel-par-'byun-ba'i khor-lo mi-'dra-ba bco-brgyad*) may possibly have been a description of it. A striking parallel to the twelvefold *pratītya-samutpāda*, brought to my attention by Dr. Coomaraswamy, is to be found in the works ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus. (Cf. *Hermetica*, edited and translated by Walter Scott, Oxford, 1924, p. 243.) Here, the "twelve irrational torments of matter" not only have "ignorance" as their first member, just as the *pratītya-samutpāda*



thereby removing one of the major difficulties, a camel at Ajanta presumably representing "ignorance." Actually, the camel symbolizes not the first but the last link of the fuller chain, which does not end with *jarā-marāṇa* taken as one link, but gives separate symbols for "old age" and "death," as well as for "sickness" (*vyādhī*), "grief" (*śoka*), "lamentation" (*parideva*), "pain" (*duḥkha*), and "unhappiness" (*daurmanasya*); "sickness" in the Pali texts is usually replaced by "afflictions" (*upāyāsa*). A "hard-to-be-tamed camel," then, as the Chinese text puts it, represents *daurmanasya*, thereby expressing the ancient identification of unhappiness with badness. The camel, which in the zoologist's opinion nobody may call gentle, good-natured, or patient, would seem to be an apt symbol for this state of mind. The biblical simile of the camel and the eye of the needle may also be recalled in passing, as well as the rôle of the camel in Islam where it represents the lower self, as Dr. Coomaraswamy points out to me.

"Ignorance," on the other hand, is symbolized by blindness: a blind man or woman with a stick, sometimes alone, sometimes led by another. This idea has frequent precedents in the Upanishads as well as in the Pali canon. The latter speaks of "men fallen into ignorance who are covered by blindness" (*avijjāgatā pajā andhabhūtā pariyonaddho*, *Anguttara Nikāya* II, 132). The blinding faculty of desire (*kāma*) and delusion (*moha*) is emphasized in many passages. The *Tevijja Sutta* compares the talk of Brahmans versed in the three Vedas to a string of blind men clinging to each other for guidance, a simile which Buddhaghosa in the commentary unnecessarily explains by the tale of a practical joker. Applied to a more general kind of ignorance, the Upanishads in three slightly different versions use the simile of "blind men led by one who is himself blind" for "those abiding in the midst of ignorance,"<sup>5</sup> a passage which might have been the exact prototype of the Tibetan

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does; but also "desire," corresponding to *tṛṣṇā*, "covetousness" (*upādāna*), and "grief" (*śoka*), are found among them, although not in the same place, and apparently not meant to stand in causal connection. These twelve evil forces, incidentally, are connected with the signs of the zodiac.

<sup>5</sup> *Kaṭha Up.* II, 5; *Maitri Up.* 7, 9; *Muṇḍaka Up.* I. 2. 8. Cf. also L. Scherman, *Materialien zur geschichte der indischen visionsliteratur*, p. 127: "... die begriffe der tiefe und des dunkels, welch letzteres ja auch weiterhin stets mit dem todbringenden, ... und dann auch mit dem hiermit identischen nicht-wissen vereinigt wurde."



paintings. In accordance with these texts, we are apparently supposed to see two blind persons, one leading, the other being led, in those Tibetan drawings where two persons are found.

“Depending on ignorance, the *saṃskāras* arise”: this term so difficult to translate because it denotes both what is fashioned—and then, in the widest sense, all things—as well as that which fashions or forms, namely body, mind, and speech, has been aptly rendered by a potter’s wheel and pots, with or without the potter, at Ajanta as well as in Tibetan and Chinese sources. It has been suggested by Har Dayal that the wheel without the potter or personal agent better corresponds to Buddhist ideology; yet this seems to be the later development if we may take the Ajanta fragments as the earliest source. I have not found any direct evidence of the *saṃskāras* being conceived as a potter’s wheel in the earlier texts. Yet the connection is clear when we find man-made *karma* compared to a potter’s work, or the potter himself used as a simile of “fate” (*vidhi*) which moulds the heart as he his pots.<sup>6</sup> The idea may be implied, also, in the Dhammapada where the body, presumably fashioned by the *saṃskāras*, is likened to a pot (*kumbhūpama*, verse 40). In Buddhaghosa’s commentary the process of cooking and baking is compared to the working of the *saṃskāras*. Thus, the symbol also bears out the close connection between *karma* and *saṃskāra* as a link of the *pratītya-samutpāda*, which led Warren to substitute the former for the latter in his translations.<sup>7</sup>

A monkey climbing a tree used as the symbol for “consciousness” (*viññāna*), the third *nidāna*, proves that, in popular terminology at least, *viññāna* was closely connected in meaning with *citta* and *manas*. They are, in fact, enumerated together in a passage which compares the constant changes of the mind to a monkey roaming the trees: “just as a monkey in the woods grasps a branch, leaves it and grasps another, thus that which is called *citta* or *mano* or *viññāna*, by day and by night appears as a different one, disappears as a different one.”<sup>8</sup> Elsewhere it is *citta* alone which is described

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Indische Sprüche*, ed. by Otto Böhtlingk, 2nd ed., Nos. 4353, 5128.

<sup>7</sup> According to Waddell, the same substitution has taken place in Tibetan translations. However, the texts I consulted on the *pratītya-samutpāda* translate *saṃskāra* literally by *’du-byed*, whereas they use *las* for *karma*.

<sup>8</sup> *Saṃyutta Nikāya* XII, 62.



as "unsteady like the monkey," or pictured running round and round in the little hut with five doors, the body, until mastered by reason (*paññā*).<sup>9</sup> Indeed, the monkey seems to have been a favorite symbol to express the inquisitive, restless, and changeable nature of the mind. In other aspects, "mind" (here *viññāna*) is compared to the lord of a town (*nagarasāmi*, Sam. Nik. IV, 195), in a parable which also furnishes us with symbols for the body—a fortified town—and the six senses including *manas*—the six gates of the town. In the chariot simile<sup>10</sup> "mind" (here *manas*)—as with Plato—takes the rôle of charioteer, while the Kāṭha Upanishad in the same simile gives *manas* the function of reins, *buddhi* here being the driver.

*Nāma-rūpa*, the "in-dividual" in its intellectual and physical aspect, is represented by a boat, sometimes with one or two persons in it, in the act of crossing the stream of desire, or the "ocean of existence."<sup>11</sup> The boat alone, though apparently sometimes meant to symbolize *nāma-rūpa* itself,<sup>12</sup> more often is conceived as the external means by which the individual reaches the other shore, be it "Brahma," "*dharma*," or even the friendship of good men.<sup>13</sup>

*Ṣaḍāyatana*, the "seat" or sphere of the six, namely the senses including *manas*, is properly represented in Tibetan drawings by a house with six openings (*dvāra*) in the form of windows and doors, since *dvāra* has come to be connected with the senses in particular. This conception rests upon that of the body as a house or a citadel with various numbers of "doors," so frequently found in the

<sup>9</sup> Theragāthā, verses 1111; 125. In Western thought, incidentally, the monkey sits on the shoulder of Caprice in Addison's allegory on false wit.

<sup>10</sup> Jātaka VI, p. 252; Kāṭha Up. II, 3, 3.

<sup>11</sup> *saṃsārasamudra*, *bhavābhi*, *duḥkhāmbudhi*, etc. Cf. Śvetāśv. Up. I, 5; Ind. Spr. 1639; C. Rhys Davids "Similes in the Nikāyas," JPTS, 1906/07, s. v. *ogha*, *nadī*, etc.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. for instance Ind. Spr. 4740 "*kāyanaus*"; and Dhammapada 369: "*siñca, bhikkhu, imaṃ nāvaṃ . . .*"

<sup>13</sup> *brahmoḍupa*, Śvet. Up. II, 18; Ind. Spr. 3087, 4953, 1639: *nāvaṃ dhṛtimayīm*, 2474: *sajjanasamgati*. We may compare Schopenhauer's famous simile of the individual trusting in the principium individuationis, who, like a lonely boatman, in the midst of the uproar of the ocean, calmly puts all his confidence in his weak vessel. Here, at least, the boat is conceived as the end, whereas in the Buddhist simile all the stress is laid on "reaching the other shore."



Upanishads and a favorite symbol with the Buddhists as well.<sup>14</sup> This house, built out of bones and plastered with flesh and blood, is inhabited by the monkey "consciousness," according to the Buddhists, or by the bird-like soul (*haṃsa*), according to the Upanishads, which latter conception probably gave rise to the image of a bird in a cage for soul and body.<sup>15</sup> The builder of the house is said by a commentator to be *tanhā* "thirst," another link of the *pratītya-samutpāda*. At Ajanta, the six senses are represented by a human face, or a "mask" according to some, with an extra pair of eyes in the forehead for *manas*, the sense of understanding. Correspondingly, the Chinese canon enjoins that pictures of the sense-organs be drawn for *ṣaḍāyatana*.

The remaining *nidānas*—*sparśa*, *vedanā*, *trṣṇā*, *upadāna*, *bhava*, *jāti*, *jarā-maraṇa*—need little comment, since they are for the most part represented literally, like *trṣṇā* "thirst" or "craving" depicted as a man drinking. Realistic interpretation which indeed leaves nothing to imagination is especially strong in *jāti* "birth" showing a woman in the actual process of giving birth. *Bhava* "becoming" is understood, in accordance with the Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa Tantra,<sup>16</sup> in the sense of conception (*garbhapraveśa*) and pictured in Tibetan drawings by lovers embracing, and according to the Chinese by the great god Fan, i. e. Brahmā as god of creation. *Vedanā*, a man with an arrow in his eye, is taken to mean "feeling" rather than "sensation," the "piercing darts of pain" being a frequent simile. However, the sense of "sensation," depending on the "contact" (*sparśa*) of the sense-organs with their objects, may also be intended by this symbol, if we recall the Upanishadic notion of the sense-organ being "hit" or "seized" by its object.

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<sup>14</sup> Śvet. Up. III, 18; Kāṭha Up. 5, 1; Bh. Gītā 5, 13; Dhammapada 153, with its variants in Therag. 183, and Udānavarga; Saṃ. Nik. IV, 195; see above.

<sup>15</sup> Ind. Spr. 285, 1238.

<sup>16</sup> Chapter 16, an extract of which has been edited by L. de La Vallée Poussin, *Bouddhisme: Études et matériaux. Théorie des douze causes* (Ghent, 1913), and discussed by the same author in "Deux notes sur le Pratītya-samutpāda," *Fourteenth International Congress of Orientalists, 1905*, Acts 1, paragraph 1, pp. 193 ff.



## FIFTEEN PRĀKRIT-INDO-EUROPEAN ETYMOLOGIES

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THAT many Prākṛit words, often represented in Modern Indian languages and even borrowed in the Sanskrit vocabulary or recorded as bases in the Dhātupāṭha, either have only remote cognates in Sanskrit or have none whatever so far as now known, is too obvious to require discussion. A good number of such Prākṛit words, however, are found, on examination, to be derived from bases long recognised in non-Indian linguistic families of Indo-European. It becomes evident, then, that a study of the vocabulary of the various Prākṛit dialects (including Pāli) from this point of view would be of service to Indianists and Indo-Europeanists alike. In reading A. C. Woolner's *Introduction to Prakrit* (2d ed., Calcutta, 1928) with a class, the fifteen words following interested me especially as an Indo-Europeanist; and their etymologies are here presented to illustrate the possibilities of a field hitherto inadequately explored.

1. *aṭṭana-* "exercise, gymnastics" is explicable as from \**ǵer-te-no-*, formed from the wide-spread Indo-European base \**ǵere-* "set in motion" (see Walde-Pokorny, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1930-32, i, 136-142) and seen in the lexicographical Sanskrit *aṭṭana-* "disk-shaped weapon." For the determinative in *-t-* cf. Sanskrit *ṛtī-* "attack, combat," Avestan *ərəti-* "energy," Old Church Slavic *ratī* "battle, war" < \**ǵorti-* (T. Torbiörnssen, *Gemeinslavische Liquidametathesen*, Upsala, 1901-03, i, 67) beside *retī* "emulation, strife." Beside \**ǵer-to-*, \**ǵer-do-* appears in "Sanskrit" (really Prākṛit) *aḍḍ-* "be energetic, persevere, attack," *aḍ-* "exert oneself" (Dhātupāṭha i, 371, 380), and *aḍḍana-* "shield" < \**ǵe/or-do-no-*, which, despite F. Kittel, *Kannada-English Dictionary*, Mangalore, 1894, p. xxxii, no. 249, is scarcely Dravidian in origin.

2. *kaḍḍhaṇi* "draws" (Hemacandra iv, 187), represented in Pāli *kaḍḍhati*, Pañjābī *kaḍḍhṇā*, Marāṭhī *kāḍhṇē*, Gujarātī *kāḍhvū*, Nepālī *kāṛnu*, etc. (R. Pischel on Hemacandra *ad loc.* in his *Hemacandra's Grammatik der Prākṛitsprachen*, Halle, 1877-80; J. Bloch, *Formation de la langue marathe*, Paris, 1920, pp. 229,



308<sup>b</sup>; R. L. Turner, *Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of the Nepali Language*, London, 1931, p. 86<sup>a</sup>), comes immediately from \**kardh-* (W. Geiger, *Pali Literatur und Sprache*, Strasbourg, 1916, p. 112), but, despite Geiger, *loc. cit.*, and Bloch p. 121, it is scarcely cognate with Sanskrit *kārṣati* “draws (especially furrows, ploughs),” Old Czech *črcha* “line” < \**qerse-* (for this base cf. Walde-Pokorny i, 429). It seems to be, rather, from the base \**qaldhe-*, an extension in *-dh-* from the base \**qale-* “draw,” seen in Epic and Ionic *κάλος*, Attic *κάλως* “reefing rope, rope, line,” Old Saxon *gi-halōn*, Old Frisian *halia*, Dutch *halen* > French *haler*, English *hale* “draw,” Old High German *halōn* < \**qale-* beside Anglo-Saxon *ge-holian* “get,” English *haul*, Old High German *halōn* “get,” Modern High German *holen* “draw, drag” < \**ql-* (this group carefully to be distinguished from that of Old Saxon *halōn*, Old High German *halōn* “summon” < \**qe-* “call”; cf. Walde-Pokorny i, 444). For the group see especially J. Mansion, *Les Gutturales grecques*, Ghent and Paris, 1904, p. 251; E. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, Paris, 1916, p. 401; Walde-Pokorny i, 356, 444.

Two other suggestions have been advanced concerning *kaḍḍhai*. P. Tedesco (*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* xxxv [1932], 828-829) makes it a denominative from *kaṭṭha-* = Sanskrit *krṣṭā-* “drawn, dragged” (with citation of other formations of the same type); but *ṭṭh* does not sonantise into *ḍḍh* in Prākṛit, so that one would expect \**kaṭṭhai* (Bloch, p. 121, regards *ḍh* here, as in some other words, as a sporadic exception to the regular correspondence; in his *L’Indo-aryen du Vēda aux temps modernes*, Paris, 1934, pp. 238-239, Bloch does not note denominatives formed from perfect passive participles for Prākṛit, but only for Modern Indian). M. Bloomfield (*Journal of the American Oriental Society* xli [1921], 465-466) derived *kaḍḍh-* from \**krzḍ-* < \**qrs-d-*; the objection to this seems to be semantic: \**qere-* apparently meant “draw a furrow,” while \**qe-*, like *kaḍḍhai*, denotes “draw” in general.

3. *caḍai* “mounts, raises, lays upon” (Hemacandra iv, 206), represented in Modern Indian Bengalī *caḍite* and Gujarātī *caḍvū* (Pischel on Hemacandra *ad loc.*; Bloch p. 328<sup>a</sup>; J. Beames, *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India*, London, 1872-79, ii, 64, 69), is clearly from the Indo-European base \**gelde-*, an extension of the base \**qe-* “be high, lift high” beside \**gel-dhe-* in Gujarātī *caḍhvū*, Hindī *caḍhnā*, Marāṭhī *caḍhnē*.



The form *\*gelde-* appears also in Latin *-cellō* < *\*geldō* in *ante-cellō* “project, surpass,” etc., as well as in Latin *celsus* “high” < *\*geld-so-*; and other formations from *\*qe/ole-* are seen in Sanskrit *kūṭa-* “projection” < *\*qe<sub>le</sub>-tó-*, Latin *collis* “hill” < *\*qol-ni-*, *columen*, *culmen* “height, pillar” < *\*qol-omn-*; Gaulish *celicnon* “pillar” < *\*gel-ikno-*, Anglo-Saxon *hyll*, English *hill* < *\*ql-ni-*, Lithuanian *kèlti* “raise, lift” < *\*gel-*, *kálnas* “mountain” < *\*qol-no-*, Old Church Slavic *čelo* “forehead” < *\*gel-os-*, etc. (for further cognates see Walde-Pokorny i, 433-435; Walde-Hofmann, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 3d ed., Heidelberg, 1938 sqq., i, 197-198, 245, 249-250).

4. *cuṭ-* “cut” (Dhātupāṭha vi, 84; x, 72; Modern Indian cognates in Turner, p. 179<sup>b</sup>), which is clearly Prākṛit, is probably from *\*cṛt-* < *\*kṛt-*, with *c* < *k* before a palatal vowel carried through by analogy as in Sanskrit *cṛtāti* “binds,” *cṛttā-* “bound,” Old Church Slavic *črīstvū* “solid, firm” < *\*qṛt-tuó-* from the base *\*qerte-* (Walde-Pokorny i, 421-422). This Prākṛit base *cuṭ-* appears to be from the Indo-European base *\*sqere-* “cut” plus the determinative *-t-* (Walde-Pokorny ii, 577-579; for the initial *c* cf. Old Church Slavic *na-črūtati* “cut, carve, write”) seen in Sanskrit *kartati* “cuts,” Armenian *k'ert'el* “flay,” Latin *cortex* “bark, rind,” Lithuanian *kertù* “I hew, chop, cut,” etc. Besides *cuṭ-*, the Dhātupāṭha lists *caṭ-* (x, 181) < *\*(s)qerte-* beside *\*(s)qorte-* in Sanskrit *kartati*, and the nasalised *cunṭ-* (x, 117; cf. Vedic *kṛntāti*, Avestan *karantaiti* “cuts,” Anglo-Saxon *rendan*, English *rend*; Modern Indian cognates in Turner pp. 178<sup>b</sup>-179<sup>a</sup>). With the initial movable *s*, *\*sqerte-* appears in Prākṛit *chuṭṭai* “cuts off, leaves” (Dhātupāṭha *chuṭ-* vi, 84; Modern Indian cognates in Turner pp. 199<sup>b</sup>-200<sup>a</sup>, 647<sup>a</sup>, where derivation from the base *\*sqeye-* [cf. Walde-Pokorny ii, 552-553] seems quite doubtful), either < *\*sqṛt-né-ti* or *\*sqṛté-ti* (for Prākṛit doubling of intervocalic consonants before an accented vowel see R. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen*, Strasbourg, 1900, § 194), hyper-sanskritised in *ā-cchoṭita-* “pulled, torn” and seen in Latin *scortum* “skin, hide,” Old Irish *scrissid* “rasorium,” Old Prussian *scordo* (miswritten *stordo*), Russian *skorá* “skin,” and, with nasalisation, Old High German *scrindan*, *scrintan* “be wide open, be split,” etc.

5. *ḍoya-* “wooden object” (cf. Deśināmamālā iv, 11), with such Modern Indian cognates as Hindī, Marāṭhī *ḍoi*, Gujarātī



*ḍokañ*, Marāṭhī *ḍokē* “head,” Nepālī *ḍoko* “(neck-)basket” (Turner p. 262<sup>a</sup>; Bloch p. 342<sup>a</sup>), is apparently for \**doya-* with *ḍ* instead of *d* < *dr* by extension of a sandhi-form to serve as an independent word (cf. *Prākṛit ḍongī-* “betel-box” beside *ḍonī-* “boat”: Sanskrit *dróna-* “wooden vessel, trough”; Modern Indian cognates in Bloch p. 126; Turner pp. 260<sup>b</sup>, 314<sup>b</sup>). It would, then, correspond to a Sanskrit \**drotá-* or \**drautá-* “arboreal,” formed from *druta-* “tree” (lexicographical), Lithuanian *drútas* “strong, firm” (for cognates of the wide-spread Indo-European base \**dereyo-* “tree” see Walde-Pokorny i, 804-806).

6. *ḍhakkañ* “covers, closes (door)” (Hemacandra iv, 21; cf. Pischel, *Grammatik* § 221), Hindī *ḍhaknā*, *ḍhamknā*, Gujarātī *ḍhamkvū*, Sindhī *ḍhakṇu*, Marāṭhī *ḍhāmknē*, Nepālī *ḍhāknu* “cover, shut” (Pischel on Hemacandra *ad loc.*, Bloch pp. 342<sup>b</sup>-343<sup>a</sup>; Turner p. 265<sup>a</sup>; cf. also *ḍhamkanī-* “cover,” Deśināmamālā iv, 14), evidently receives its initial *ḍh* < \**ṛdh* < *ṣṭh* < \**sth* by analogical extension of intervocalic *ḍh* < *ṭh* < *th* within words (cf. *Prākṛit kaḍhañ* “boils”: Sanskrit *kvathati*, doubtless by analogy with such words as *Prākṛit gaḍhiya-* “tied”: Sanskrit *grathitá-*; cf. Pischel § 221) to initial position instead of *ṭh* (cf. *Prākṛit āi-*, *anu-*, *ahi-*, *ni-*, *paḍi-*, *pari-*, *vi-ṭṭhā-* = Sanskrit *ati-*, *anu-*, *abhi-*, *ni-*, *prati-*, *vi-* + *sthā-*; for *Prākṛit ṭhā-* < \**thā-* < \**sthā-* see Pischel § 483). *Prākṛit ḍhakkañ* is, then, for \**sthak-ná-ti* (cf. *Prākṛit kiṇañ* “buys”: Sanskrit *krīṇāti*, *punañ* “cleanses”: *punāti*) < \**stṛag-né-ti*, the reduced-zero grade of the Indo-European base \**st(ṛe)age-*, an extension in *-ge-* of the base \**st(ṛe)a-* “stand” (Sanskrit *tí-ṣṭha-ti*, Doric *στᾱσω* “I shall stand,” etc.), with cognates in Sanskrit *stak-* “ward off” (probably < “make stand, stop”; Dhātupāṭha i, 819; without infixed *-ṛe-*), *Prākṛit thakkañ* “halts,” *thaketi* “covers, shuts (door)” (unconnected, despite Geiger, *Pāli* p. 57, with the group of Sanskrit *sthaḡayati*, Greek *στῆγω*, Latin *tegō* “cover,” for which see Walde-Pokorny ii, 620-621), Bengālī *thākite* “stay,” Sindhī *thakṇu*, Gujarātī *thakvū*, Marāṭhī *thāknē* “be weary” (Hemacandra iv, 16, and Pischel *ad loc.*; Bloch pp. 105, 119, 129, 349<sup>a</sup>; Turner p. 295<sup>b</sup>), Avestan *staxta-*, *staxra-* “strong, severe,” Umbrian *stakaz* “established,” Old High German *stahal* “steel,” Old Icelandic *stag* < \**stoq-ló-* “stay-rope” (Walde-Pokorny ii, 611).

7. *daṃsañ* “shows” (Hemacandra iv, 32; cf. Pischel *ad loc.* and *Grammatik* § 554) represents Indo-European \**déns<sub>e</sub>-ti*, the normal-reduced grade of the Indo-European base *dense-*, whose



normal-zero grade *\*dens-* is seen in Vedic *dāmsas* “marvellous deed,” Avestan *dastvā* “doctrine,” its reduced-normal grade *\*densé-* in Vedic *dāmsá-na-* “marvellous deed,” and its double-zero grade *\*dñs-* in Sanskrit *das-* “show” (Dhātupāṭha x, 137), *dasmá-* (Avestan *dahma-* “learned in religion”), *dasmánt-*, *dasrá-* (Avestan *danra-*) “wonderful” < “showing forth, manifestation.” The base *\*dense-* finds cognates outside Indian in Greek *δαῖ-φρων* “wise, prudent” < *\*dñsí-*, Homeric *δέδωκε* “he taught” < *\*dé-dñs-et*, *δῆνεα* “counsels, plans” < *\*dénhe-* < *\*dénse-*, Doric *ἀδᾶνες· ἀπρονόητον* (Hesychios) = Ionic *ἀδηνῆς· ἄκακος* (Hesychios) < *\*ñ-dñhé-* < *\*ñ-dñsé-*. The base-meaning of the group would seem to have been “show” (for further cognates, etc., see Walde-Pokorny i, 793).

The Prākṛit *dāmsai* is usually supposed (cf. Pischel § 554) to be from *\*damssati* < *\*darsati* = Sanskrit *\*dārśati* “he sees”; but *\*derke-*, being a verb of momentary and perfective aspect, has no present indicative in Indo-Iranian or Celtic, so that Greek *δέρκομαι*, if not a late formation, must have meant originally “I catch a glimpse of” or “I perceive completely.” However well founded the development of [ā] from *a* plus a consonant-cluster may be in Prākṛit (cf. Pischel § 74), it seems excluded, therefore, in this instance. In addition to all this, *dāmsai* can scarcely be regarded as a causative as would be implied by its meaning “shows,” the real form for this in Prākṛit being given by *darisai* (Hemacandra iii, 149; iv, 32) = Sanskrit *dārśáyati*.

8. *dalaï* “gives” is evidently a specialisation of the Indo-European base *\*dele-* “split” in the sense of “apportion a part, share, give,” and finds etymological and semantic cognates in Sanskrit *dala-* “fragment, portion,” Albanian *dalloj* “distinguish, share,” Lithuanian *dalis* “part,” Old Prussian *dellieis* “let him apportion,” Russian *dólja* “share, portion” (Walde-Pokorny i, 811; E. Berneker, *Slavisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* i, Heidelberg, 1913, pp. 209-210). That *dalaï* is a denominative from *dala-* is highly doubtful; one would expect *\*daleï* = Sanskrit *\*daláyati*; *dalaï* would seem to be from *\*dél<sub>e</sub>-ti*, *dala-* from *\*dó-lo-*.

9. *docca-* “second” < *\*du-tiō-* (for *ō* < *u* before consonant-clusters cf. Pischel § 125) beside Śaurasenī *dudia-* (cf. Pischel §§ 449, 82, where the pre-form is wrongly given as *\*dvityá-*), Kharoṣṭhī *dviti*, *biti* (?; cf. T. Burrow, *Language of the Kharoṣṭhi Documents from Chinese Turkestan*, Cambridge, 1937, §§ 89, 9), as contrasted with Sanskrit *dvitīya-*, has its precise counterpart in



Umbrian *duti* "again" < \**du-tiō-* (C. D. Buck, *Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian*, revised ed., Boston [1928], p. 137). For "third" the Prākṛit word is *tacca-*, Śaurasenī *tadia-* (Pischel, *loc. cit.*, where the pre-form is incorrectly said to be \**trityā-*) < \**tṛ-tiō-*, which has its exact counterpart in Old Prussian *tirts* "third" (R. Trautmann, *Altpreussische Sprachdenkmäler*, Göttingen, 1910, pp. 112-113, 252). The base \**tere-* "three," here appearing in its double-zero grade \**tṛ-* in *tacca-*, is seen in the normal-zero grade \**tér-* in Latin *tertius*, Umbrian *terti* "third," and in the zero-normal grade \**tré-* in Lithuanian *trečias* "third" < \**tré-tiō-*. With an extension in *-ie-*, \**tere-ie-* is found in the zero-normal grade \**tré-ie-* in Sanskrit *tráyas*, Cretan *τρεις*, Attic *τρεις*; and in its double-zero grade \**tr-i-* in Greek *τρίτος* < \**τρί-τός*, Gothic *þridja* "third" (Kharoṣṭhī *triti* "third" is ambiguous, since it may be either for \**tṛ-tiō-* [Burrow §§ 5, 9, 89] or for \**tri-tiō-*). Avestan *bitya-* (Gāthic *daibitya-*), *θritya-* "second, third" are ambiguous. As the metre shows, *bitya-* is disyllabic in Ys. ix, 6, 7; H. ii, 5, 15, and trisyllabic in Ys. ix, 19; xlv, 1; Yt. xiv, 7; xvii, 58; *θritya-* is disyllabic in Ys. ix, 9; H. ii, 7, 15, and trisyllabic in Ys. ix, 19; Yt. v, 64; xiv, 9; xvii, 59; in other words, we have in Avestan the same alternation between *-iō-* and *-ñiō-* as in Prākṛit *docca-*, *tacca-*: Sanskrit *dvitīya-*, *trītiya-*. For the group in general see Walde-Pokorny i, 817-821, 753-754; K. Brugmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indo-germanischen Sprachen*, 2d ed., II, ii, Strasbourg, 1911, pp. 11-12, 152-154.

10. *bailla-* "bull," found also in Hindī *bēl*, Oṛiyā, Marāṭhī *bail* "bull, ox" (Pischel on Hemacandra ii, 174), if corresponding to a Sanskrit \**badīla-* < \**bṇḍī-ló-* (for the Prākṛit doubling of an intervocalic consonant before an accented vowel see Pischel, *Grammatik* §§ 194, 595), would seem to be from the Indo-European base \**bende-* "drop of liquid" which appears in Sanskrit *bindú-* "drop" (probably for \**bandú-* < \**bṇḍú-*, with *a* > *i* under the influence of rhyme with *síndhu-* "stream, river"), Old Cornish, Breton *banne* "drop" < \**bṇḍo-* (Walde-Pokorny ii, 110). The word apparently means, therefore, "possessing drop(s) (of semen)"; and for similar semantic developments one may compare Sanskrit *ukṣán-* "bull" (Avestan *uxšan-* "bull," Welsh *ych* "ox" < \**uksō-*): *ukṣ-* "sprinkle, wet" (Avestan *vaxš-* "spurt") < \**ueg<sup>h</sup>-se-* "wet, sprinkle"; *ṛṣabhá-* "bull" (Avestan *aršan-*, Greek *ἄρσῆν*, *ἔρσῆν*, *ἄρρῆν* "male"): *arṣ-* "flow" < \**ǵerase-*; *vṛṣan-* "male, bull, stallion," *vṛṣabhá-* "bull,"



*vr̥ṣṇí-* “ram” (Avestan *varšni-*): *vār-* “water” (Avestan *va<sup>i</sup>ri-* “sea,” Agnean *wār* “water,” Middle Irish *feraim* “pour,” Old Icelandic *vari* “water”) < \**ǵeuere-* “wet” (cf. Walde-Pokorny i, 248-249, 149-151, 268-269).

11. *rukḥa-* (Asokan *lukḥa-*) “tree,” recurring in Pāli *rukḥa-*, Pañjābī *rukḥh*, Hindī, Gujarātī, Marāṭhī *rūkh*, Nepālī *rukḥ*, etc. (Turner p. 539<sup>a</sup>; Bloch p. 396<sup>a</sup>), comes, as Pischel § 320 rightly saw, from \**rukṣá-* < \**r/luq-só-*, which has no connexion with Sanskrit *vr̥kṣá-* (Prākṛit *vaccha-*, Asokan *vracha-*, Avestan *varəša-*) < \**ur̥k/ḡsó-* (for suggested etymologies see Walde-Pokorny i, 286, 289), despite Geiger *Pāli* p. 45, and J. Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik* i, Göttingen, 1896, p. 206. Quite apart from the alleged alternation here of \**ur̥/r*, Prākṛit, like Avestan, differentiates between Indo-European *qs* and *ks*, which become *kkh* and *xš* respectively as contrasted with *cch* and *š*, though both coincide in Sanskrit as *kṣ* (Pischel §§ 318-319). A word *rukṣá-* occurs once in RV VI, iii, 7, where Sāyaṇa glosses it by *dīptaḥ*; but although the meaning “tree” has been assigned to it, “gleaming” seems more likely (H. Oldenberg, *R̥gveda: textkritische und exegetische Noten*, i, Berlin, 1909, p. 371). Nevertheless, *rukṣá-* “gleaming” and *rukḥa-* “tree” appear to be divergent semantic developments of one and the same word. The Indo-European base is \**leuqe-* “bright” plus the determinative *-so*. *Leuqe-* is seen in Sanskrit *rócati* “shines,” *rukṃá-* “radiant,” Hittite *lukzi* “kindles, burns,” Greek *λευκός* “clear, bright, white,” Latin *lūx* “light,” Middle Irish *luchair* “brightness,” Gothic *liuhab* “light,” Old Church Slavic *luča* “ray,” etc. (Walde-Pokorny i, 408-411; Walde-Hofmann i, 823-824); and \**leuqe-* itself would seem to be an extension in *-qe-* from \**leue-*, which has other extensions in *-ge-* and *-ke-* (cf. Walde-Pokorny, *l. c.*). The semantic development of *rukḥa-* from “light” to “tree” finds parallels in Old Latin *loucos*, Latin *lūcus* “grove” (primarily “clearing”; cf. Latin *col-lūcō* “thin a forest,” *inter-, sub-lūcō* “prune a tree”), Oscan *lúvkeí* “in a grove,” Old High German *lôh* “grove,” Middle Low German *lō(ch)* “thicket,” Old Prussian *luckis* “log” (Walde-Hofmann i, 828). The word *rukḥa-*, then, originally denoted a special sort of tree, “isolated tree or tree in a clearing” as contrasted with “tree in general” (Sanskrit *vr̥kṣá-*). The base \**leu-qe-*, etc., appears to be the zero-normal grade, with various determinatives, of the base \**ǵeleue-* “bright,” seen in Old High German *elo*



(*elawêr*), Bavarian *elb*, Old Dutch *eluw* "yellow," Lithuanian *ālwas* "tin," Old Prussian *alwis*, Old Church Slavic *olovo* "lead," and probably in Sanskrit *arunā-* "reddish-brown," *arusā-* "reddish," Avestan *a<sup>u</sup>ruša-* "white" (cf. Walde-Pokorny i, 159; ii, 359). The ultimate base, accordingly, would be *\*æele-* "bright," with the grades and extensions *\*æele-ue-*, *\*le-ue-ge-*, *\*le-ue-ge-*, and *\*le-ue-ke-*. Despite J. Charpentier ZDMG 73 [1919]. 129-130, *rukha-* is scarcely cognate with Sanskrit *rujāti* "break, shatter," Irish *lus(s)* "herb," Old Icelandic *lok* "weed," or with the Indo-European base *\*leuǵe-* "bend" (cf. Walde-Pokorny ii, 412, 413, 417, 418).

12. *latṭhi-* "stick, staff" is, according to the Prākṛit grammarians (e. g., Hemacandra i, 247; cf. Pischel *ad loc.*), from Sanskrit *yaṣṭi-* "stick, staff" by a change of *y* to *l* (cf. Pischel § 255). Śaurasenī has *jaṭṭhi-* as the regular representative of *yaṣṭi-*; Pāli has both *yaṭṭhi-* and *laṭṭhi-*; and Hindī has both *jāṭh* and *lāṭh(ī)* (for other Modern Indian cognates see Turner p. 553<sup>b</sup>). Beames (i, 249-250) rightly doubted the alleged change of *y* to *l*, which is practically isolated (cf. L. H. Gray, *Indo-Iranian Phonology*, New York, 1902, § 335). While Sanskrit *yaṣṭi-*, Śaurasenī *jaṭṭhi-*, Pāli *yaṭṭhi-*, and Avestan *yaṣṭi-* represent Indo-European *\*ie/oḱ-ti-* (Walde-Pokorny ii, 443), Prākṛit *latṭhi-*, etc., would appear to be developed from *\*laṣṭi-* < *\*raṣṭi-* < *\*raḱti-* < *\*reǵ-ti-*, a derivative of the Indo-European base *\*reǵe-* "straight," the semantic evolution being precisely the same as in Latin *rēgula* "straight-edge, staff, stick, lath, bar" from the same base (for further cognates see Walde-Pokorny ii, 362-365). Connexion with the base *\*(s)lage-* "strike," seen in Old Irish *slachta* "struck," *slacc* "sword," Gothic, Old High German *slahan* "strike" (for cognates see Walde-Pokorny ii, 706-707), while possible phonologically and semantically, is less probable since the base is thus far clearly recorded only in Celtic and Teutonic. The Prākṛit homonym *latṭhi-* "string of pearls," hypersanskritised as *yaṣṭi-*, is from the wholly distinct base *\*reḱe-* "bind," found in Sanskrit *raśmī-* "string, rope, goad, whip," *raśanā-* "cord, rope, bridle, girdle" (Walde-Pokorny ii, 362). Charpentier (*Monde Oriental* vi [1920], 147-150) connected *latṭhi-* "stick, staff" with the group of Sanskrit *lakuṭa-* "cudgel," Latin *sub-lica* "stake, pile," which seems very unlikely (cf. Walde-Pokorny ii, 420).

13. *lukkaī* "hide, lurk" (Hemacandra iv, 55) < *\*luknāti*, and seen in Hindī *luknā*, Nepālī *luknu* "hide, lurk," etc. (Turner p.



558), is apparently from the Indo-European base *\*lauqe-* present in Homeric *λαυκανίη* “throat,” Lithuanian *pu-laũkis* “fleshy fulness under the chin,” Ukrainian *lkać* “swallow” < *\*luqati* (Walde-Pokorny ii, 380), with the base-meaning “swallow” > “conceal.”

14. *haṭṭa-* “market-place,” borrowed in late Sanskrit and also appearing in Pañjābī *haṭṭ*, Bengālī, Hindī, Gujarātī, Marāthī, and Nepālī *hāṭ*, etc. (Turner p. 635<sup>a</sup>), is scarcely borrowed from Dravidian, despite Kittel (p. xxxi, no. 237), but is, rather, from the Indo-European *\*ġher-to-* “enclosure” from the base *\*ġhere-* “seize, surround, enclose.” Besides *haṭṭa-*, *\*ġherto-* is seen in Kuchaeen *kerciye* “palace,” Hittite *gurtas* “citadel,” Greek *χόρτος* “enclosed place, feeding-place,” Latin *co-hort-* “enclosure, cattle-yard,” *hortus*, Oscan *húrz* “enclosure, garden, grove,” Old Irish *gort* “field,” Welsh *garth* “enclosure, garden” (for further cognates, with various determinatives, see Walde-Pokorny i, 603-604; Walde-Hofmann i, 242-243, 360; Boisacq pp. 1067-1068).

15. *hutta-* “facing towards” (Deśināmamālā viii, 70; Hemacandra ii, 158), for which Pischel (*De grammaticis prākriticis*, Breslau [1874], pp. 23-24) suggested a derivation from Sanskrit *hūtá-* “called,” would appear to be from *\*dhū-tró-* < *\*dhau-tró-* “vision-instrument, eye,” from the Indo-European base *\*dhāue-* “see,” found in Attic *θεᾶ*, Syracusan *θαᾶ* “sight” < *\*dhāuā-*, Doric *θαῖομαι*, Ionic *θήομαι* “gaze at, behold,” Laconian *ἐσᾶμεν· ἐθεοροῦμεν* (Hesychios) < *\*é-dhāue-*, Corinthian *θαμεθα* “we see,” and Attic *θαῦμα* “sight, spectacle” < *\*dhāu-ment-* (scarcely < *\*dheu-* because of the accent, despite Boisacq p. 333), as well as, with retained traces of *ɸ*, in the Hesychian glosses *θῆβος· θαῦμα, θήγεια· θαυμαστά, θηταλά· θαυμαστά* (*β* = [v], *ɸ*, *T* miswritings for *ɸ*). If *hutta-* is indeed from the base *\*dhāue-*, one would expect *\*dhutta-*; but it would seem that, just as in the case of the isolated Sanskrit *hitá-* “placed”: *dhā-*, we have here an instance of faulty sandhi: *dh* can properly become *h* only in internal intervocalic position (Wackernagel i, 251-253; Pischel § 188); thus, e.g., Sanskrit *\*priyadhūtra-* (cf. Hemacandra ii, 158) would become Prākṛit *piahutta-*, etc., and the form *hutta-* would then be used as an independent word. The group of *\*dhāue-* has hitherto been recorded definitely only in Greek (Boisacq, pp. 333, 335; Walde-Pokorny i, 832). For the semantic development involved cf. Modern Persian *dīm* “face”: Avestan *daēman-* “eye”; Greek *ὤψ* “eye, face”; French, English *visage* “face”: Latin *vīsus* “glance, look, vision”; German *Gesicht* “face”: *sehen* “see.”



MANUSCRIPTS AND A MAMLŪK INSCRIPTION IN THE  
LANSING COLLECTION IN THE DENVER  
PUBLIC LIBRARY

CHARLES D. MATTHEWS  
BIRMINGHAM-SOUTHERN COLLEGE

ON THE STREET Called Straight in Damascus, in 1851, was born John Guilian Lansing. His father was Dr. Guilian Lansing, of New York state, noted missionary of the United Presbyterian Church (although of Dutch descent) in Syria and Egypt. After his boyhood in Egypt (from the age of five) and his education in America, he gave twenty-one years of service as pastor and as professor in the Theological Seminary of the Dutch Reformed Church, in New Brunswick, N. J.

While professor of Old Testament language and exegesis at the seminary, Dr. John Guilian Lansing wrote papers on Biblical and Oriental subjects and published several books, including his Arabic manual in the series edited by President W. R. Harper of the University of Chicago. But his principal contribution was that of a teacher.<sup>1</sup>

Broken in health, Dr. Lansing retired in 1898. With several of his children also ill, and evidently with no financial resources, he settled in Denver. After several years of struggle, and more than a year in the hospital, he died, in 1906.<sup>2</sup>

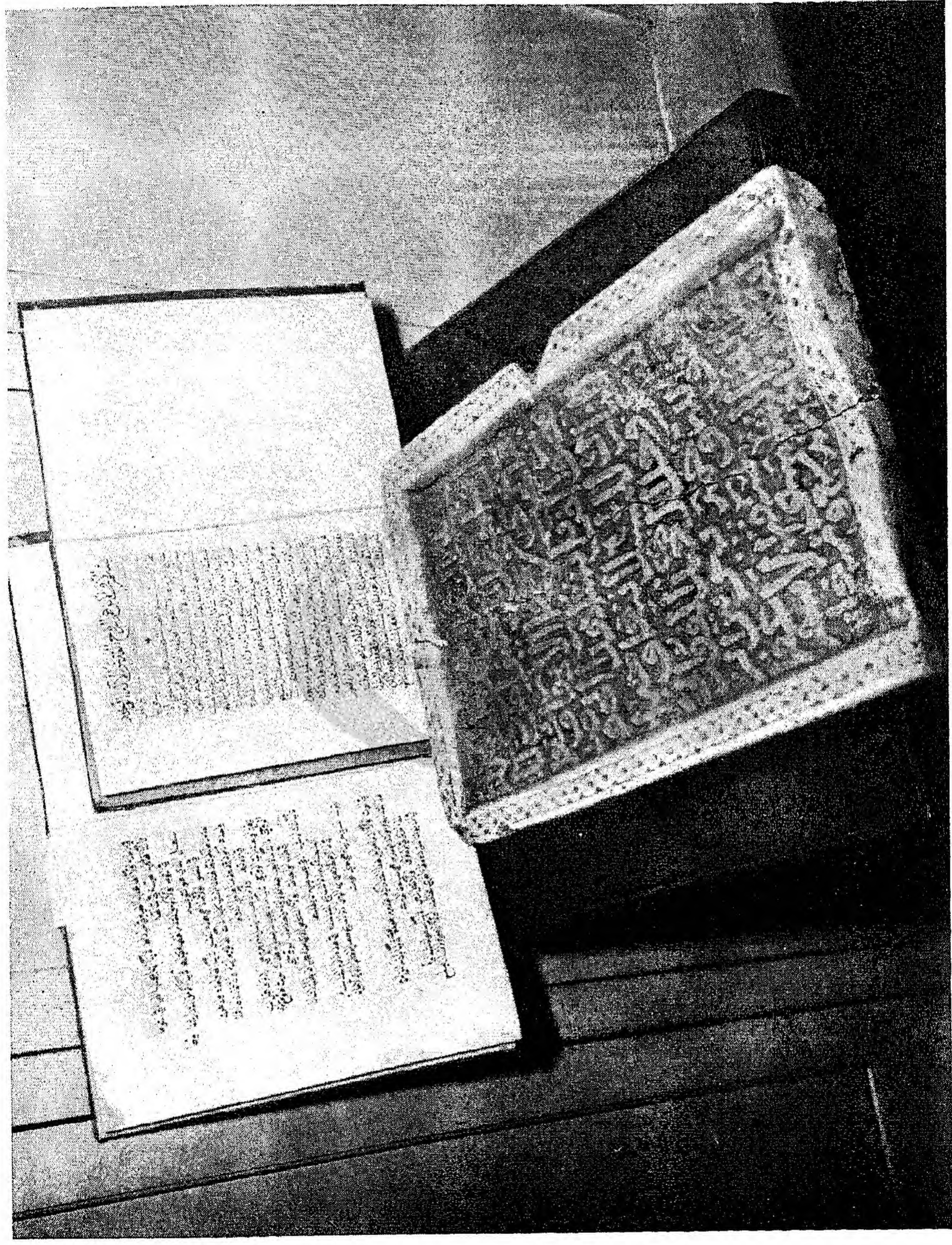
A number of his books and other treasures Dr. Lansing had sold to a compassionate librarian, to obtain medicine and other necessities. Despite the tragic circumstances, it is fortunate that most of his reliques were thus kept together. But they were to remain in the background for more than thirty years, unused and little known. As a previous general article describes,<sup>2</sup> I had the opportunity of helping with the cataloging of the materials in the summer of 1939, while visiting libraries in the Southwest and West.

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<sup>1</sup> Julius Richter, *A History of Protestant Missions in the Near East* (see index), Fleming H. Revell Co., New York, London, etc., c1910; Alfred deWitt Mason and Frederick J. Barney, *History of the Arabian Mission*, Board of Foreign Missions, Reformed Church in America, New York, 1926; Samuel M. Zwemer and James Cantine, *The Golden Milestone*, Revell, 1938.

<sup>2</sup> A general article in *The Moslem World* XXX, 3, July, 1940, gives further information on the family and on the careers of Dr. Lansing and his father.





Front, Mamlūk inscription bearing the name of the noted emir Sunqur al-Aṣqar. Left rear, homilies for reading during Lent (manuscript 2). Right rear, theological and religious essays including several selections from St John of Damascus, Theodore Abū Qurra Bishop of Harrān, and 'Abdallah ibn al-Faḍl aṣ-Ṣamas al-



More recently the Denver Public Library kindly loaned the three manuscripts for further examination and to be microfilmed for future consideration. Definitive treatment at the present is not possible. However, it is hoped that a preliminary study, here given, will be of general interest and of at least some value.

The Mamlūk inscription, which is an addition to monuments of the era and has the interest of connection with one of the greatest emirs of the time, is in all essential points clear.

Grateful acknowledgment is made to Professor Hitti of Princeton University for suggestions on the inscription, and to Professor Della Vida of the University of Pennsylvania for clues and criticisms on both that and the manuscripts.

#### MANUSCRIPTS

I. Fragment of an Arabic commentary on the Book of Revelations; pp. 143-166, 21½ x 15½ cm. Chapter 18 entire, portions only of 17 and 19. Fair, firm but rather stiff *nashī*. Scripture verses in red. Back of folios binder-stitched, showing that they once belonged to a bound volume. Liberal but not complete vowelling. "Ta'" usually for "ta'" according to Christian Arabic custom. Probably of the eighteenth century.<sup>2a</sup>

II. A collection of homilies for Lent, with the title (as given on paper label pasted on back): *مواعظ على آيات من الكتاب المقدس*: *تقرا في الصوم (كتاب خط)*. Bound in brown paper boards, with red cloth reinforcement at outer corners; back in lighter brown leather; 161 pp., 32 x 24 cm.

Inside front cover, title written in pencil—by Dr. Lansing? On flyleaf, "Personal," in pencil; and in ink: "Vol. I. Two volumes Arabic manuscript, Essays Theological and Religious, the works of Chrysostom, written 1233 A. D. (See below on date!) Presented to the Public Library of the City of Denver by J. G. Lansing." On verso of fly-leaf, the library accession number and date: "121307, 5-21-07."

Title page missing as bound; matter begins with continuation (?) of chapter headings as a list of contents: *في الإمامة أولا انها بجملتها*

<sup>2a</sup> On the Book of Revelations in Arabic, see Georg Graf, *Arabische Übersetzungen der Apokalypse*, in *Biblica* (Vatican, Pontif. Bib. Inst.) X (1929), 170-194.



الهيّة في مبدأها ثانيا أنها بجملتها الهيّة في نشوءها ثالثا أنها كلها الهيّة في ثباتها (؟) - في التوبة - في النفس (والخ) This fills nearly three pages, ending: تمت الفهرست حقا امين. Text begins p. 4, verso, with invocatory in beautiful but not most expert large *tulut*, interwoven: <sup>3</sup>بسم اله الابدى السرمدى.

The hand is elegant, precise *nashī*, leaning decidedly to the left, or forward. Although only the margins were ruled (by pressure) for guidance, the lines are admirably kept.

Beginning of the body of the text (even with the margin, as with all the sections in the volume): لا يوجد شيء اشدّ تكبرا ولا اكثر احتيالا من عقل الانسان مع هذا كله ان الخطية قد جعلته ضعيفا جدا (وآلخ). The same type of attractive, large *tulut* headings mark the sections: P. 21, الصوم; p. 35, الاحد الثالث من الصيام; p. 79, الاحد الرابع من الصوم; p. 100, الاحد الخامس من الصوم; p. 119, الاحد الثالث من الصوم; p. 143, الاحد الرابع من الصوم; p. 151, الاحد الخامس من الصوم.

Beginning with p. 29, large red dots mark ends of sentences, and in patterns, ends of paragraphs. From p. 33, Scripture references in margins in red; and sub-section headings and some quoted Scripture verses in red in body of the text. But the use of red ink is not entirely consistent. From p. 151, dampness has caused sticking and pulling away of the ink along inside margins. Some large stains, esp. pp. 134-5, 160-1. Because of damage to the binding hinges, pp. 98-103 are nearly out, but this is not irreparable.

I have not been able to determine how much of the original work the volume in its present state contains. The last folio is secured with a pasted binding strip, and the text breaks off, with a suspended catch-word, in the midst of a moralizing story of Alexander the Great in the East. Further effort to trace the material to its author and origin, beyond the partial search already made with the time and in the materials available, cannot now be made. At any rate, the contents of this volume are far more extensive than the brief "Septem Sermones de Jejuniis" attributed to St. John Chrysostom (Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*,

<sup>3</sup> For more scientific use of script names than is common, see the excellent treatise by Dr. Nabia Abbott, *The Rise of the North Arabic Script and Its Qur'ānic Development* . . . University of Chicago Press (Oriental Institute Publications, Vol. L), 1939.



Series Graeca, Paris, 1857-66, vol. 60—under “Spuria,” pp. 711-724).<sup>4</sup>

III. A volume of Christian Arabic religious and theological essays, taking its title from one of the treatises of St. John of Damascus (d. ca. 760) against the iconoclasts, with which it begins, but also containing selections from several other authors. Bound as the above, with very similar stock (both in binding and in the strong, thick, yellowish paper), but with green cloth reinforcement at outer corners; 292 pp., 29½ x 21½ cm.

Title, on paper label pasted on back: فصل من مقالة القديس يوحنا  
الدمشقي التي طعن بها على مفندي الايقونات (كتاب خط)  
Inside front cover, title in pencil (by Lansing?). On fly-leaf, large hand in pencil: “Personal.” On verso of fly-leaf, library accession number and date, “121307, 5-21-07.” Script: clear, generally attractive but uneven *nashī* (the copyist pleads his age and lack of education; see colophon, below). Initial invocatory phrase in *tulūṭ*. Both margins and lines pressure ruled for guidance (with a *mistārah*?). Headings of chapters, sections, etc., and catch-words, in red. Large red dots to mark ends of sentences. Some corrections, a few (with also some marginal notations) by later hands, e. g., p. 29, top.

No title page or *fihrist* in present form of the volume. Matter begins p. 1, recto, with invocatory: بسم الاب والابن والروح القدس  
الاله الواحد. Title of first treatise, virtually the same as volume title, in red: ولاينا القديس يوحنا الدمشقي فصل من مقالته التي طعن بها على مفندي الايقونات بارك يا سيّد.

P. 7, middle, beginning of second treatise, same author: فصل  
للقديس يوحنا الدمشقي ايضا من مقالته في التكلم باللاهوت وفي مولد ربنا  
يسوع المسيح سيّدنا (وآلخ).

<sup>4</sup> On this manuscript, cf. No. 77, dated 1783, in Georg Graf, *Catalogue de Manuscrits Chrétiens Conservés au Caire*, Vatican, Bib. Apost. Vaticana (Studi e Testi 63), 1934; also, Assemani, III, 1, p. 24. In the libraries of the Oriental Institute and the Divinity School at Chicago, I have had such opportunity as permitted by very limited time to run through a considerable number of printed catalogs of Western libraries, and in addition Migne and Graf as noted above, and: Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*; Paul Sbath, *Bibliothèque de Manuscrits Paul Sbath, Prêtre Syrien d'Alep*, vols. I and II, Cairo, H. Friedrich et Cie., 1928, vol. III, Cairo, privately printed, 1934. Numerous points of interest reveal themselves, but no copies of identical manuscripts.



P. 8, bottom, title of third selection from St. John of Damascus, with "Chrysorrhoas" rendered *majrā ad-dahab* (title continues part of first line, p. 9): وهذه ايضا لاينا القديس يوحنا الدمشقي المكنّا : بمجرى الذهب طعن على النساطرة (وآلخ).

P. 39, middle, a selection from Dionysius the Areopagite: (sic) هذه الامة الذى اثباتها (?) ديونيسيوس الاريوباجيقيس المتكلم بالاهيات وناظر سرّ السماء والملائكة.

P. 45, bottom, a selection from Theodore, "bishop of Harran," or Abū Qurrah: ميمر على معرفة الله وتحقيق الابن الازلي وصنعه الاب: تاودورس اسقف حرّان.

P. 52, bottom: وهذه ايضا زيادة في رسالة تاودورس كتبها الى اهل ارمينية.

P. 58, middle: قول ردّ على التاودوسية اي اليعاقبة في الطبيعة.

P. 65, below middle: ميمر تحقيق الانجيل وان كل ما يحقّقه الانجيل فهو باطل وصنعه الاب تاودورس اسقف حرّان.

P. 83, l. 5 from bottom: وايشا لا يروثاوس صاحب ديونيسيوس في الامة.

P. 86, top, again from St. John of Damascus, with a different rendering of "Chrysorrhoas": (-) مقالة الفها يوحنا القسيس الراهب: الدمشقي المسمى «ينبوع الذهب» رد على اليعقوية.

P. 131, l. 4 ff. Beginning of extensive redactions, many by chapter titles from 'Abdallah ibn al-Faḍl aš-Šammas al-Anṭākī: (-) نكتب جروءا يتضمن شرح الامة المستقيمة وابانة غلط اليعاقبة والنسطور P. على سبيل الاتجاز تأليف عبد الله بن الفضل الشماس الانطاكي (وآلخ).

<sup>5</sup> Migne, vol. 97, p. 1461 f.; Assemani, III, 1, p. 609; Georg Graf, *Die arabischen Schriften des Theodor Abū Qurra, Bischofs von Harrān* (ca. 740-820), in *Forschungen zur Christlichen Literatur- und Dogmengeschichte* X, 3-4 (1910), Paderborn, F. Schöningh. Also, Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, 2nd edn., Cambridge, 1930, p. 221.

<sup>6</sup> Dionysius, see Assemani II, 292; III, 1, 13 (cf. p. 103). Hierotheos, teacher of Dionysius, see Assemani II, 120, 240 f., 302, etc.; J. Tixeront, *Précis de Patrologie*, Paris, 1917 (7th edn.), 384; Otto Stählin, *Die alt christliche griechische Litteratur* (München, 1924), 1490.

<sup>7</sup> Sbath, manuscript No. 649, a copy of (...) al-Anṭākī's translation of St. John of Damascus, *Cent Discours*, and of the work of "St. Isaac le Grand sur la vie monastique." Graf, No. 638. T. H. Darlow and H. F.



148 has citations of Gregorius and of Ephraem Syrus, and, between them, of St. John Chrysostom: *يوحنا الذهبي الفم*.

P. 274, middle, beginning of fourteen very brief *abwāb*, being a work entitled *Kitāb al-Manfa'ah*.

P. 286, below middle: (—) *قولا للبائفن (Sic) في بدعة الفرنج*. The text says that the Franks here meant are the Germans, and that (according to popular "ethnology") they take their origin from the Jews. It recommends that those wishing to learn of their errors should read the *sīrat mīlāt ar-rumīyyah* and the *rasā'il* of Photius patriarch of Constantinople. Between the two references is the phrase: *والباتاريقون المقال له لوصايقون*. Regretfully, I must let the matter stand thus for the present.

P. 291, top: *هذا كتاب وصية الكهنة للعلمانيين عند الوفاة*.

P. 292, bottom, colophon, giving the copyist's name and date: "The priest Michael, son of the sainted priest Joseph, in the year seven thousand and two hundred and three and thirty of our father Adam," etc. (See below.) Text of the colophon: *علقه بيده الفانية الخوري ميخائيل ابن المرحوم الخوري يوسف في سنة سبعة الاف ومائتين وثلاثة وثلاثين لابونا آدم عليه افضل السلام فيسأل كل من وجد في هذه الاسطر الدميمة قصص او غلط يصلحه ربنا يصلح حاله دنيا واخرة ولا تواخذ الكاتب لانه ذو شيخوخة وعجز وقليل العبارة لان كل انسان قصص والكمال هو لله وحده*.

(.غازي in the first line is written over a partially erased يوسف The)

Dr. Lansing's error in dating (see in the description of Manuscript II, above) patently arose from his failure to notice in the colophon the "seven," and his reading the "thousands" as singular. He thus arrived at 1233! But when we subtract from the actual colophon date, 7233, the year 5492 of the beginning of the mundane (or "ecclesiastical") era of Antioch, the result is 1741.

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Moule, compilers, *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of the Holy Scriptures in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society* (Bible House, London, 1903-11) II, 66, No. 1653. The last in his Psalter, translated into Arabic from the Greek in the middle of the eleventh century, and printed in Aleppo in 1706, and hence known as the Aleppo Psalter. Originally intended for use as a service book in the Melchite churches, it has been often reprinted, as by the Society itself in 1819 (No. 1665).



Or if it be supposed the era used is the Constantinopolitan, subtracting 5508 would leave 1725 as the date of the copy.<sup>8</sup>

#### MAMLŪK INSCRIPTION

The inscription gains in interest because it contains the name of one of the most outstanding Mamlūk emirs—Sunqur al-Ašqar, the “red-haired.” A description of it, along with a summary of Sunqur’s career, will be at least a small contribution to materials for the era. For no monument of this emir is included in sources I have been able to see.<sup>9</sup>

The monument is a marble plaque, twelve inches across and seventeen inches vertically, with a chain decoration around the raised edges. The writing is well executed and to some extent interwoven *nashī*. Not all diacritical points are supplied, and in some cases one dot serves for two. The slab has been broken into three pieces, but cleanly, so that nothing of the text is lost, and repair will be easy. Successful squeezes were made by use of common paper towels, laid over the inscription, wetted with a sponge, tamped down with a fairly stiff brush, and allowed to dry.

The lower edge bears what appear to be rope marks. This may well be the case, for the monument is a dedicatory inscription to a *ḥaud* or water reservoir, set up by the emir’s son Baibars as an act of piety in the year 707 A. H./1307 A. D.—most probably in Cairo.

The inscription is as follows: ١ . بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم \* تبارك الذي - ٢ . ان شاء جعل لك خيرا من ذلك - ٣ . جنات تجري من تحتها الانهار ويجعل ° - ٤ . قصورا \* امر بانشاء هذا الحوض - ٥ . المبارك للسبيل ابتغاء وجه ا - ٦ . لله عز وجل العبد الفقير الى - ٧ . عفو الله ورحمته بيبرس ابن - ٨ . عبد الله الشمسي سنقر الاشقر غفر ا - ٩ . لله اه بتاريخ سنة سبع وسبعمائة

<sup>8</sup> Graf dates Manuscript No. 638 (of ‘Abdallah ibn al-Faḍl . . . al-Anṭākī, see note 7) in the year 6560 of the world = 1068 of the Christian era. The era involved there is accordingly that of Antioch.

<sup>9</sup> Among them the following: Leo A. Mayer, *Saracenic Heraldry*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1933; Dr. Mayer’s article, “New Material for Mamlūk Heraldry,” *JPOS*, XVII, 52-62; *Répertoire Chronologique d’Épigraphie Arabe*, le Caire, Imprimerie de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale; and by the same press, *Album du musée Arabe au Caire*, by Gaston Wiet . . . (et al.). In these a number of interesting comparisons may be found.



(The portion between asterisks is from Sura 25.11; *al-Ašqar* is without points.)

This may be translated: 1. Basmala . . . Blessed be He who—2. if He please will grant to thee better than that,—3. Gardens from beneath which the Rivers flow; and He will bestow—4. Palaces. There ordered the setting up of this blessed—5. reservoir, at the public fountain [or, in the path (of piety)], in earnest desire of the Face—6. of God, Mighty and Exalted! His servant, needy of the—7. pardon and mercy of God, BAIBARS son of—8. ‘Abdallah aš-Šamsi SUNQUR AL-AŠQAR (may God forgive—9. him!) in the year seven and seven hundred.

The search for means of identifying the persons involved met no success in case of the donor, Baibars, the son, although he might be found in such a “Who’s Who” of the eighth century as Ibn Ḥajar al-Asqalānī’s *Ad-Durar al-Kāminah fī A’yān al-Mī’ah at-Tāminah*, were it available to me. But gratifying success in case of his more famous father, Sunqur al-Ašqar, was found on consulting Maqrīzī’s *Kitāb as-Sulūk li-Ma’rifat Duwal al-Mulūk*; Blochet’s edition and translation of Ibn Abū al-Faḍā’il, *Kitāb an-Nahj as-Sadīd*, and the eighth volume of *The History of Ibn al-Furāt*, edited by Costi K. Zurayk and Najla Izzeddin.<sup>10</sup> By such

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<sup>10</sup> M. Quatremère, *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks de l’Egypte* (trans. of Maqrīzī’s *Kitāb as-Sulūk* with introduction and notes), Paris, printed for the Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland, 1837-45, two vols. in four. A new Arabic edition of Maqrīzī’s same work, by Prof. M. Mustapha Ziyadah (Ziada), Ph. D., of the Egyptian University, Cairo, Vol. I, parts one and two, Egyptian Library Press, Cairo, 1934 and 1936; part three, by the “Association of Authorship, Translation, and Publication” Press, Cairo, 1939. Blochet’s Ibn Abū al-Faḍā’il, *Kitāb an-Nahj as-Sadīd* (*Moufazzal Ibn Abil-Fazā’il, Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks*), in *Patrologia Orientalis*, Vols. XII, XIV, and XX. Paris, 1919, 1920, and 1929. *The History of Ibn al-Furāt*, Vol. VIII, edited by Costi K. Zurayk and Najla Izzeddin, Beirut, Publications of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences of the American University in Beirut, American Press, 1939. (This covers only the latter part of the career of Sunqur al-Ašqar, from the end of his rebellion. Vol. IX, is also available, published in 1936-8, and it will be of interest to see Vol. VII for comparison). The references below to Muir are to his *Mameluke or Slave Dynasty of Egypt* . . . London, Smith, Elder & Co., 1896.

Because that source gives the fullest information, and because Dr. Ziyadah has provided (as have the editors of *Ibn al-Furāt*) an excellent index, as well as for the good reasons of depending upon the original



sources it is possible to follow the career of the noted emir through Mamlūk history, under his name as above, or as in full: al-emīr Šams ad-Dīn Sunqur al-Ašqar ar-Rūmī.<sup>11</sup> He died by execution, at seventy years of age, in 691 or 692 A. H., after prominent service (including the governorship of Damascus, in which post he rebelled and sought to make himself sultan) in the reigns of Aibek, Qutuz, Baibars, Saīd, Qalāūn, and Ḥalīl (648-693/1251-1293), the last of whom put him to death. He thus saw the end of the Ayyūbid state and the rise of the Mamlūk, passed through and was closely connected with the Tatar-Mongol invasions, and took part in the final defeat of the Crusaders.

We are first introduced to him by Maqrīzī (p. 390, Ziyadah) as one of a group, including Baibars and Qalāūn, who tried too late to save Aqtāi from assassination by Aibek in 652/1254. (Aqtāi and his fellows, most probably including Sunqur, had been guilty of extremely rought stuff! See top of p. 390.) He fled with Baibars and others to Damascus, to al-Malik an-Nāṣir the Ayyūbid. (Muir, p. 13 f.)

Pp. 422-3. Sunqur, found with eight other Baḥrī Mamlūks in prison in Damascus in 658, was released and honored by Hulāgū, who took him along on his return to the east.

Pp. 519-20. (Baibars having become sultan meanwhile, in 658, after the brief reign of Qutuz). On an occasion of state at the Citadel in Cairo in 662, Sunqur's son was circumcised along with the son of Baibars and those of other emirs. (This is probably Samgār, to whom additional references are given below.)

P. 532. After the victories of Caesarea and Arsūf in 663/1264, Sunqur was awarded along with other emirs a fief in Palestine, his portion being half of Qalansūwah and its dependencies. (Muir,

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Arabic and honoring an Eastern scholar, I have preferred to rely mainly on the new edition of Maqrīzī.

<sup>11</sup> The name Sunqur was widely used at the time. (Quatremère I, 1, 90 ff., note 126, discusses lengthily the hunting bird from the name of which it is derived.) No less than twenty-nine persons of the name are indexed in Ziyadah's first volume. The following are very similar to our Sunqur, all of them preceded by *al-emīr Šams ad-Dīn*: سنقر الاعسر ، سنقر العرسي ،

سنقر الرومي (There appears to have been no confusion in the manuscript sources. But if the last, Sunqur ar-Rūmī, is not the same as our Sunqur (as one may suppose from the practical identity of the index notations), there is some confusion in the index, as for pp. 462, 472, 481-2).



p. 20 f. Strangely, not in Quatremère (I, 2, p. 13 f.), whose manuscripts must have left Sunqur out of his account here. The territories granted were those just wrested from the Crusaders, on the coastal plain. Qalansūwah is about six kilometers southwest of Tul Kerem.)

P. 540. In the same year, Sunqur suffered temporary imprisonment due to some grievance of Baibars against him.

Pp. 568-9. In 666, Sunqur fell into the hands of the Tatars, who captured him and others in Aleppo. The sultan showed high regard for him in negotiations for his exchange for no less a person than at-Takafūr the son of Haitūm, king of Sīs (who was leagued with the Mongols; Quatremère, I, 2, p. 54 f., "le takafour," and "Haithom."), who had been captured at Antioch. (Muir, p. 23.) Sunqur was joyfully received in Damascus (p. 570) by the sultan and the people.

P. 628. Sunqur in 675 won a notable victory over the Tatars as leader of the *jālīš* (Quatremère I, 1, 225, note 101) or advance guard. (Another account in a note, p. 632.)

P. 645. In 676/1277, Sunqur suffered imprisonment again, with other foremost emirs, from the reaction of the new sultan Sa'īd son of Baibars to their rebellious jealousy of him. In representations to the *Umm as-Sultān* on his behalf, another emir calls him one of the greatest of the emirs. He was released, through such interests, after twenty-three days of confinement. In 678 (p. 653) Sunqur, of the great emirs, stood longest by the now endangered sultan who had imprisoned him, but after unsuccessful attempts to arrange matters for him, left him, so that Sa'īd was forced to abdicate, to Kerak (Muir, p. 33).

P. 657. In 678/1279, Sunqur came to his highest eminence, as governor of Damascus, in the new reign of Sulāmiš, with Qalāūn as atābek. Qalāūn soon became sultan in fact, and notified Sunqur of his accession by letter from the *qāḍī* (p. 664). (In note 3 on this page, the editor quotes from an-Nuwairī, *Nihāyat al-Arab*, pp. 268-9, *juz'* 29, that Qalāūn assured him he would continue the policy of Baibars against the Crusaders, and confirmed him in his post.)

P. 670 f. (Muir, p. 34). In 678-9/1280, there came the incident which, though for a season overlooked, was the cause of his final execution. Claiming he suspected the sultan had been assassinated



(but most probably jealous of the new governor of the Damascus citadel), Sunqur set himself up as ruler. The Ṣāliḥī and Zāhirī mamlūks were disaffected in his favor (p. 672), and there was uproar in Cairo. Sunqur held ceremonies of accession in Damascus (pp. 674-5), calling himself *al-Malik al-Kāmil Sunqur al-Ašqar*,<sup>12</sup> and being named in the *ḥuṭbah* in the Damascus mosque. He deposed the governor of Kerak, and won over to his side the sultan's reprimanding messenger. A significant indication of the esteem in which Sunqur was held lies in the fact that Ibn Ḥallikān himself, as qādī of Damascus, officially espoused his cause (p. 678; Muir, p. 34, note).

His army was defeated, however, and he fled. His case becoming desperate despite some successes (pp. 676-8), he wrote to Abagā, son of Hulāgū, urging him to invade Syria—which brought the next Mongol visitation (cf. p. 697). Overtaken with a few followers, he gave up, but was allowed to maintain control of the three castles of Šaizar, Šihyūn, and Balāṭanos. (The last is not mentioned by Maqrīzī, but all three are given by Ibn Abū al-Faḍā'il.)

P. 682. The fires of rebellion settled, Sunqur was sent to fight the Tatars around his district of Šihyūn, etc. And in the year 680 (p. 688) he asked and received honorable pardon. On his return to Egypt (p. 691), he was honorably received by the sultan in person. He again assisted in battles against the Tatars (pp. 692, 694), under Menkū-Tīmūr, brother of Abagā (Muir, p. 36), and so helped to save the entire Mamlūk realm at a most critical time. Despite his treasonable letter found with the Tatars (p. 697), he was restored to his charge of Šihyūn, etc.

P. 704. The direction of the wind which was to prevail, however, is shown by the arrest of several of the emirs because they had been with Sunqur in his rebellion. And (p. 728), in the year 684, Qalāūn, ruminating on Sunqur's treasonable correspondence with the Tatars and his failure to answer a summons to the royal presence when the sultan had been in his Syrian territory (Sunqur had sent his son instead), regarded him as still disaffected and dangerous. (A long note is given on his rebellion, p. 728.) In 686,

<sup>12</sup> In Ibn al-Furāt, VIII, generally and in the index, he is called *al-Malik al-ʿAdil*; but in the first reference (p. 33) the name is as in Maqrīzī, *al-Malik al-Kāmil*.



the sultan sent a large force against him (p. 734). Sunqur, probably fearing for the life of his son SAMĠĀR, whom he had sent to Qalāūn and who had been taken to Cairo, gave up. He was honorably received by the punitive commander Ṭaranṭāi, and, on the arrival in Egypt, by the sultan himself (p. 735).

Pp. 762-3. Another harbinger of the storm. Ḥalīl, having become sultan in 689/1290, imprisoned Sunqur in 690. But, representations having been made for him, he was released (p. 770).

P. 781. In 691, Sunqur was again arrested, with others, and bound. There follows in Maqrīzī an unfortunate blank. But, just below, in the year's necrology (as one might pun in Mamlūk taste, with accent on the *neck!*), is the simple statement: *Wa-māta 'l-amīru Sunquru 'l-Ašqar 'an sab'ina sanatan!*

It was a typical Mamlūk death. On p. 782, for the year 692 (thus with a confusion of dates on which the editor comments in a note),<sup>13</sup> its manner is recounted: "On the night of the first of Muḥarram, there were brought forth from the *jubb* some of the emirs who were therein. And they were Sunqur al-Ašqar . . . (and six others). And order was given for them to be strangled. And they were strangled, all together, until they died."

Finally, p. 792, Sunqur received posthumous vengeance and vindication from one of the emirs, Baidarā', who had led in the assassination of Sultan Ḥalīl. The soon to be martyred chief conspirator, in proclaiming his justification to Ketboḡā and his other captors, specifically joined to the list of Ḥalīl's iniquities (see Muir, p. 46) "his killing of Sunqur al-Ašqar."

There are two additional references to the son Samġār. In 697 (p. 847), a wife was bestowed upon him. And, that he was a worthy son of his father is proved by a final incident in the stormy days following the killing of Sultan Lājīn or Lāčīn in 698/1299 (p. 868). Samġār, overtaking Kurjī in his flight after Taġjī had been slain for his part in assassinating the sultan, fought with him in single combat with lances until help came to dispatch him.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> In a summary notation, Ibn al-Furāt (VIII, 151) gives his death year as 691.

<sup>14</sup> Blochet (see note 10) gives the name of Samġār in his author's version of the incident as Šihāb ad-Dīn son of Sunqur al-Ašqar (p. 617 of *Patr. Or. XIV*). He renders the names of the two others concerned here as *Toghatchi* and *Gurtchi*. Quatremère II, 2, 122, renders as *Tagdji* and *Kurdji*. Other sons of Sunqur are mentioned without name in Ibn Abu



And so the curtain drops—until this little monument of dedication, left by his son Baibars in 707/1307 (in the second reign of Sultan Nāṣir, son of Qalāūn), and finding a distant resting place in the public library in Denver, so unexpectedly resurrected the name of Sunqur al-Ašqar. He was one of the greatest of the Mamlūk emirs—great in all their qualities, of martial valor, statesmanlike ability, and brutality. He was a worthy counterpart of many of the European and Crusader knights of his turbulent times.




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al-Faḍā'il's account of his rebellion (Blochet, *Patr. Or.* 14. 474 ff.). We are told, simply, that before the first contest of arms he sent them for safety to Ṣihyūn.



## SOME HISTORICAL AND LITERARY CONSEQUENCES OF PROBABLE DISPLACEMENT IN I KINGS 1-2

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THESE TWO chapters show numerous marks of their contemporary character, but it is equally plain that they have been freely worked over by a later hand.

The first instance offered in proof is 2:1-9. The section now follows Solomon's sudden elevation to the throne due to Adonijah's conspiracy. But David's admonition concerning Joab, which constitutes the main item, knows nothing of Joab's prominent participation in a conspiracy (1:7, 25), which had every prospect of jeopardizing the lives of both Bathsheba and Solomon (1:21), and hence of thwarting David's will much more violently than the two historic instances referred to in our passage. This being the case, David is also oblivious of the fact that Solomon has an even stronger reason on his own account for dealing drastically with Joab. Such an alignment of thought is manifestly unreal and untrue to the circumstances admitted by the narrative. In order to have a structural and explainable place in the text, these verses need to come before and not after Adonijah's conspiracy; and if before, then very probably they constitute the main cause of that incident.

David had repeatedly been moved to get rid of his too efficient general, but always Joab was too clever and indispensable, too swift and forehanded for David to succeed. Now in his old age, word had filtered through from the Palace that Solomon had been slated for the succession and that the latter had been charged to deal with Joab as David had repeatedly wanted to do but could not.

This was a desperate situation for Joab. Hitherto the displeasure of his master had never meant more than his demotion from office, but now his life was definitely in jeopardy. Joab's one sure hope of escape lay in his ability to divert the succession. Such a course was strictly in line with his previous efforts to thwart the will of the king. That is, it was in no sense directed against the king's person, or an attempt to usurp royal power, but only to turn it into other channels.



Adonijah was a very legitimate candidate for the throne. And he may earlier have felt himself destined for that office, but Solomon's official promotion may well have caused him to lose heart and so the sentiments now expressed in 2:15 may have been genuine on his part at one time. But with the commander of the army and David's oldest priest as ardent supporters on his side it was a very different situation. It will be noted that Joab was his chief adviser and collaborator (1:7) and the most prominent guest at the feast (v. 41).

This section has often been questioned as unworthy of David, and if genuine, as the embittered expression of a doddering old man, no longer his real self. But when placed in this earlier setting it represents something much more studied and deliberate and is so directly in line with the evidence of David's longstanding desire to be rid of Joab as to leave no grounds to doubt its genuineness. David had never caught up with Joab, and as he sees old age fast approaching, he realizes that he probably never can. But the thought of a young man on the throne offers to his mind the chance for vengeance which had so long rankled in his soul. The passage now dramatically links up with all that follows.

The second misplaced section is 2:13-23. It is indeed incredible, as has been well said,<sup>1</sup> that Adonijah, after his plot had been foiled and he himself placed under suspended sentence of death, would have had the foolhardiness and effrontery to ask for the latest accession to Solomon's newly acquired harem. It thus appears, as it stands, to be palpably a device to shield Solomon from any seeming harshness for murdering his brother in cold blood. But there is no need to regard it as unauthentic or pure invention. For if placed before Solomon's accession it appears in a far different light with every mark of genuineness, where it fits effectively into the schemes of the wily Joab.

Adonijah's request of Bathsheba (v. 15) served then a double purpose designed on the one hand to allay suspicion that he had any further aspirations for the throne, and to make what appeared on the face of it to be an innocent request, namely, that the aged king bequeath his Shunammite nurse to him as wife. Two things are thus made clear: first, that the maiden had not yet become a real member of David's harem (confirmed by 1:4b), and second,

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria*, 336.



at that time Solomon had no more claim upon her than Adonijah. And had Bath-Sheba made the request of the king it might well have been granted. It is indeed very possible that Adonijah was led to believe that his request had been approved. But in that case, should the king die before Solomon was crowned king, the king's death would determine the status of the maiden as potentially a member of the harem, and to possess her would be tantamount to having taken over the king's latest wife.

Actually Bath-Sheba never went to the king, but instead immediately conferred with her son Solomon, and the two decided that this request had ulterior motives on the throne; they seem to have been strengthened in this opinion by the fact that apparently they already knew that Joab and Abiathar were consorting with Adonijah (2:2).

Adonijah's feast was not therefore unexpected. And the visit of Bathsheba, Nathan, and Benaiah to the king (in Ch. 1) looks like a dress rehearsal for such an eventuality. It was only a question whether Adonijah would make his bid for the throne before David's death. In that case it would be necessary to be ready to proclaim Solomon king before David's demise.

The sequel goes to show that there was little danger of this happening. The strategy of utilizing the Shunammite called for waiting for the king's death. Adonijah's dinner was to be sure under suspicion because the court party had not been invited. Yet even this might have been allowed to pass, but unfortunately some of the guests who had imbibed too freely at the feast (1:25) called out "Long live King Adonijah." The palace decided to act at once. The outcome reveals Adonijah taken completely by surprise. The absence of any military preparations to offset the palace guard shows that he was leisurely building up his cause, pending the king's death. The sequel as stated in Ch. 1 is correct except that 2:25 should now directly follow 1:51.

A third passage out of order is 2:28-31, 34. It is placed where it is because of the present position of 2:1-9, but it does not account for Joab's sudden fear. As the narrative now stands at this point, no one had been executed for participation in the conspiracy. Adonijah had been paroled on good behavior and Abiathar had only been demoted and pensioned off. Why should Joab at this juncture have fled to the altar? The fact that Adonijah had



just been executed on another charge entirely, was certainly not calculated to arouse his fears. On the contrary, the events as stated were distinctly of a kind to have quieted any qualms he might have had. Moreover, if his action was due to having learned of David's admonitions to Solomon concerning himself this also makes his action too late. As a matter of fact the "report" (2:28) applies indifferently to the preceding official acts of the king (2:25-26); but it does have an integral, rational place after 1:49. Vss. 43b-48 are the report of Jonathan and as a result all the guests flee in terror. If Joab ever needed to flee to the altar that was the time, and not after the other chief conspirators had gotten off with their lives. It is also in its proper place if Joab was the chief conspirator. And if he was not, there was no motive for him to have fled to the altar. This arrangement confirms and supports the changed order of 2:1-9 and indicates that the execution of both Joab and Adonijah took place at about the same time, immediately after the feast.

The fourth and last item involves a single verse (1:3) and the problem of the displacement of a single letter. It reads: "And they found Abishag the Shunammite." This is no proper introduction of a person's name in Hebrew (cf. Ruth 1:1b-2; Jd. 3:9, 15; I Sam. 9:1; 16:1-13; Job 1:1). It lacks above all a primary essential in such matters, namely, family identification; and especially in the case of an unmarried daughter, this factor was so important that with it present any other personal name could be entirely dispensed with. A case in point is that of "Jephthah's daughter," who, although long locally celebrated, is known by no other epithet.

We know further that the Shunammite's real name was at least not Abishag. The LXX (Σ, B) reads Αβεσσα(ι), that is, אבישי Abishai. This is, however, still more questionable. Nowhere else is this known as the name of a woman. It was, on the other hand, best known contemporaneously as the name of one of David's chief heroes, the brother of Jaob. The change from Abishai to Abishag seems to have been a belated recognition of this fact. Yet the change does not solve the main problem of family identification, and fortunately it has not hidden from us the masculine name Abishai.

If the original source dealing with the Shunammite the statement ran approximately as in 1:3 and if a word of two letters ending in



ת preceded the name, the first having been obscured, it would have been very natural for a later copyist to have surmised that the sign נת of the direct object preceded the proper name, as indeed it should, and so have supplied the א; but if the original letter had been ב instead, the sign of the object would not have been needed, and we should have then read בת אבישי השונמי the daughter of Abishai the Shunammite, which would meet all the requirements of our problem, with the result that we should not know the personal name of the maiden from this context, and there would be no reason to expect it.

As the account now stands it starts out as though the Shunammite maiden was to be made the center of the picture, but her importance swiftly dwindles to that of merely mitigating the barbarity of Solomon's murder of his brother. From the foregoing, we now see that the attempt to usurp the throne did gather around the person of the maiden in a way that made her unwittingly a focal point, and the attempt to use her became the undoing of the conspirators, by arousing the suspicions of the court party and enabling them to frustrate the plot at a strategic moment, and thus save the throne for Solomon.

As the most beautiful maiden in all Israel, as the person who ministered directly to Israel's greatest king in his last moments, whose hand was sought by a royal prince in order to strengthen his claim to the throne, as the person who thereby unwittingly gave the signal that sealed the fate both of the pretender and the commander of the army, and so determined the succession of Israel's most magnificent king, why does she thus suddenly disappear from the narrative without further trace? The answer may be partially seen in the displacement of Adonijah's request for the maiden after he has been defeated, that is, for the purpose of shielding Solomon. But when the Adonijah episode has been put in its proper order, it is evident that Solomon could not thereafter have taken the status of the Shunammite for granted, since there were other royal princes to be guarded against. The normal thing would have been to have assumed her inclusion in the harem taken over by Solomon. But her position at the palace was from the start such a special one that we have no right to assume so abrupt an end to the original story. The sequel was, we must suppose, purposely omitted. The compiler could have avoided all abruptness and at the same time have closed the incident if it had been possible to say



that she became a member of the harem of Solomon. The fact that this is not recorded, makes it probable that it did not occur.

There are also other items omitted from the events connected with Solomon's succession, as told in I Kings 1-2 that call for comment. First, although it is said that he sat on the throne of David, there is no mention of a crown, or of his coronation. Second, there is no mention of his taking over the royal harem. To be sure, this latter was not a public occasion, but inasmuch as it was the point where the status of the Shunammite would naturally have been clarified had she remained at the palace, its omission may be significant. Now, it so happens that all of these items are to be found in the Song of Songs.

The crown and the coronation are mentioned in S. of S. 3:11, where the official act is attributed to the queen mother. Since it doubtless took place after the death of David, this was very natural. But the name of Bathsheba had been so linked with adultery and murder, on her elevation to the harem, that it may well have been felt that her association with the official initiation of Israel's most glorious king did not add to his lustre.

The taking over of the harem is mentioned in the same verse. The word translated "espousals" (חֲתֻנָּתוֹ) although a *παρά λεγόμενον* is a collective that aptly applies to that ceremony. And it is precisely at this point in the Song that it provides for Solomon's first formal greeting to the Shunammite in a clearly indicated harem scene.

It will doubtless be objected that Shulammite and Shunammite are not the same thing, to which one can readily agree. A recent proposal that Shulammite is used in the poem as a kind of feminine of Solomon seems highly attractive.<sup>2</sup> But this is manifestly found in the latest redaction of the Song. The possibility of earlier and later forms of the poem are now recognized.<sup>3</sup> The oldest available form of the text has Shunammite (Hexapla, LXX; LXX B, reads "Shumannite," as it also does in 2 K. 4:12, 25, 36). There is no difficulty at all in explaining a later form (Shulamite) as due to subsequent influence of the name Solomon. But there appears to be no ground whatever for a change backwards from an original Shulammith. Nor does the number of later interpreters who have

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. *AJSL* 56, 84-89.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eissfeldt, *Einleitung in das A. T.* 535.



explained the l from associating the name with Solomon have any bearing on the older form of the name which, so far as is known, was Shunammite.

For reasons already stated, we have no need to look for a name Abishag. There is, however, another epithet that specifically and unmistakably identifies the Shunammite in the Song and in the book of Kings. The maiden in Kings was not only beautiful but she had been chosen after a nation-wide search; she is described by a term that can only mean "superlatively beautiful" (יפה עד תיכא).

In the Song the daughters of Jerusalem (presumably the ladies of the royal harem) always address the maiden as "the fairest among women." This has to be either pure fantasy or else a unique historical fact. The historical fact is supplied for us in Kings.

Furthermore, another person in the Song traditionally regarded as Solomon, who addresses the maiden, does so regularly by repeating the word "beautiful"; the rest of his remarks may be viewed as an attempt, not always successful, to elaborate on that epithet.

The Song therefore does seem to require connection with the Shunammite in Kings, and when it is so connected, it not only supplies the sequel to the story of that person in Kings, but it requires her withdrawal from Solomon's harem. No interpretation of the last chapter of the Song, in the traditional setting, has ever been able to come to any other conclusion, Franz Delitzsch having put the argument into classical form.

In the same traditional setting, the Song, without change in the consonantal text, is able legitimately to supply adequate and sufficient grounds upon which the maiden's release could safely have been granted by Solomon, so as to have solved a troublesome court problem, without rebuff to the king or loss of royal dignity. This is accomplished on the initiative of the Shunammite by revealing first to the court ladies a personal loyalty that separates her from the king by a bond that is as strong as death. At first the court ladies meet her claims with open sarcasm and challenging disdain, but are gradually won over to become curious inquirers, then eager listeners, and finally sympathetic partizans and supporters. And when this is all perfectly clear to all his wives, Solomon himself appears to have seen the light, for her release follows immediately.

Thus the restoration of the historical setting of the Song permits



the utilization of all the motivation and details of the poem, and nothing extraneous is required to elucidate it.

So far as Solomon is concerned, it contains what he might now be expected to say to the maiden upon taking over the harem. There is no romance element, or wooing, or wedding. He greets and welcomes her by singling her out and assuring her of his favor and by attempted caresses, on the assumption that of course she would be honored by such attention. Her presence is recognized by physical appraisal and gestures of taking possession (4:16) of newly acquired property. Only when she shrinks from him and begins to inform the harem of her devotion to an absent youth of her own rank (1:7) does Solomon make a slight effort to gain her favor by an offer of jewelry (1:10-11). The rest is mainly repetition, principally for the purpose of allowing the poet to present in highly dramatic form and in exquisite lyrical poetry the reasons why and how Solomon's official welcome turned out to be an unofficial farewell. To the compiler of Kings such matters had no interest and to have recorded them would have seemed derogatory to the glory of the Great King. The writer of the Song, on the other hand, revels in these very details, since by playing them up under the brightest lights that his poetry can devise, he could thereby bedim and belittle the empty glitter of Solomon. For if there were those who honored Solomon, it was mostly men of later ages who had not experienced his oppressiveness. But if there were those who despised him, it was a still larger number in Israel who had actually suffered under his heavy yoke.



# THE DEVELOPMENT OF SYMBOLS FOR THE VOWELS IN THE ALPHABETS DERIVED FROM THE PHOENICIAN<sup>1</sup>

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ALL WRITING originated in primitive man's natural attempt to picture objects, ideas, and events, as exemplified in Amerindian pictographs. Out of this grew ideographic writing, in which pictures are employed to denote specific objects or ideas, and secondarily the sound complexes or words denoting these objects and ideas, as in Akkadian cuneiform, Egyptian hieroglyphic, and Chinese. The most natural development of this ideographic writing is in the direction of syllabic writing, in which ideograms denoting words of one syllable become, through the rebus principle, the signs for syllabic sounds in addition to being signs for objects and ideas. This is the line of development followed, for example, by cuneiform

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<sup>1</sup> In considering the conclusions reached in this article, it must be borne in mind that progress in the early development of any human activity is largely the result of two principles, viz., accident and imitation. Outright invention, which breaks away from a previous line of development, is likely to be comparatively rare, and conditioned by specially favoring circumstances. It is so especially in the development of systems of the written symbols of language (cf. Taylor's *Alphabet*, Vol. II, pp. 362-373).

The sole examples of invention in the development here sketched, and these inventions are really resultants of the discovery of latent possibilities in already existing material, are the invention of the Canaanite (Phoenician) alphabet on the basis of the Egyptian alphabetic signs, and the invention of complete independent vowel writing by the Greeks on the basis of syllables beginning with Semitic consonant signs that had no value in Greek.

With the exception of the starting point of the present investigation, namely the derivation of the Hebrew vowel writing from Nestorian, which is a generally accepted fact, all the conclusions in this paper, unless otherwise indicated, were arrived at independently. Later I found a number of those which relate to the Semitic scripts substantiated by the opinions of earlier writers, notably in Abbé Martin's *La Massore chez les Syriens* (1875) and in Hartwig Hirschfeld's article "The Dot in Semitic Palaeography" (1920). I also find that I am in agreement with Spiegel with respect to the Greek origin of the Avestan vowel system; cf. *Vergl. Gram.* (Leipzig, 1882), 11. I am under the impression that Haug has expressed a similar view, but I cannot now locate his statement.



and Chinese. Egyptian writing, on the other hand, pursued an entirely different course. When it advanced to the stage of phonetic writing, the signs were regarded not as syllabic symbols, but as signs for the consonants of the syllable, the accompanying vowel sounds being ignored. This peculiarity led naturally in the case of monosyllabic words with a single consonant, or of those originally consisting of several consonants which through phonetic change had been reduced to a single consonant, to the development of signs for single consonantal sounds; in other words, to alphabetic symbols.<sup>2</sup>

Neither the Babylonians nor the Egyptians realized the advance they had made in the science of phonetic writing, or if they did were restrained by convention and tradition from making full use of it. We find the germ of an independent system of vocalic writing in the Akkadian cuneiform, where signs for the vowels *a*, *i*, *e*, *u* were developed to indicate these sounds when initial, but these were apparently never regarded as different in character from the syllabic signs containing one or more consonants, and this promising beginning was never fully developed.<sup>3</sup> The Egyptians of the New Empire (1550-1150 B. C.) developed a syllabic orthography, the

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Diringer, *L'Alfabeto nella Storia della Civiltà* (Firenze, 1937), 9-135; 178-195; Jensen, *Die Schrift* (Glückstadt u. Hamburg, 1935), 10-54; 58-87; 128-143; Taylor, *The Alphabet* (London, 1883), 1-69; Erman, *Ägyptische Gram.* (Berlin, 1894), §§ 4-62; 2. Aufl., 1902, §§ 4-60; 3. and 4. Aufl. 1911, 1928, §§ 16-74; Sethe, *Vom Bilde zum Buchstaben* (Leipzig, 1939).

<sup>3</sup> The failure of the Assyro-Babylonian vowel signs to develop into a system of vowel writing divorced from their syllabic value is probably due to the fact that it is difficult, perhaps impossible (cf., however, note 5), for a syllabic system of writing to develop organically signs for single consonants unassociated with vowels, in connection with which consonant signs the vowels could be used. The orthography of Babylonian and Assyrian, however, shows many attempts to extend the use of the vowel signs. They are employed as phonetic complement:

- a) in open syllables in connection with a syllabic sign having the same vocalic ending to denote a long vowel, medial or final, e. g., *li-ša-a-nu*, *ni-i-ru*, *be-e-lu*, *nu-u-nu*; *ki-i*, *mu-u-di-e*;
- b) in long closed syllables only with *a*, e. g., *ta-a-am-ta*;
- c) at the beginning of a word before a syllabic sign beginning with the same vowel to emphasize the vowel quality of the initial without regard to its quantity, e. g., *a-al*, *i-in*, *i-iš-ta-lal*, *e-en-tu*, *u-uš-ziz*;



idea of which was perhaps based on, or at least influenced by, the model of the syllabic Akkadian,<sup>4</sup> for the more accurate spelling of proper names, but it never came into general use for writing the language.

It was reserved for later borrowers to take full advantage of the

d) before the initial of a closed syllable beginning with *a*, after a heterogeneous vowel, e. g., *ki-a-am*, *ti-a-am-tu*

(cf. Delitzsch. *Assyrische Gram.*, 1. Aufl. [Berlin, 1889] § 10; 2. Aufl. [Berlin, 1906] § 18).

Dr. A. Sachs of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, who is making a special study of Akkadian dialects, is my authority for the statement that there is considerable variation in the use and significance of the vowel signs in the various dialects, local, periodic, and stylistic, e. g., c) above in Old Babylonian denotes initial Aleph; cf. A. Ungnad, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Gram.*, 2. Aufl. [München, 1926] § 3d.; the vowel signs in b) and d) may also in some cases have a similar signification.

Professor Julius Lewy of Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, has called my attention to the fact that in Middle Assyrian we find an interesting extension of this *scriptio plena* in the direction of a more complete vowel writing. Here final long vowels are in the majority of cases marked with vowel sign, practically always if there is enough space in the line for the extra sign; long vowels of all qualities in closed syllables are often specially marked, e. g., not only *qa-a-at*, but *ši-i-it*, *me-e-it*, *ub-ta-e-ru-u-uš*; short vowels in both open and closed syllables are also occasionally so marked, e. g. *tu-u-qa-a* = *tuga'a* (only case in open syllable), *tu-u-uš-šab* (cf. Lewy, *Das Verbum in den altassyrischen Gesetzen*, [Berlin, 1921] 6 f.; and review of the same by Landsberger, *OLZ*, 1924, 719 ff.). That this orthographical peculiarity indicates an extension of *plene* writing in the direction of writing all long vowels with a distinctive vowel sign is clear; but whether it denotes a tendency to write all vowels, long or short, with a distinctive sign, would seem problematic.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa* (Leipzig, 1893) 58-91; W. F. Albright, *The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography* (1934).

Two principles are involved in this vocalization, viz.,

- a) the employment of the dual sign *y* and the consonant *w* as *matres lectionis* for *i* and *u* respectively, which imperfect method of vocalization was in use 2000 B. C. or earlier;
- b) the employment of the consonantal spelling of monosyllabic Egyptian words, usually nouns or pronouns, as syllabic signs; this second principle was a later development, and perhaps, as stated above, owed either its origin or its fuller development to the influence of Akkadian syllabic writing.

In the fully developed system of syllabic orthography in the New Empire the first principle is combined with the second. Cf. Albright, *op. cit.*, 27 f.



principles the Babylonians and Egyptians had developed. The Persians, for example, carried the syllabic principle through to its ultimate conclusion, developing out of the complicated Babylonian writing, a syllabary consisting entirely of simple syllables.<sup>5</sup> The Semites in contact with the Egyptians, the Canaanites of south and west Palestine, have the distinction of first utilizing the principle of alphabetic writing which had been stumbled upon by the Egyptians, and which lay ready for use in their complicated script. This was accomplished not by using the twenty-odd Egyptian signs for single consonants with their Egyptian values, but by employing symbols based on hieroglyphic signs with new, more or less arbitrary consonantal values. One result of this invention, which may be approximately dated at 1500 B.C.,<sup>6</sup> was the development among

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<sup>5</sup> Cf. A. Meillet, *Grammaire du Vieux Perse* (Paris, 1915), 33-41; Diringer, op. cit., 227-230; Jensen, op. cit., 76-85. This script, which had its origin at least as early as the last part of the sixth century B. C. (cf. Jensen, op. cit., 81), has apparently progressed a step further than pure syllabic writing, as the characters denoting *a* syllables, may also be used as signs for the consonants alone (cf. op. cit., 76-85). Sethe regards the development of purely alphabetic signs for consonants from a purely syllabic writing as impossible (cf. *Vom Bilde zum Buchstaben*, 44), and if he is right, this development may be due to the influence of some Semitic consonantal script, probably Aramaic. It would seem possible, however, for the users of a syllabic script, through wrong division of the phonetic content of such combinations as *ba-a* (= *bā* or *ba*), to conceive the idea that the first sign stood for the first element of the syllable, viz., *b*, and that the second element of the syllable, viz., *a* was indicated by the second sign alone; and on this basis to develop a complete alphabet.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Sethe, *Der Ursprung des Alphabets*, Nachrichten von d. Gesellschaft d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, 1916, 88-161, especially 119 f., 127 f., 140 f.; *Die neuentdeckte Sinai-Schrift u. d. Entstehung d. semitischen Schrift*, op. cit., 1917, 437-475; H. Grimme, *Althebräische Inschriften vom Sinai*, 1923, Darmstadt, Hagen i. W., Gotha, 82-85; Sethe, *Vom Bilde zum Buchstaben*, Chap. 5; Jensen, op. cit., 170-193; Diringer, op. cit., 237-330; cf. also the discussion of De Rouge's hypothesis in Taylor, op. cit., Vol. I, 88-157.

An interesting parallel to the process by which the Phoenician alphabet was derived from the Egyptian script is presented by the Meroitic alphabetic writing, an independent development, about fifteen centuries later, from Demotic Egyptian: cf. Sethe's second article above, 468-470; Diringer, op. cit., 231-234; Jensen, op. cit., 54-57. This script, perhaps through Greek influence, has developed independent signs for some of the vowels (cf. Jensen, 55).



the northern Canaanites of Ugarit (about 1400 B. C.)<sup>7</sup> of an alphabetic script based on the cuneiform signs.

The South Canaanite alphabet was, in agreement with its parent Egyptian script, a purely consonantal form of writing without any indication of vocalism. It was sooner or later adopted by all the Semitic peoples and served for many centuries the purposes of all these peoples, without the addition of any vowel symbols. The fact that the roots of Semitic words, i. e., the part that remained unchanged in the processes of derivation and inflection, consisted exclusively of consonants, the vowels playing largely the part of derivational or inflectional elements, is probably responsible for this, as well as for the fact that the Semitic peoples remained so long satisfied with such an imperfect system. As a matter of fact, even modern Semitic scripts, Hebrew, Arabic, Syriac, omit by preference the vowel signs which all of them have developed. Moreover, the alphabet of the North Canaanites of Ugarit (Ras Šamra) which is based on cuneiform, is not syllabic but consonantal like the majority of Semitic scripts.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Jensen, op. cit., 86 f.; Döringer, op. cit., 264-272; J. Friedrich, *Ras Shamra* (= *Der Alte Orient* 33 1 and 2 (1933); Z. S. Harris, *Ras Shamra*, Smithsonian Inst. Report for 1937, 479-502 (bibliography 501-2). The three signs for Aleph have apparent syllabic value, viz. 'a, 'i, 'u or a', i', u'; they were probably, however, regarded as signs for three different consonants (so Albright).

<sup>8</sup> Prof. Lewy thinks the apparent indifference to vowel exhibited by certain cuneiform signs in Old Assyrian may perhaps represent an outcropping in a non-Semitic script of the strong Semitic feeling of the non-essential character of vowels. He has kindly furnished the following references:

*tum* (Th.-D. No. 119) used also for *tim*, and *tam* CCT IV, 16c, 13; 33b, 21; TC 34, 8; TC II, 23, 13; 27, 18; BIN IV, 230, 17.

*tim* (Th.-D. No. 59) used also for *tum*, *tam*, BIN IV, 106, 14; 210, 11; Jena 269, 23, etc.

*tam* (Th.-D. No. 265) used also for *tum*, *tim*, TC II, 7, 35; 77, 6; etc.

*lim* (Th.-D. No. 228) used also for *lum*, *lam*, TC II, 70, 10; etc.

*nim*, *num* (Th.-D. No. 220) used also for *nam*, TC II, 23, 30; etc.

*šar* (Th.-D. No. 159) used also for *šur* (old Ass. n. pr. *Mi-šur-rabi*)

BIN = *Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies*, Vol. IV: A. T. Clay, *Letters and Transactions from Cappadocia*, 1921. CCT = *Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets in the British Museum*. Jena = *Texte der Hilprecht Sammlung der Universität Jena*. TC = *Tablettes Cappadociennes*, Paris.

It is to be noted that practically all these instances occur in the case of final vowels with mimmation. The supposition of any influence by any



The first development towards vowel writing in the Semitic scripts was in the use of so-called *matres lectionis* to indicate long vowels. These signs were developed from the historical spelling of consonants which had become silent as the result of contraction, and which came to be regarded as the sign of the long vowel resulting from the contraction. Thus such words as Semitic *īaum* "day" written in consonantal script *ī-u-m*, which in Hebrew contracted to *īôm*, gave rise to the use in Hebrew of the consonant-sign *u* for the vowel *o*. The consonants so employed are *ī*, *u*, <sup>9</sup> (Aleph), *h*, and in Neo-Punic <sup>10</sup> (Ain). *Matres lectiones* are not found in Minaean-Sabean, Lihyanic, Thamudic, or Safaitic inscriptions, or in the Ethiopic script, nor do they occur in Phoenician proper.<sup>9</sup> We find their use developing in both early Canaanite (Hebrew, Moabite) and Aramaic inscriptions, beginning with the tenth century B. C. (Gezer calendar), though these early apparent *matres lectionis* occur almost exclusively for final vowels or for medial vowels contracted from diphthongs originally ending in *ī* or *u*, and may in many cases be only historical spelling. Early examples of genuine *matres lectionis* are קמו (Hadad 2), אשור (Panammu 7, 11 and elsewhere), בעוד (cf. Eth. *âdî*, Phoen. עד), הכו (Siloam 2, 4). These vowel letters become increasingly common in the later Aramaic papyri and inscriptions (Elephantine, Palmyrene, Nabataean),<sup>10</sup> and reach a fuller development in Bib-

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Semitic consonantal script is precluded by the time of the Old Assyrian inscriptions (circa 2000 B. C.).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Hommel, *Süd-Arabische Chrest.* (München, 1893) § 7; F. V. Winnett, *A Study of the Lihyanite and Thamudic Inscriptions* (= University of Toronto Studies, Oriental Series, No. 3), Toronto, 1937, texts *passim* (the use of Aleph as apparent *m. l.* in such proper names as *Hārit*, spelled *h-r-t* and *h'-r-t* must be simply historical spelling, cf., 35, 36); Halévy, "Essai sur les Inscriptions du Safa," *Journal Asiatique*, 7 sér., 9 (1882), 462 f.; Littmann, *Zur Entzifferung d. Safa-Inschriften* (Leipzig, 1901), Wörterverzeichnis, 73-76 (the omission of the semi-vowel in the diphthongs *ai* and *au* in Thamudic and Safaitic denotes contraction to *ē* and *ō*; the final *h* in Safaitic is suffix of 3 sg.); Dillmann, *Gram. d. Äthiop. Spr.*, 2. Aufl. (Leipzig, 1889), 21, 22; Z. S. Harris, *A Gram. of the Phoenician Language* (Phila., 1936) § 4: for unvocalized Ethiopic cf. *Deutsche Aksum-Expedition*, Bd. IV von E. Littmann (Berlin, 1913), No. 7, pp. 10, 11.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Diringer, *Le Iscrizioni Antico-Ebraiche Palestinesi* 4; Lidzbarski, *Handb. d. Nordsem. Epigraphik*, 389-391, sub א, ה, ו, י, ע, also 393-395; Ungnad, *Aramäische Papyrus aus Elephantine* (Leipzig, 1911), texts *passim* and Glossar, 118-119.



lical Hebrew, Samaritan, Christian Palestinian Aramaic, Syriac, Jewish Aramaic (Biblical, Targumic, Talmudic), and classical Arabic.<sup>11</sup> They appear also in the Sassanian Pahlavi inscriptions.<sup>12</sup> In some cases their use is extended to denote short vowels as well as long, so *u* in Syriac, *u*, *i* and occasionally ' (מאן) in Babylonian Talmud and Jewish Palestinian (cf. Hebrew ערוּמִים Gen. 2, 25).<sup>13</sup> Later in Mandaic, Mongolian alphabets, and Yiddish, complete systems of vowel writing are based on them (cf. below pp. 404, 411).

It is, of course, possible to assume an independent development of *matres lectionis* in several or all of the various languages in which they occur, when these languages were faced with the problem of better vowel indication; and it would seem not unlikely that we must posit such an independent development for early Hebrew and early Aramaic. Their complete absence, however, from the whole South Semitic group except classical Arabic indicates that *matres lectionis* are not a necessary development of the Semitic consonantal script, and lends support to the view that a complete system of such signs indicating long vowels in all positions, and its consistent use, may have originated at a specific time in a single alphabet, and been copied by other forms of writing that stood in some special connection with the inventing script. The interrelations, however, of the various methods of indicating vowels in this way which are presented by the different scripts are not clear, and their study must be reserved for a special investigation.

Another specifically Semitic development is the use in the Syriac script of dots above or below the line of consonants to denote general differences in vocalization, as for example a fuller vocaliza-

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<sup>11</sup> For more fully developed systems of *m. l.* cf. Bauer u. Leander, *Hist. Gram. d. Hebr. Spr.* (Halle, a. S., 1918), 91, 92; Nöldeke, *Syrische Gram.*, 2 Aufl. (Leipzig, 1898), 5, 6; Wright-De Goeje, *A Grammar of the Arabic Lang.* (Cambridge, 1896), 1, 7; Marti, *Gram. d. Biblisch-Aramäischen Spr.*, 2, Aufl. (Berlin, 1911), 5, 6; Dalman, *Gram. d. Jüdisch-Palästinischen Aramäisch*, 2. Aufl. (Leipzig, 1905), § 12; Petermann, *Brevis Linguae Samaritanae Gram.* (Berolini, 1873); 3; Schulthess, *Gram. d. Christlich-Palästinischen Aramäisch* (Tübingen, 1924), 7-10.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Haug, *An Introductory Essay on the Pahlavi Language* (Bombay and London, 1870), 44.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Nöldeke, op. cit., 5; Margolis, *Lehrb. d. Aram. Spr. d. Babylonischen Talmuds* (München, 1910), 4, 5; Dalman, op. cit., 71.



tion characterized by an *a*-sound from a weaker characterized by *i* or *e*.<sup>14</sup>

The more or less chaotic system of points indicating vowel differences which is found in certain Christian Palestinian Aramaic manuscripts is derived from this Syriac dot system.<sup>15</sup>

When the Semitic consonantal alphabet was adopted by the Greeks, certainly long before 590 B. C. (Abu Simbel) and probably as early as the eighth century (Hymettos);<sup>16</sup> it came into the possession of a people to whom, on account of the different genius of their language, the consonantal sounds no longer occupied the position of peculiar prominence which they enjoyed in all the Semitic languages. To these people vocalic sounds were just as important parts of words as consonantal sounds, and it was only natural that these sounds should be given independent expression. Accordingly, we find in the early Greek inscriptions, signs which were originally consonantal in character employed to denote the vowels in all positions. The Semitic Aleph (glottal catch) is employed for *a*, He (*h*, laryngeal surd spirant) for *e* (originally both long and short), Heth (*h*, probably a laryngeal surd spirant more violent than *h*) becomes *ē*, though its origin is reflected in the fact that it is also used for a time to indicate an *h*-sound; Yod (*i*, palatal semivowel) and Waw (*u*, labial semivowel) become respectively the symbols for *i* and *u*, Ain (sonant laryngeal spirant) somewhat surprisingly assumes the function of *o*. This development in general is doubtless due to the fact that the Greeks did not pronounce these Semitic consonantal sounds when they stood as initial before vowels, and so they became the signs for the vowels that followed. It is most likely that the vowel values of the vowel signs were developed in accordance with the acrophonic principle, which the Greeks learned from the Egyptians, either directly, or indirectly through the Phoenicians.<sup>17</sup> On this theory

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Abbé Martin, "La Massore chez les Syriens," *Journal Asiatique*, 7 série 5 (1875), 98-110; R. Duval, *Grammaire Syriacque* (Paris, 1881), 61-67; Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.* 6, 7.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Schulthess, *op. cit.*, 9-11.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Carpenter, "Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet," *AJA* 37 (1933), 25; Blegen, "Inscriptions on Geometric Pottery from Hymettos," *ibid.* 38 (1934), 27; Tod, "The Progress of Greek Epigraphy," *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 59 (1939), 246-247.

<sup>17</sup> So Sethe, *Die neuentd. Sinaischrift*, 471 f.

The principle of acrophony, i. e., the employment of the picture symbol of



the Greek value of Ain is here said to be due to a pronunciation *oin*, presumed on the fact that laryngeals in some Semitic dialects change *a* to *o*.<sup>18</sup>

It is not impossible that the *o* value of Ain is independent of any Semitic value of the sign, and is developed by acrophony from the Greek translation of Ain, viz., *ὀφθαλμός*, the form of the letter suggesting the word, just as similarly the English name of 0 (*naught*, *zero*) has been changed in colloquial English to *ought*, *o* as a result of the suggestion of its form. Note, moreover, that the name *Ain* or *Oin* is not preserved as the name of the letter.<sup>19</sup>

The Greek alphabet, as is well known, is the parent of all the alphabets of Europe (Latin, Slavic, etc.), and also of the Coptic alphabet of Egypt; therefore all these alphabets get their system of vowel writing from the Greeks.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, the conquests of Alexander at the end of the 4th century B. C. carried the Greek alphabet with its vowel writing into Persia and Northwest India, where consonantal forms of writing based on some Aramaic script had already probably long been in vogue, and the vowel systems of both the Iranian and Indian alphabets as well as the offshoots of the latter in Farther India, the East Indies, and the Philippines, though they are perhaps based on the Semitic *matres lectionis* ' *u*, and *i*, probably owe their completion to the stimulus of the Greek system. In the Iranian alphabet in which the Avesta is written

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a word for its initial sound, apparently originated in the Egyptian script, as a secondary development based on the alphabetic signs, where the ideogram and the initial consonant were identical. Following this model ideograms of words containing more than one consonant were similarly employed to indicate their initial sound. This principle first manifests itself in the Egyptian secret script which goes back to the sixteenth century B. C. or earlier (cf. Sethe, *op. cit.*, 472-474). It apparently played an important part in the development of the Phoenician alphabet from the Egyptian hieroglyphs (cf. *ibid.*, 470-472).

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Brockelmann, *Grundriss* I (Berlin, 1908), § 74, d; β, γ.

<sup>19</sup> Albright suggests that probably the fact that *o* was the only vowel without a special sign, and Ain was the only Semitic letter without a Greek value, played a part in fixing the value of the sign. He thinks also the shorter and probably older word *ὄμμα*, which has the same initial as *ὀφθαλμός*, is perhaps more likely to have suggested itself as a substitute for the Semitic name Ain.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Diringer, *L'Alfabeto*, 371-400; 461-490; 521-546; Jensen, *op. cit.*, 314-397; Taylor, *op. cit.*, 2. 124-227.



(which seems to date at least from the sixth century A. D.),<sup>21</sup> the vowels have independent signs in all positions; in the Indian alphabets (from Aṣoka, 250 B. C. onward)<sup>22</sup> and their descendants, only initial vowels have independent signs, intermediate vowels, except *a*, which is indicated by the consonant sign without modification, being denoted by secondary marks attached above or below the line of consonants. In the Iranian, the Greek system of independent vowel signs has been adopted in its entirety, in the Indian we have apparently the result of a more conservative modification of the primitive Semitic consonantal writing.

The Armenian and Georgian alphabets, whose consonantal signs seem to be based on Iranian forms (Sassanian, Pahlavi) earlier than the Avestan, have complete independent vowel systems like the Avestan. There is a tradition that both the Armenian and one of the Georgian systems were invented by St. Mesrob, circa 400 A. D., after consultation with several learned Greeks, "on the pattern of the Greek writing." As these alphabets seem to be based not on Greek letters, but on the Iranian, the above phrase in the traditional account may and probably does refer to the adoption of the principle of complete independent vowel writing from the Greeks.<sup>23</sup>

The discrepancy in time between the early Indian inscriptions (250 B. C.) and the presumable beginnings of Avestan (6th century A. D.; earliest preserved manuscript 13th century A. D.), as well as the difference in the character of the vowel writing, would seem to argue against any theory that they are a common borrowing from the Greek of the Alexandrian invasion. Moreover, the earliest form of Iranian writing found in the Kapur-di-giri inscription of Aṣoka (the so-called Kharoṣṭhī or Indo-Bactrian) has the same system of vowel writing as the Indian alphabets. If the Avestan

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<sup>21</sup> Cf. Jensen, *op. cit.*, 301-306; Diringer, *L'Alfabeto*, 447-449; Taylor, *op. cit.*, 2. 228-262, especially 249-253; Spiegel, *Vergl. Gram. d. Altérânischen Sprache* (Leipzig, 1882), 11, 12; Jackson, *Avesta Gram.* (Stuttgart, 1892), *Introd.* §§ 21, 24, 48, 49, 53.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Bühler, *Indische Palaeographie* (= *Grundr. d. Indo-Arischen Philologie u. Altertumskunde* 1. 11; Strassburg, 1896), 1-19; Diringer, *L'Alfabeto*, 613-670; Jensen, *op. cit.*, 245-282; Taylor, *op. cit.*, 2. 256-361; Halévy, "Essai sur l'origine des écritures indiennes," *Journal Asiatique* 8. sér. 6 (1885), 243-301.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Diringer, *L'Alfabeto*, 456-460; Jensen, *op. cit.*, 306-313; Taylor, *op. cit.*, 2. 268-284.



system of vowel writing was borrowed directly from the Greeks, this borrowing must have taken place much later than that responsible for the Indian vowel system and under different circumstances. It is not unlikely that the Avestan system of vowel writing comes not directly from the Greek, but from the neighboring Armenian, whose traditional beginnings antedate by over a century the earliest date suggested for the origin of Avestan.<sup>24</sup>

From the eighth century A.D. onward, we find developing in several of the Semitic scripts, secondary systems of vowel symbols distinct from the old *matres lectionis*, consisting of signs placed above or below the consonantal signs. This development seems to have originated with the Syriac script. Here we find two systems of vowel symbols or vowel pointing, one consisting of small Greek vowel letters placed either above or below the consonant signs, used by the Jacobites of West Syria; the other a dot system, based on the older Syriac dots denoting general difference in vocalization, employed by the Nestorians of East Syria. Leaving aside for the moment the question of the relative age of these two systems, the supposition lies near at hand that the system of the Jacobites is the earlier, due to the strong Greek influence to which they were exposed, and that the Nestorian system was developed by the rival sect in imitation of the Jacobite, the adoption of the same system as that employed by the Jacobites being prevented by the ill-will existing between the two sects. This, *a priori* supposition which I based at first simply on the probabilities of the case, is confirmed by such evidence as we have, cited by Abbé Martin,<sup>25</sup> which seems to show that the system based on the Greek vowels is the older of the two.

The idea of combining the Greek vowel signs with the Syriac consonants probably originated in the custom followed by certain Syriac writers of glossing the Syriac consonantal spelling of a Greek proper noun with its equivalent in Greek letters in the margin.

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<sup>24</sup> Cf. Taylor, *op. cit.*, 2. 256-262; Halévy, *op. cit.*, 247-267; Spiegel, *op. cit.*, 11 suggests the possibility of a derivation from the Armenian alphabet (*viz.*, "Wir unsererseits finden keinen Grund zu bezweifeln, dass die jetzige Awesta-Schrift etwa im 6. Jahrhundert unserer Zeitrechnung entstanden sei, entweder unter directem Einfluss der griechischen Schreibweise oder nach dem Urbilde des armenischen Alphabetes"), but he does not further elaborate the point.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. *op. cit.*, 148.



From this it was an easy transition to place the Greek vowel letters above or below the Syriac consonants of the proper name in the text, and the way was then open for a general use of the vowel signs.<sup>26</sup> The Jacobite system of Greek vowels was not further productive, but the Nestorian system played a part in the development of vowel writing, second only to that of Greek itself.

The Nestorian system of vowel writing is based on the older Syriac system of dots employed by all Syriac scripts before the development of a complete system of vocalic symbols, to indicate in a general way differences in vocalization. The most primitive feature of this system is the employment of a single dot above the line of consonants to denote what was regarded as a fuller vocalization, characterized particularly by an *a*-quality, and of a single dot below the line to denote a less full vocalization, characterized by *i* or *e*. A double dot above the line was employed to distinguish a plural from a singular form. A double dot was also employed to denote a third pronunciation of a consonantal skeleton different from that denoted by either the single supralinear or the single infralinear dot. In the Jacobite script these two dots (Měpaggē-dānā) were placed one above and one below the line, and had quite an extensive use before the introduction of the Greek vowel points. In Nestorian the two dots were placed below the line and were apparently employed only to distinguish 3 f. sg. pf. (ܡܥܝܬܐ) from 2 sg. pf. with supralinear dot (ܡܥܝܬܐ) and from 1 sg. pf. with infralinear dot (ܡܥܝܬܐ).

In the development of their system of vowel points, the Nestorians seem to have employed the principle of using the double dot to denote intensification, already exemplified in the so-called plural points. The infralinear dot, originally the sign for less full vocalization, usually associated with *i* *e*-quality, was apparently doubled to denote *e*-quality, which was regarded as a stronger vocalization than *i* viz., ܐܝ or ܐܝܝ or ܐܝܝܝ. As practically all original short *i*'s were pronounced with an *e* equality, the original single dot was employed only in connection with the *mater lectionis* ܐ (*i*) to denote *ī*, which distinguished it from the *i* at the end of the diphthongs *ai*, *āi*, which had originally the supralinear dot. The supralinear dot, originally the sign for an *a*-quality, was doubled to denote *ā*, viz., ܐܐ or ܐܐܐ.

Originally there was apparently no significance in the slant of

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<sup>26</sup> Cf. op. cit., 165-166, and note, pp. 164, 165.



the two dots, the differentiation in the case of the *e* vowel probably being later,  $\ddot{e}$ ,  $\dot{e}$  being adopted for the open *e*  $\dot{e}$  for the close *e*. In the case of the  $\bar{a}$  vowel, the two horizontal dots were already preempted by the old plural points, so a slanting position had to be employed. Of the two possible slanting positions, both of which occur, the one slanting downward towards the left becomes the regular position.

The single supralinear dot should logically have been employed to denote the short *a* as distinct from  $\bar{a}$ , but for some reason this sign was given up in favor of another. Possibly the exceedingly common use of the single supralinear dot, still preserved after the introduction of the full vowel pointing to denote the active participle with its characteristic  $\bar{a}$ , rendered it ambiguous and hence unsuitable. The symbol selected to denote the *a* seems, somewhat strangely, to have been borrowed from the Jacobite Mēpaggēdānā. This, as has already been mentioned, consisted of two dots, one above and one below the line, to denote a third vocalization different from the two denoted respectively by the single supralinear and the single infralinear dot; e. g.,  $\text{ܒܢܐ}$  *bēnā* with infralinear dot is 3. masc. sg. pf.,  $\text{ܒܢܐ}$  *bānē* with supralinear dot is active participle, while  $\text{ܒܢܐ}$  with Mēpaggēdānā denoted the passive participle *bēnē*. It so happened that one of the chief uses of the sign was to distinguish 3 fem. sg. pf.  $\text{ܩܬܠܬ}$  *qetlat* from  $\text{ܩܬܠܬ}$  *qēṭalt* 2. sg. pf. with supralinear dot and  $\text{ܩܬܠܬ}$  *qeṭlēt* 1. sg. pf. with infralinear dot. It was also employed to mark the construct state of a feminine noun, e. g.,  $\text{ܡܠܟܬ}$  *malkat*. Both the 3 fem. sg. pf. and the construct feminine end in *at*, and the two dots of the Mēpaggēdānā were regularly placed one above and one below the final *t*, so that to all intents and purposes it functioned in these forms as the sign of the vowel *a* of the final syllable. It was this value which was borrowed by the Nestorians.

The vowels *u* and *o* before the development of the complete vowel systems were regularly denoted by both Jacobites and Nestorians by the *mater lectionis*  $\circ$  without regard to quantity. In their completed vowel system the Nestorians applied here the original primary principle of the single dot to distinguish between *u* and *o*, the infralinear dot denoting *u* ( $\underset{\circ}{o}$ ) the supralinear, *o* ( $\overset{\circ}{o}$ ). As the infralinear dot under the exceedingly common  $\text{ܠܗܘ}$  *hū* denotes the *u*-quality of the vowel as opposed to the supralinear in  $\text{ܠܗܘ}$  *hau*, it is not unlikely that the infralinear dot marking  $\underset{\circ}{o}$  as *u*



originated here, the *o* which is a common contraction of *au* being regarded as a stronger vocalization and hence marked with supra-linear dot. It is not impossible, however, that after the infralinear dot became fixed as the sign of the *u* quality of **o**, its other quality *o* was marked with the dot in opposite position without regard to its relatively strong or weak vocalization.

The Mandaeans, an Aramaic speaking Gnostic sect of lower Babylonia (Iraq), have developed a complete system of independent vowel writing based on the *matres lectionis*, but as the relation of the consonantal forms with the other Aramaic alphabets is obscure, and we know nothing about the time or manner of the introduction of the vowel system, it is impossible to speak with certainty about its origin. The earliest specimens of this writing are inscriptions on certain incantation bowls which date from *circa* 600 A. D.; practically all other Mandaic texts are preserved in manuscripts of much later date. The script of the incantation bowls differs from that of the later documents in the sparser and less consistent use of the *matres lectionis*.<sup>27</sup> It would seem not unlikely that the original Mandaic writing is derived from some form of Aramaic script with frequent *matres lectionis* as in Nabataean, Palmyrene, or Nestorian, that the complete system of vowel writing which we find in the later texts is due to some outside stimulus, and that that stimulus is to be sought in the complete vowel system of their Nestorian neighbors, which as we have seen was developed in all probability in the eighth century A. D.

The Nestorian system of vowel pointing seems to lie at the basis of all three systems of Hebrew vowel pointing, Tiberian, Babylonian, and Palestinian. That the Hebrew Masorites prior to the introduction of complete vocalization by the Syrians were under Syriac influence is indicated by the fact that the Syriac two dot system of differentiating between what were regarded as strong and weak vocalizations seems to have been in vogue before the introduction of complete vowel pointing.<sup>28</sup> Moreover, some of the special Hebrew

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<sup>27</sup> Cf. Montgomery, *Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur* (Phila., 1913), 102-105, also 38, 39; Diringer, *L'Alfabeto*, 433-436; Jensen, *op. cit.*, 230 f.; Lidzbarski, *Ginza, d. Grosse Buch d. Mandäer* (Göttingen u. Leipzig, 1925), xii f., thinks some texts (amulets) are as early as fourth century A. D.; cf. also Nöldeke, *Mandäische Gram.* (Halle, 1875), 3-12 and plate opp. p. 486.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Bauer u. Leander, *Hist. Gram.*, 93-95; Bergsträsser, *Hebräische Grammatik* (= Gesenius *Heb. Gram.* Aufl. 29), 54, 55.



diacritical marks, notably the Daghes, can be shown to be of Syriac origin (cf. below n. 29).

No single vowel is represented by exactly the same sign in all three systems, though the use of a double dot to denote *e*-quality is common to all three, viz.:

Tiberian	$\ddot{\text{—}}$	= <i>e</i> , $\dot{\text{—}}$	= <i>ě</i>
Babylonian	$\ddot{\text{—}}$	= <i>e</i> , $\dot{\text{—}}$	= <i>ä</i>
Palestinian	$\dot{\text{—}}$	= <i>e</i> ; later $\dot{\text{—}}$	= <i>ä</i> , $\ddot{\text{—}}$ = <i>e</i>

The *i*-sign is the same in Tiberian and Babylonian, viz.  $\dot{\text{—}}$ ,  $\dot{\text{—}}$ ; the short *a* sign, the same in Tiberian and Palestinian (viz.  $\text{—}$ ,  $\text{—}$ ). In Babylonian and Palestinian all vowel signs are supralinear, in Tiberian all are infralinear except one, the *o* sign.

Tiberian preserves the original meaning of the infralinear single dot, viz. *i*; the dots used in the writing of *o* (viz.  $\dot{\text{—}}$ ,  $\dot{\text{—}}$ ) and *u plene* (viz.  $\dot{\text{—}}$ ) correspond to the Nestorian supra and infralinear dots with Waw. The Nestorian infralinear double dot sign for *e*-quality appears in Tiberian in two varieties,  $\ddot{\text{—}}$  = *e* (Šere),  $\dot{\text{—}}$  = *ě* (Shewa). Instead of a supralinear dot for the short *a*-vowel (this would have conflicted with the *o*-sign) Tiberian employs an infralinear dash  $\text{—}$ , probably based on the Nestorian Mēhaggēiānā, a similar dash used to denote a secondary vowel developed before *l*, *r*, *m*, *n*, e. g.,  $\text{—}$  (dehāltā). The other Tiberian vowel signs are of secondary origin. Seghol ( $\ddot{\text{—}}$ ) is an *e*-vowel differentiated from  $\ddot{\text{—}}$  by an additional dot; Qibbuṣ probably represents another arrangement, apparently an arbitrary one, of the three dots made familiar by the use of a triple dot sign for Seghol. Perhaps the Palestinian triple dot sign for *o*, viz.  $\ddot{\text{—}}$  is connected in some way with Qibbuṣ. Qameṣ is a sign formed of a combination of  $\text{—}$  (*a*) and  $\dot{\text{—}}$  (*o*), the *o*-dot being placed below the Pathah as indicated by early forms of the sign, viz.,  $\dot{\text{—}}$ .<sup>29</sup>

The Palestinian system preserved the original Nestorian double

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Bauer u. Leander, op. cit., 105.

The Tiberian Daghes point seems likewise a development of the Syriac Quššâiâ, which is a variety of the old supralinear dot. Cf. my paper on "Daghes," notice in *JAOS* 58 (1938), 542.

Praetorius, who regards the Tiberian system as an outgrowth from the Babylonian, derives  $\ddot{\text{—}}$  from  $\ddot{\text{—}}$ , sign for unaccented *e* in more complicated vocalization;  $\dot{\text{—}}$  from  $\dot{\text{—}}$ ,  $\text{—}$  from  $\text{—}$ : cf. "Über d. babylon. Vokalizations-system d. Heb., *ZDMG* 53 (1889), 189, 193.



dot sign for *e*, and the Pathah-sign based on Nestorian Mēhaggēiānā, but it seems to consist largely of an arbitrary use of this double sign, with the dots in varying relative positions, to denote the majority of the vowels, viz.  $\dot{\text{◌}}$  = *e*,  $\ddot{\text{◌}}$  = *e* (originally  $\dot{\text{◌}}$  = both *e* and *e*),  $\dot{\text{◌}}$  = *i*,  $\ddot{\text{◌}}$  = *u*. Qameṣ is an arbitrary use of the Pathah-sign in a vertical position, viz.  $\text{◌}^{\text{◌}}$ ; the *o*-vowel is denoted by an additional dot added to the *u*-sign, viz.  $\ddot{\text{◌}}$ .

The Babylonian system preserved the original single-dot Nestorian *i*, and two double dot signs for *e*, viz.  $\dot{\text{◌}}$  = *e* (as in Palestinian),  $\ddot{\text{◌}}$  = *e*; it also employed for vocal Shewa the sign used for Pathah in the other two systems, and probably based on the same Nestorian sign, the Mēhaggēiānā. The *u*-vowel  $\text{◌}^{\text{◌}}$  is based on the consonant-sign  $\text{◌}^{\text{◌}}$ , perhaps following the Syriac example, where practically all *u*'s, both short and long, are written plene with Waw. The rest of the system, however, seems secondary. The *o*-sign ( $\text{◌}^{\text{◌}}$ ) is apparently an arbitrary use of the double-dot sign in a relative position not already preempted by other vowels.<sup>30</sup> The other two vowel signs are based on consonants, perhaps following the analogy established by  $\text{◌}^{\text{◌}}$ , Qameṣ ( $\text{◌}^{\text{◌}}$ ) on Aleph, Pathah-Seghol ( $\text{◌}^{\text{◌}}$ ) on Ain.

The supralinear position of the vowel signs, which is a common feature of both Palestinian and Babylonian systems, appears to indicate some special relationship between them. As it is difficult to see how either could have been developed out of the other, it is not impossible that they represent two offshoots of some more original Hebrew system with supralinear position which has so far not come to light.

It would seem to be evident that while the three systems show a number of points of contact with one another, it would be difficult to explain any one of the systems, as they now stand, as developed out of any other. The Babylonian system is certainly not to be regarded as the parent of the other two (as Levias in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, 12, sub vocalization), nor is it certain that the Tiberian is to be regarded as a later substitute for the Palestinian (so Kahle<sup>31</sup>).

The points of resemblance between the various systems may indicate that the three systems are based on a single simpler Hebrew

<sup>30</sup> Praetorius thinks  $\dot{\text{◌}}$  is a modification of Syriac  $\text{◌}^{\text{◌}}$  (Waw with supralinear dot) cf. op. cit., 190.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. *Masoreten des Westens* (Stuttgart, 1927), 23-36.



original system which has not been preserved, and that each of the three later followed its own independent course. It is also possible, however, that the three systems represent three independent adaptations of the Nestorian system, the likenesses being sufficiently well explained by their common Nestorian origin, and the differences by the fact that they were at least in part the creation of different minds or of different groups of minds.

The Tiberian presents on the whole the closest resemblance to the Nestorian pointing. It alone preserved both infralinear and supralinear position of the vowel signs; both of the other systems, for some reason that does not appear, being exclusively supralinear. The arbitrary arrangement of the double dot in Palestinian, and the development of vowel signs from consonants in Babylonian are markedly secondary features, sufficiently so to preclude any possible development of the Tiberian system from either.

The fact that so far no simple form of Tiberian vocalism has come to light is not sufficient reason for concluding that none exists, and that a newly invented full-fledged Tiberian system was substituted at some point for the simpler Palestinian. It is certainly not impossible that there did exist a simpler Tiberian system with signs denoting only the chief vowels without any of the signs for special vowel modifications, and it would seem quite possible that specimens of such a simpler vocalization may yet come to light. The fact cited by Kahle that in several manuscripts mixtures of Palestinian and Tiberian pointing occur, is no proof that we have here a transition stage from Palestinian to Tiberian.<sup>32</sup> We may have here simply a mixture of two systems of pointing by a scribe familiar with both. We find Babylonian texts influenced in a similar way by the Tiberian system.<sup>33</sup> It hardly seems likely, moreover, that the fully developed Tiberian system was invented all at once at a comparatively late date, using as its basis again the same Nestorian system that had already been imitated years before by the other two systems, in order to replace the less perfect Palestinian.

We are unfortunately entirely in ignorance as far as documentary evidence goes with regard to the history of Hebrew vowel pointing during certainly the first century of its development. What hap-

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<sup>32</sup> Cf. Kahle, *op. cit.*, 34-36.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Bergsträsser, *op. cit.*, 51, 52.



pened in this period can, of course, be only a matter of conjecture, but the conjectures in order to be worthwhile must agree with the known facts of the three systems. It seems to me quite in consonance with these facts as here presented to assume the following:

1. Hebrew systems are all based on the Nestorian dot system, and therefore later than 750 A. D., the approximate date for the origin of the system
2. No one system can be derived directly from any other
- 3a. The three systems may have all developed out of one parent Hebrew system; if so, that system, perhaps, divided early into two systems, one with exclusively supralinear pointing from which latter the Palestinian and Babylonian systems later developed
- b. The three systems may represent three independent borrowings from Nestorian, in which case the supralinear feature of Palestinian and Babylonian would be independent developments
- c. The three systems may be based on two independent borrowings from Nestorian, one the basis of Tiberian, and the other with supralinear pointing the basis of Palestinian and Babylonian
4. It would seem perfectly possible that more original systems of Hebrew vowel signs should ultimately come to light.

An offshoot from the Palestinian vowel system is found in the signs used by the Samaritans to indicate their pronunciation of the Hebrew Pentateuch.<sup>34</sup>

The Nestorian vowel system seems also to form the basis of the Arabic system of vowel points, which was introduced according to tradition in the second half of the eighth century A. D. At first the vowel sounds were represented by dots, a supralinear dot denoting *a*, an infralinear dot denoting *i* and one on the line denoting *u*. These dots were doubled to denote the addition of the final *n*, the sign of indetermination, which was regarded as a species of intensification of the form.<sup>35</sup> These dots were very soon replaced

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<sup>34</sup> Cf. Kahle, "Die Lesezeichen bei den Samaritaner," *Haupt Anniversary Volume* (Balto. and Leipzig, 1926), 428; *Masoreten d. Westens* (Stuttgart, 1927), 31-33.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1 (Leyden and London, 1913), 384 (here



by the present familiar signs, supralinear and infralinear dashes replacing the points in these positions, and the dot on the line for *u* being replaced by a small supralinear Waw, borrowed doubtless from the *mater lectionis* employed for *ū*. The replacing of the dots by the present signs seems to have been due to the fact that the vowel dots could readily be confused with the diacritical dots placed above or below the line to distinguish one consonant from another, e. g., *!*, *ı*, *đ*, *ﺍ*, *ﺏ*, etc. The principle of doubling of the original vowel dots to indicate the nunnation was carried over from the original dot system, final *-an*, *-in*, *-un*, being indicated respectively by doubling the *a*, *i* and *u*-sign. The long vowels were still indicated as they were before the introduction of complete vowel writing by the *matres lectionis* | for *ā*, *س* for *ī*, *و* for *ū*.

The Ethiopic system of vowel writing does not seem to have any connection with any Semitic vowel writing, for its beginnings go back to the 5th century of the present era or earlier, several centuries before the introduction of the Syriac vowel system. The original consonant sign without addition acquires the value of *a*; the other vowels are usually indicated by attaching a dash-like element or a circle-like element to different parts of the consonantal sign, e. g., *ሀ* = *ba*, *ሁ* = *bē*, *ሂ* = *bī*, *ሃ* = *bū*, *ሄ* = *bā*, *ህ* = *bō*, *ሆ* = *bě*, *ለ* = *lē*, *ሎ* = *lō*, *ቂ* = *qē*, *ቆ* = *qō*. The *ě*-vowel was usually denoted by bending or twisting of some part of the original consonant sign, e. g., *ሐ* (*ā*), *ፖ* (*7*), *ኧ* (*ā*), *ከ* (*h*), *ሐ* (*ā*), *ሐ* (*ā*), *ፕ* (*m*). The direction of Ethiopic writing is regularly from left to right, with the exception of some of the early inscriptions which like the Mineo-Sabean script preserve the ancient Semitic direction from right to left. The general resemblance of the Ethiopic system of writing to that employed by the Indian alphabets, e. g., the Devanagari, where the vowels are indicated in general as in Ethiopic, except that the Ethiopic, having no initial vowels has naturally no sign for them, and where the direction of writing is from left to right, is striking; so striking in fact that it is difficult *a priori* to avoid the conclusion that these resemblances denote either identity of origin or that one system has been influenced by the other. There

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the *a* and *i* vowel signs are explained as modifications of Aleph and Yod respectively); Hartwig Hirschfeld, "The Dot in Semitic Palaeography," *Jewish Quarterly Review*, New Series 10 (1919-20), p. 174; Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Qorans*, 2. Aufl. 3. Th. 3. L.; *Geschichte des Qorantexts* (by Bergsträsser and Pretzl, Leipzig, 1936), 264 f.



is no evidence of an identical origin, and as Indian vocalic writing is as old as 250 B. C. and the Ethiopic vowel signs not earlier than the fourth century A. D., it seems necessary to assume an Indian influence upon the Ethiopic system.<sup>36</sup> Indian influences may have reached Ethiopia by way of South Arabia, parts of which were several times conquered by the Ethiopians of Axum (in the period between 350 and 600 A. D.),<sup>37</sup> and which was certainly in commercial connection with India during the early centuries of the Christian era, serving as a half-way station between India and North East Africa.<sup>38</sup> Hommel calls attention to the fact that the Abyssinian apostle Frumentius, who introduced Christianity into Ethiopia circa 300 A. D., was a pupil and relative of the Indian philosopher Meropius, and thinks it quite likely (*ganz glaublich*) that he was responsible for the introduction of vowel writing.<sup>39</sup>

Another possible source of the stimulus towards vocalizing the originally purely consonantal Ethiopic script lies in the Greek alphabet or the Coptic alphabet derived from Greek, which with its complete vowel writing must have been familiar to the Abyssinian clergy, who were closely linked in religion to the Coptic church. If this is the true source, however, we should most naturally expect not the secondary system of vowel marking that we have, but a system of independent vowel signs such as Greek or Coptic presents. Moreover, we should certainly expect in this case some resemblance between the Ethiopic and the Greek or Coptic vowel signs, and there is practically none. On the other hand, it is to be noted that the Indian alphabets, which seem almost certainly to have derived the idea of complete vowel writing from the Greeks, have independent vowel signs only for initial vowels, all vowel signs in other positions being subsidiary, and present a series of vowel signs which apparently have no formal connection with Greek vowel symbols. Moreover, it is possible to ascribe the exceptional direction of Ethiopic writing to Greek or Coptic influence.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Cf. Dillmann, *Äthiop. Spr.*, 23; Taylor, *op. cit.*, 1. 335-358; contrast Jensen, *op. cit.*, 239.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Glaser, *Skizze der Geschichte Arabiens* (München, 1889), 17-22; *Encyclop. Brit.* 11. ed. 9, 847.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Pauly-Wissowa; *Real-Encyclopädie d. classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 6 (Stuttgart, 1909), 592-601 (article 'Ερυθρὰ θάλασσα).

<sup>39</sup> Cf. *Ethnologie u. Geographie des Alten Orients* (München, 1926), 149, n. 1.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Dillmann, *op. cit.*, 19. Greek influence is clearly shown in the use of the Greek letters for numerals, *op. cit.*, 30.



The missionary activity of the Nestorians towards the east and northeast from the fifth to the eighth century A. D. led to the adoption of the Syriac character among the Tartars of central Asia. The chief Tartar alphabets thus derived are the Uigur, the Mongolian, and the Manchu. In none of these is there any sign of the Nestorian vowel points, so these alphabets must have originated before their introduction. In all of them, however, we find independent signs for all the chief vowels. The symbol for *o* and *u* was furnished by the Syriac *mater lectionis* ܐ, which was used in Syriac for both short and long vowels of this quality, the symbol for *i* by the *mater lectionis* ܝ, the symbols for *a* and *e* were both derived from ܠ (Aleph) which occurs in Syriac as final letter (unpronounced) after *ā* and *ē*. Apparently short and long vowels were not distinguished. In Mongolian and Manchu, initial and intermediate vowels are usually preceded by an identical stroke which is apparently a general sign for vowel.<sup>41</sup> This development of a complete vowel system may possibly be here an independent accomplishment like that of the Greeks, based on the necessity felt by a non-Semitic tongue for a means of expressing its vowels, but the persistence of unvoweled Arabic writing among the non-Semitic Persians, Turks, Hindus and Malays in later times would seem to indicate that such an independent development is unlikely. I prefer to believe that the stimulus towards the development of this complete vowel system was furnished by neighbors who already possessed such a system borrowed from the West, probably some of the Indian alphabets or their derivatives. This development of vowel writing may be compared with the use of *matres lectionis* to indicate all vowels in Mandaean, and in the Hebrew script employed to write Yiddish, in which latter, of course, the full vowel writing is based on that of most modern European languages.

It would appear, therefore, from the foregoing discussion that the first advance towards independent vocalic writing lies in the Semitic *matres lectionis* of Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic. The real founders of complete independent vocalic writing, however, were the Greeks, who passed on this heritage to all the alphabets of Europe, towards the east to the Iranian and Indian alphabets and their offshoots, and to Coptic on the South. Although Syriac, independent of Greek influence, had developed, in addition to its

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<sup>41</sup> Cf. Jensen, *op. cit.*, 283-300; Taylor, *op. cit.*, 1. 297-312; Diringer, *L'Alfabeto*, 449-456.



*matres lectionis*, an imperfect and inexact method of distinguishing between the general vocalic character of identical consonantal groups, it was reserved for the Greek system to give the stimulus which resulted here in the development of complete vocalic writing. The Greek system, it is clear, was the source of the subsidiary vowel writing of the Jacobite Syrians, and in all probability stimulated the development among the rival Nestorian sect of a complete subsidiary system of vowel writing based on the imperfect ancient Syriac method of dots. This Nestorian alphabet was the second great agent in spreading the art of complete vowel writing, this idea of complete subsidiary vowel writing spreading from Nestorian Syriac to both Hebrew and Arabic, and probably influencing Mandaic.

The older Nestorian script before the introduction of vowel writing gave its consonantal alphabet to the Tartars of central Asia, and here we have later, probably owing to the stimulus of some Indian alphabet which ultimately owed its complete vowel system to the Greeks, of a system of independent vowel signs based on the old Syriac *matres lectionis*. A similar development takes place in the Yiddish script under European influence. The origin of the Ethiopic system of vowel writing is uncertain. It seems most likely that it was inspired by Indian models.

In view of the fact that the Semites, both ancient and modern, as well as many non-Semitic peoples that have adopted one or the other of the Semitic scripts, have found little or no inconvenience in the use of their consonantal shorthand, the question naturally arises as to whether it is possible to assign any special reason for the ultimate adoption of the Greek system of complete vowel writing by these peoples. In many cases an answer would seem to be forthcoming.

The adoption of the Greek vowel letters by the Jacobites seems to be connected with the necessity of clearly indicating the pronunciation of foreign (Greek) proper names. In a number of other cases the adoption of vowel writing would seem to be due to the strongly felt necessity of preserving the exact pronunciation of a sacred text. So apparently among the Nestorians, Hebrews, and Arabs, where the vowel signs were, and still are, chiefly employed in the writing of the Bible and the Koran; probably also among the Mandaeans. To a similar reason, also, may be ascribed the origin of the Avestan alphabet of the Aryan Persians, which is



found exclusively in the sacred writings of the Parsis, while all other inscriptions and documents of the Sassanian period are written in the less perfect Sassanian or Pahlavi script, in which only long vowels are indicated by *matres lectionis*.<sup>42</sup>

In the case of other systems of vowel writing, no special reason appears, aside from the recognition on the part of peoples free from the Semitic obsession of the superimportance of consonants, that scripts completed by such systems of vowel writing possessed a great advantage, both in clearness and accuracy, over the older shorthands.

The table that follows presents for purposes of comparison the vowel signs of the chief Semitic scripts, together with those of Devanagari and Tagalog (Philippine Is.), combined with the consonant *b*; also the Arabic nunnation with *b* and the Devanagari and Tagalog initial vowel signs.

	SYRIAC		HEBREW			ARABIC		ETHIOPIC	DEVANAGARI		TAGALOG	
	Jacob.	Nestor.	Tib.	Heb.	Pal.	nunn.			init. vow.		init. vow.	
ba	ܒܐ	ܒܐ	בּ	ב	ב	ب	ب	በ	ब	अ	ə	ʌ
bā	ܒܐ	ܒܐ	בּ	ב	ב	بَا		፳	बा	आ		
be	ܒܐ	ܒܐ	בּ	ב	ב	بَ		በ(ḗ)	बे	ए		
be	ܒܐ	ܒܐ	בּ	ב	ב	بَ		በ				
bi	ܒܐ	ܒܐ	בּ	ב	ב	بِ	بِ		बि	इ	Ḑ	Ḑ
bī	ܒܐ	ܒܐ	בּ	ב	ב	בִּי		፳	बी	ई		
bo	ܒܐ	ܒܐ	בּ	ב	ב	بُو						
bō	ܒܐ	ܒܐ	בּ	ב	ב	بُو		፳	बो	ओ		
bu	ܒܐ	ܒܐ	בּ	ב	ב	بُ	بُ		बु	उ	Ḑ	Ḑ
bū	ܒܐ	ܒܐ	בּ	ב	ב	بُو		፳	बु	ऊ		
bē	ܒܐ	ܒܐ	בּ	ב	ב							
plural	ܒܐ	ܒܐ										
Mehagg.	ܒܐ	ܒܐ										

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Haug, op. cit., 43, 44, also 45-82.



## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

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*Development of the Canaanite Dialects: An Investigation in Linguistic History.* By ZELIG S. HARRIS. American Oriental Series, Vol. 16. New Haven, 1939. x + 108 pp. with folding chart. \$2.50.

Professor Harris of the University of Pennsylvania has now followed his admirable *Phoenician Grammar* (published in 1936 as Vol. 8 of the *American Oriental Series*) by an equally admirable linguistic study of a long list of phonological and morphological characteristics of one or more Canaanite dialects, treated both historically and comparatively. His linguistic methods are thoroughly up to date, showing the influence of the late Edward Sapir on nearly every page. He is a resolute exponent of the diffusion school of linguistics, but he does not carry its principles to absurd lengths, as has been done by certain members of the Meillet school (e. g., Mlle. Homburger). To the methods of linguistic geography developed by Gillieron and his school Harris is greatly indebted; he might, however, have included Bergsträsser's *Sprachatlas von Syrien und Palästina* (Leipzig, 1915; cf. *Zeits. f. Sem.*, 1922, pp. 218-226) in the list of books given on p. 1.

Harris is not only thoroughly abreast of modern linguistic method; he is also intimately versed in the individual dialects, from Biblical Hebrew through Phoenician to Ugaritic. In his dating of inscriptions and his interpretation of Egyptian and cuneiform materials he shows exceedingly good judgment and he follows the best authorities in fields where he is not at home himself. Considering the intricate nature of the letter-press there are surprisingly few orthographic slips and printer's errors. There is naturally plenty of room left for divergence of opinion, since Harris has courageously attacked some still unsolved problems, especially in the field of Ugaritic grammar, where the differences of opinion between different scholars (e. g., Ginsberg, Goetze, and the reviewer) are still acute. This fact does not indicate that Harris's study is premature. On the contrary it makes it more valuable than it would otherwise be, since his judicious analysis of the data will help us to solve the problems which they present.



The following observations on details are intended to supplement Dr. H. L. Ginsberg's penetrating review of the book in the December (1940) number of the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, which the reviewer has already had an opportunity to study in MS. The present review will refrain from dealing with any point which has been specifically treated in Ginsberg's review. The number of observations is an index of the great interest with which the reviewer has studied Harris's work, as well as of the significance which he attaches to it.

P. 4, top. Surely the author is a little casuistic when he denies that the spirantized forms of the stops after vowels in later Hebrew are distinct phonemes, claiming that they are "merely positional variants of their homo-organic stops." In the light of his normal use of "phoneme" elsewhere (pp. 25, 62, etc., and especially p. 36, where he deals with proto-Semitic spirants of the same phonemic character) this observation sounds peculiarly cryptic.

P. 6. The reviewer agrees entirely with Harris's statement of the causative situation in Ugaritic, against Goetze and in part against Ginsberg.

P. 8. In East Canaanite (Amorite) we find divergent usage with regard to the *a*-ending of the stative and perfect. Most names of this category, dating from the period 1900-1500 B. C. (new low chronology), do not exhibit a vocalic ending in these categories. However, there is a respectable number of exceptionally well attested names, such as *'Ammi-šaduqa* (17th century B. C.), which do have the *a* ending in the stative (cf. also the reviewer's observations, JBL 54 199).

P. 9, below. Plurals and duals in *n* instead of *m* were commoner in Canaanite dialects than the author suggests. In East Canaanite (Amorite), which he does not include in the scope of his consideration, the normal ending was *n*, as we know from 18th-century place-names like *Qattunân* ("the two little" places), *Zurubân* (probably "the two cattle-enclosures," like Arab. *zarîbah*, collective *zurûb*), and *Himarân* (probably *Himârân*, "the two asses"), all in the territory of Mari or on its outskirts. For the Canaanite of Palestine and Phoenicia we have important evidence from the Egyptian transcriptions of the New Empire: *'a-ar-ši-na* (Coptic *aršîn*), "lentils," Heb. *'ādāšîm* (Albright, *Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography*, hereafter cited as VESO, p. 57,



XV. A. 12); *t-k-ti-na* (VESO 63, XIX. D. 7) from a Canaanite \**šâkitîna* (Heb. *הַסִּבֵּת*, etc.), "watchmen" (for the use of Can. plural as Eg. sing. cf. such illustrations as Eng. *cherubim*, *Bedouin*, etc., which may be paralleled from many languages); *Tu-ta-y-na* (VESO 63, XIX. A. 18) = Heb. *Dôtáyim* and *Dôtân*. Both forms occur together in the Egyptian geographical name *Na-ha-ri-na* or *Na-h-ri-na* (VESO 45, IX. A. 3), i. e. *Nah(a)rêna*, for Can. *Nah(a)rêma* (Amarna *Nahrema*, Heb. *Naharáyim*). These are not the only illustrations, but they are the best.

On pp. 10 f. and 15 Dr. Harris has some very judicious observations to make on the linguistic position of Ugaritic among Canaanite dialects, with all of which the reviewer heartily concurs.

On the *t*-prefix of the 3. m. pl. imperfect (p. 12) see the well documented paper of Mlle. Herdner (RES [1938] 76-83). The reviewer still believes that this form is an analogical extension of a collective use of the feminine, as in Arabic, and that it did not entirely displace the regular form *yaqtulûna*, which is certainly more original and which later held the field again alone.

P. 20. Though the author follows the ordinary view of the date of the Ahiiram inscription of Byblus, this view is definitely too high. We now possess a number of Canaanite alphabetic inscriptions from the 13th century (e. g., two from Lachish, one from Megiddo, perhaps others) which exhibit a much more archaic script, apparently with a greater number of letters. On the other hand, the number of available Phoenician and Syrian inscriptions from about the tenth century has recently increased again (e. g., A. M. Honeyman, *Iraq* 6 106 ff.) and these documents form such a homogeneous epigraphic group that the Ahiiram sarcophagus cannot be separated appreciably from it. A date about 1100 B. C. seems to satisfy epigraphic and archaeological requirements best. Cf. the reviewer's chronological discussion with reference to a new Byblian inscription published by Dunand (BASOR No. 73, 1939, p. 11).

Pp. 29 ff. (§ 1). In general the reviewer concurs. It must be noted, however, that there was a tendency in Palestine, south of Esdraelon, to retain diphthongs in the period of the Egyptian New Empire; among examples which may be cited are the place-names *Tu-ta-y-na* (*Dôtaina*; see above), *Sa-w-ku* (*Šaukô*, VESO 55, XIV. A. 14), both from the 15th century, and the divine name *H(a)-w-ru-na* (*Haurôna*, VESO 50, X. C. 13), from the 13th century



(see now *AJSL* 53 1-12). This tendency survived into much later times, as we know both from inscriptions in the Hebrew of Jerusalem (Siloam, Lachish, etc.) and from Egyptian and Greek transcriptions, such as *Bt-ḥurn* (*Bêt-ḥaurôn*) and *S'wk* (*Šaukô*) in the Shishak List (from cir. 920, not from 950 as stated on p. 63), *Avpova*, etc. In this connection it may be added that the name *Šaukô* (preëxilic שוכה) is scarcely without known etymology (p. 34, n. 15), since it cannot be separated from *šôk* (Arab. *šauk*, "thorn"); the meaning of the ending is uncertain, but the sense of the name is still preserved by Arab. *Šuweikeh*, "little thorn." The standard dialect of North Israel was under strong Canaanite influence and shows a marked tendency, noted by Harris, to contract diphthongs; this tendency is closely paralleled by the complementary tendency to contract *-yahu-* to *-yau-* in personal names (in the north, very rarely in the south).

Pp. 33 ff. (§ 5). For the question of the Canaanite sibilants the reviewer may refer to his provisional treatment in *XIX Congresso Internazionale degli Orientalisti* (Rome, 1938), pp. 448 f., to which he adheres, with the aid of a respectable amount of new material. In South Canaanite of the New Egyptian Empire original *t* appears as *s* in some 30 cases, original *s* (Arab. *s*) appears as *š* in about the same number of cases, and original *š* (Arab. *š*) appears as *s* in some ten instances. The evidence of the hieratic execration texts (now considerably enlarged by recent finds) points in exactly the same direction for the Middle Egyptian Empire. On the other hand, after 1000 B. C. this is no longer true; Hebrew and Phoenician sibilant values appear to dominate Egyptian transcriptions (e. g. *P'l-štrt*, *Pa'lā-Aštart*, where earlier transcriptions always have *'strt* for the name of the goddess).

P. 36 (§ 8). The reviewer agrees with Harris (who enunciated this principle) and Goetze against Ginsberg.

P. 37. An apparent exception, *Yantin-ammu*, name of a prince of Byblus in the 18th century, is probably to be explained as an Amorite name; i. e., there was an Amorite usurpation of power at Byblus. The form is not merely a Mari adaptation, since it appears in local Egyptian transcription several times as *'(a)n-ti-n* (cf. *BASOR*, No. 77, p. 27). A similar "Amorite" form appears in a cuneiform tablet from Shechem in Palestine (cir. 1300 B. C.) as *Yantinadu*, for *Yantin-Haddu*, as proved by Dossin, *Syria* 20 171 n. 5.



P. 40 (§ 12). In Ugaritic the phoneme *t* seems to have been on the way to becoming *ṭ* as in Aramaic; Ugaritic *zhr-ṭhr* (Heb. *ṭāhōr*) is etymologically identical with Arab. *zhr* and the Hebrew form is thus parallel to *ndr*, "to vow," beside more original Canaanite *nzr* (Arab. *ndr*), preserved in Heb. *nāzîr*, "Nazirite."

Pp. 43 f. (§ 17). The reviewer cannot agree with the author's analysis of the Canaanite word for "wall." Ugar. *hmt*, pl. *hmyt*, shows clearly, when combined with the cuneiform transcription *hu-mi-tu* and Eg. *Hu-mi-ta* (place-name, VESO 53, XII. D. 2), that the vocalization was (sing.) *hômîtu* for *hômîy(a)tu* and (plur.) *hômîyâti*, lit., "The protecting (fortification)." The force of paradigmatic analogy introduced *ô* for *â* into feminine and plural forms of the participle, regardless of the position of the accent. On the accentuation in Canaanite see on § 23, and for a somewhat parallel development cf. Can. *manḥîtu*, "gift," for *manḥîyatu* (Heb. *minḥā* by secondary dissimilation) see VESO 53, XII. B. 2.

P. 44. The reviewer has been convinced for some time (but since the appearance of VESO, 1934) that *ṣāfōn*, "north," and *dārōm*, "south," are forms *fā'ûl* like *'āmōq*, "deep," etc. In this connection it may be observed that Heb.-Can. *'ôlām* (p. 44, lines 28 f.) seems to stand for *'aulām*, an augmentative (so!) form like *kautār*, later Phoenician *Kûšōr*; Arab. *'ālam* is a Can. loan through Aramaic.

Pp. 45 f. (§ 18). The reviewer disagrees with Harris and even more strongly with Goetze (JAOS 58 268-89), but agrees with Ginsberg on the Ugaritic perfect. There is nothing in the published evidence to disprove the existence of a true *qatala* perfect, with the same perfect and preterite meaning as in Amarna Canaanite, in Ugaritic. It must be pointed out that the *qatal* verbal form is very common in East-Canaanite (Amorite) personal names of the period 1900-1600 B. C. Its antiquity is further established by the fact that it is fairly common in Old Assyrian (between 2000 and 1850 B. C.), as was pointed out by Prof. J. Lewy in the discussion of Harris's paper at the American Oriental Society in Baltimore (JAOS 59 409 f.). Its prehistory still requires much detailed study but it can hardly be doubted that it goes back in some form to Proto-Semitic.

Pp. 46 f. (§ 19). The reviewer adheres to the view of the tenses expressed in his article in JPOS 14 (1934) 112 f. and denies



the existence of a true *yaqtulu* preterite of the Accadian type in Canaanite. The *yaqtulu* form was used, he believes (against the author) mainly as a narrative, circumstantial, and subordinating tense (in this respect like the Accadian "subjunctive," *ikšudu*, properly subordinative); the question of its precise temporal aspects and of its delimitation from the present-future (see below) remains to be settled in detail. The reviewer is thus opposed to Goetze's view that the *yaqtulu* form was the normal preterite—though it may well be that it occurs more frequently as a past tense than the *qatala* because of its wide narrative use, reflecting continued and circumstantial action in past time. In Accadian this use spread from the apocopative *yaqtul* (*ikšud*) and practically monopolized the field of coordinated action in past time. In this connection it may be pointed out that the apocopative *yaqtul* (cf. Harris, § 20) may have originally covered somewhat the same modal ground as the Greek optative, i. e., it may have been both optative-jussive and potential, expressing various shades of potentiality and contingency (Eng. "might, could, would," etc.). The Arabic jussive with *lam*, used to negate the perfect, and the related jussive with *lamma*, meaning "not yet," seem to be residual survivors of the original potential use, since *lam* itself seems primarily to have meant "not yet" (Accad. *lam*, "not yet, before," with the infinitive), like classical *lamma*. In older literary Hebrew the regular imperfect replaced the jussive in similar cases (after *terem*, 'ad, etc.). The Canaanite jussive with *waw* conversive would, if this view is right, have meant properly something like "and he would (then) go (etc.)."

Pp. 48 f. (§ 21). Contrast the reviewer's observations on § 19.

P. 49 (§ 22). The reviewer agrees with Goetze (who discovered it) and Harris against Ginsberg on the existence of a *yaqátalu* present-future tense in both North and South Canaanite. He has also collected a number of plausible cases where it seems to have survived in modified form in Hebrew: e. g., in the "*pi'el*" of *brk*, which has completely supplanted the *qal*, though the former importance of the *qal* is sufficiently proved by the passive participle *barûk*, "blessed." On the other hand, the reviewer agrees with Ginsberg that Goetze has not *demonstrated* the existence of the *yaqátalu* form in Ugaritic beyond the possibility of doubt; the supposed vocalic evidence must be explained according to the Barth-



Ginsberg principle of vocalic dissimilation in verbal forms. Only in forms *primae nun* and *mediae geminatae* is the evidence for *yaqátalu* as against *yaqtulu* clear, but even then only in cases where we are dealing with the *qal* and not with the *pi'el*. The situation is analogous to the difference in opinion with regard to the causative forms *haf'el* or *'af'el* in Ugaritic, where Ginsberg regards most of the reviewer's causatives as *qal* or *pi'el*.

P. 50 (§ 23). The evidence is, in the reviewer's opinion, overwhelmingly in favor of an antepenult stress in early Northwest-Semitic words without long syllables. The variation between the feminine suffixes *atu* and *tu* must be explained on this basis, just as in Accadian, where no accent on a syllable preceding the antepenult was normally tolerated (see the reviewer's observations, *Rev. d'Assyr.* 16 175). The Canaanite evidence is growing more extensive all the time; cf. the discussion above, on § 17. It may be added that the illustration which the reviewer has given in VESO (which is by no means the only one) is peremptory, in view of the astonishing rigidity of the accent in later Egyptian.

P. 52 (§ 26). Read *hrs* for *hrs*, "gold."

P. 53 (§ 27). Note that the antiquity of *ilâh*, "god" is also shown by numerous occurrences of *ila* in cuneiform transcriptions of Amorite names from the early second millennium.

Pp. 54 f. (§ 29). Phoenician *y* for *h* also appears regularly in the seventh-century incantation from Arslan Tash. In this connection the reviewer would like again to emphasize his view that the difference between the Byblian and other Phoenician "dialects" in the Persian period is mainly due to the archaizing tendencies of the former (contrast Harris, p. 97, n. 6); archaism is not usually consistent, especially in early times when there were no formal manuals of grammar.

P. 61, n. 59. There can be no doubt as to the approximate date at which the Greeks borrowed their alphabet from the Phoenicians, in spite of Ullman's captious arguments. Rhys Carpenter has convincingly demonstrated that it must have occurred in or about the eighth century B. C. The reviewer's only modifications of Carpenter's position are two: the geometric sherds from Hymettus and the Dipylon vase with archaic Greek text cannot be dated as low as Carpenter would date them; the medium through which the borrowing took place was more probably cursive than lapidary. Ad-



mitting these objections, the date given by Carpenter (late eighth century) must be raised to "early eighth or less probably late ninth century"—in round numbers cir. 800 B. C.

P. 63. We now know that the name *Bêt-ḥôrôn* had etymological *ḥ*, not *h* (see AJSJL 53 1-12). The reviewer agrees with Harris's position here throughout, though the evidence may not everywhere bear the weight imposed on it. The use of the sibilants in the Amarna Tablets from Palestine is inconsistent, and was apparently influenced by conflicting scribal traditions, at least three of which (South Mesopotamian and Amorite, North Mesopotamian and Hurrian, Hittite) are known, each with its own treatment of the sibilants.

Pp. 66 f. (§ 42). According to his chart Harris dated the appearance of spirantization in Canaanite early in the first millennium. His cautious formulation on pp. 66 f. leaves the reader in the dark as to his chronology. The evidence from Punic is very late and unsatisfactory, besides being complicated by the question of the early pronunciation of Latin *f*. Even in Aramaic there is no evidence for spirantization of the stops before the Persian period, where it appears in Southern Palestine in the fourth century (in a well known Minaean inscription mentioning the Medes as *Mdy*; for the date see F. V. Winnett, BASOR No. 73, p. 8). Zimmermann's view (endorsed by Goetze, JAOS 59 452) that certain Aramaic names containing the divine name <sup>d</sup>*Iš-ḥi* or <sup>d</sup>*Mil-ḥi* (cuneiform, fifth century B. C.) exhibit spirantization (for *\*Milki*) is difficult phonetically, since the *k* is not post-vocalic. Gordon's view that the third-century Aramaic of Babylonia had not yet developed spirantization (AfO 12 112 § 43) has not convinced the reviewer for the following reasons. The only evidence is furnished by the fact that post-vocalic *k* and *g* are transcribed as *k* and *g*, not as *ḥ*, in cuneiform. But it is certain that Babylonian *ḥ* was a phoneme which was sufficiently unlike any Greek sound to receive a specially devised representation in Babylonian texts written in Greek characters. The Greeks seem never to have been particularly troubled by spirantic *k* in Hebrew or Aramaic, and always transcribed it in the same way as they transcribed the corresponding stop, i. e., by *χ* (on this see the illuminating remarks of E. Sapir, *Language* 15 64-5). In other words, Babylonian *ḥ* was probably a rough guttural fricative like Syrian Arabic *ḥ* rather than a soft velar fricative, like



Hebrew or Aramaic *k*, and accordingly sounded more remote from the latter than did the corresponding velar stop (*k*).

P. 78 (§ 62). The word *mmłkt* almost certainly has its Phoenician meaning, "king," in I Kings 10:20 and probably has this meaning also in Amos 7:13.

P. 80 (§ 65 e). The reviewer agrees entirely, against Goetze, JAOS 59 431-59, and Poebel, AJSL 56 225 ff., 384 ff. This, however, does not mean that he disagrees with all that these scholars have to say—far from it. Goetze, especially, occupies several positions which the reviewer has held for years.

P. 81. There is no reason to suppose that *ḏ* and *ṭ* were ever "emphatic spirants." It is increasingly probable that their true articulation has been most perfectly preserved in Arabic, where they are, respectively, an unaspirated alveolar stop (in the classical and Iraqi pronunciation) and an alveolar fricative.

In concluding this somewhat lengthy review, the undersigned wishes again to express his admiration for the quality of Professor Harris's work and his obligation for what he has learned from it.

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*Le palmier-dattier et les arbres sacrés.* Par HELENE DANTHINE. Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, Tome XXV. Paris, 1937. 277 pp., 206 plates (1217 figs.).

Ever since Tylor (*PSBA*, 1890) identified the sacred trees of the Assyrian monuments as conventionalized date-palms and interpreted the pose of the attendant cherubim as a symbolic pollination of the female flower, orientalists have been sharply divided as to the real meaning of these sculptures. Previously Bonavia (*Bab. Orient. Rec.* 1888-89) had recognized seven different sacred trees, five of which he identified as the palm, vine, pomegranate, fir, and oak. According to Tylor, the object which the cherubim inserted into the sacred tree was the male spathe of the date-palm. The object had generally been considered a fir-cone. Thus, in spite of the admitted cleverness of Tylor's interpretation, it had to compete with alternative explanations which were already widely accepted.

Any real understanding of the sculptures is dependent, of course,



upon a correct botanical identification of the plants involved, and this identification is no simple matter. Indeed some investigators have gone so far as to assume that the sacred trees are wholly symbolic and are not conventionalized representations of any natural plant. This assumption, extreme as it may seem, really has some justification. The sacred trees obviously have a religious significance and, on the monuments at least, a decorative function. Moreover the lack of realism in the carvings is intentional, for the Assyrians could represent plants naturalistically when they wanted to, as is shown in their hunting scenes where the plants are drawn accurately and can be recognized as easily as the animals. The difficulties of bringing the sacred trees into the Linnean system are very real; before they can be identified, they must be traced back to some prototype.

Dr. Danthine has made a real contribution toward determining the origin of the sacred tree and in tracing the evolution of the conventional representation of at least one natural plant, the date-palm. Her method is simple, yet fundamental to any solution of the problem. In brief, she has reproduced over 1200 figures of plants which occur on Babylonian and Assyrian cylinder seals, Assyrian monuments, and even on seals and potsherds of Egyptian, Aegean, Cyprian, and Persian origin. These figures have been well classified, and are arranged chronologically within each division. The transition from a naturalistic to a formalized representation can be followed easily, and even the artistic conventions themselves can be used as a means of identification when their course of evolution is known. The most frequently represented sacred tree, the so-called "tree of life," is very clearly a highly modified and conventional date-palm.

Once the identity of this tree is settled, the pose of the cherubim assumes a special significance. Dr. Danthine holds that it is a ritualistic gesture symbolic of the artificial pollination of the date-palm, which, as we know from textual sources, was practiced in Babylonia from before the time of Hammurabi (Scheil, *RA* 1913; Pruessner, *AJSL* 1920). If she is right, the object with which the pollination is effected is the male spathe of the palm and not a fir-cone, and the fir-cone need no longer be considered a fertility symbol.

In the reviewer's opinion Dr. Danthine has not been as successful



in her identification of other sacred trees. This may be due partly to the lack of transitional stages in the process of conventionalization and partly to the fact that she is too willing to accept the identifications which her predecessors have made. Some of these identifications are based on very shaky botanical grounds and, to a botanist at least, seem to be little more than naïve guesses. When we consider that the Assyrians used the same formalized design to represent a bunch of grapes, a spike of some marsh plant, an ear of grain, a fir-cone, and perhaps the unopened flower buds of the male palm, we can realize the pitfalls and guard against being led astray by a superficial resemblance of a picture to some detached portion of a plant. This precaution has not always been observed and two of the trees on the cylinder seals have been described as oaks and pomegranates on the sole basis of objects which supposedly represent their fruit. However, if the so-called acorns and pomegranates are really young flower clusters, the necessity for a reclassification is indicated. In fact, much fundamental work will have to be done before our knowledge of these formalized plants is satisfactory.

Some of Dr. Danthine's illustrations (Figs. 1119-1181) are really excellent photographs, although the majority are line drawings. These latter are generally clear enough to show what they are supposed to, but they are not as carefully drawn as we would like them to be. In a few instances the vital details are blurred. The work as a whole, however, is an excellent, logical, and unified presentation of the available data, and should advance the final solution of the problem of the sacred vegetation in Babylonian and Assyrian carvings.

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*Siculo-Arabic Ivories.* By PERRY BLYTHE COTT. Princeton; PRINCETON MONOGRAPHS IN ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY (Folio Series III): 1939. Pp. x + 68. Pls. LXXX.

Ivory as a material for small, intimate objects has been a favorite for many centuries. The Middle Ages particularly favoured it and many examples dating from those days are now the prized possessions of museums. The mediaeval statuettes and carved plaquettes have received considerable attention from scholars and a number of



books have been written about them. This book, however, aside from scattered notices in magazines and catalogues, is the only account of those boxes and other objects of worry made in Sicily under Moslem influence in the 12th and later centuries. Mr. Cott has given us here a scholarly publication of the first order.

These painted boxes were intended originally as jewel boxes or for other personal objects. They were generally lined with fine fabrics of which very few now remain. In contrast to their original purpose, they have been preserved chiefly in church treasures where they were deposited by pious owners for use as reliquaries. Thus, through many centuries they have served as an intimate part of life, secular or religious, and hence have still a vivid and living interest for us today.

Mr. Cott groups these ivories as Siculo-Arabic, Hispano-Moresque, and North Italian under Siculo-Arabic influence. After a short account of the Siculo-Arabic Art that flourished at Palermo in the 12th century, particularly under Roger II, he proceeds to a grouping of the boxes and an elaborate discussion of the type of ornamentation. He convincingly links up these ivories with Sicilian art as it may be seen still in the architecture and elaborate interior decorations at Palermo. Further he traces many motifs back to their Byzantine or Near-Eastern prototypes. Following this section is one devoted to the translation of the Arabic inscriptions made by Professor Philip K. Hitti, and lastly a chapter on a group of boxes and croziers made in the 13th and 15th centuries. The book closes with a catalogue listing all the objects known to the author and an excellent series of plates.

As Mr. Cott states, it was impossible to be sure that all the existing examples would be included for many are in out-of-the-way church treasures and museums of which no catalogues exist. Among the boxes not in the catalogue are several in the Couvent des Sœurs de Notre Dame at Namur and at St.-Servais, Maastricht. Last summer in the London market I saw two from the Pitt Rivers Museum, the larger one recut at a later date. It might be interesting some day to collect the unpublished examples in a supplementary article although it is doubtful if they will add appreciably to our present knowledge of the subject.

The Walters Art Gallery is especially rich in these objects, being second only to the Victoria and Albert Museum in London in point of numbers. The collection contains boxes with painted decorations



within and without as well as two combs. The group gives an excellent picture of this minor art as practiced both in Sicily in the 12th century and in Northern Italy in the following century. These boxes can be studied in Baltimore more completely than anywhere else in America.

MARVIN CHAUNCEY ROSS

Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore

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*The Origins of Ismā'īlism: a Study of the historical background of the Fāṭimid Caliphate.* By BERNARD LEWIS. Cambridge: HEFFER AND SONS, 1940. Pp. ix + 114.

The Ismā'īlīs for centuries provided the most colourful elements in Islamic history. The stories in the Arabic and Persian authors telling of the Persian oculist Maimūn al-Qaddāḥ and his son 'Abdallah, who organized the extreme Shī'a groups (*ghulāt*) and developed within Islam an anti-Islamic movement, a sort of secret masonic order with its grades of initiation gradually leading the neophyte up to a complete philosophic scepticism and rejection of all religion, reads like a fairy story. The Carmathians of lower Mesopotamia who for years preyed on the pilgrims caravans, and in 317/903 even swooped down during the pilgrimage, captured Mecca and carried off to the Persian Gulf the sacred Black Stone, provides an even more remarkable story, and these Carmathians were a fruit of Ismā'īlī propaganda. The Messianic revolt among the Berbers of North Africa, which put the Fāṭimids on the throne of Egypt for more than two centuries and a half, is by long odds the most interesting chapter in the history of Muslim Africa. It produced the mad Caliph al-Ḥākim to whom the Druses trace their origin, and the Assassins, the terror of whose Old Man of the Mountains was only ended by Hūlāgū's capture of the stronghold of Alamut in 654/1256. A fruit of quite a different kind was the organization of the "Brothers of Purity" (as they have come to be familiarly known), who in the 10th Century produced what has been called the first attempt at an Encyclopaedia of the Philosophic Sciences. Even in our own day the most picturesque Islamic groups are those groups on the very fringe of Islam, the Druses of the Lebanon, the Indian Bohoras and Khojas—whose leader, the Āghā Khān is a figure in the social life of Europe—, the Nuṣairis of



Syria, and others scattered over the Near and Middle East, who are all of Ismā'īlī derivation.

The outside world has never been able to learn as much as it would like to know about the Ismā'īlī movement, essentially a secret order, most of whose teaching is esoteric. Almost all the earlier accounts we have of them are accounts written by their enemies, and often by very bitterly prejudiced enemies. Moreover, these early Muslim accounts do not by any means agree with one another in their details as to the Ismā'īlī organization and teaching. Accident now and again placed in the hands of Western scholars of the 19th Century some documents of Ismā'īlī origin, such as those on the basis of which Stanislas Guyard wrote his account of the Assassins, and those utilized by Silvestre de Sacy for his *Exposé de la Religion des Druzes*. In recent years a goodly number of new documents from a variety of Ismā'īlī sources has become available, and the work of Ivanow and Massignon has been particularly fruitful in the investigation of these. Even some young Ismā'īlīs, who have been trained in the west, have shared in the work of making available certain of these sources.

During a visit to the Near East in 1936 Dr Lewis was able to procure some new Ismā'īlī documents of importance, which he plans to publish so soon as conditions in Europe make possible the resumption of normal life. Meanwhile he has issued a revised form of his Doctoral Thesis at the University of London as a sketch of Ismā'īlī origins. Neglecting for the moment the doctrinal questions, he has devoted himself to trying to untangle the historical situation. For this he has examined critically all the material offered by the Sunnī historians and heresiologists, a selection of the Shī'ite writers, and some miscellaneous sources, and compared this with what is offered by the Ismā'īlī documents at present available. As a result he offers certain suggestions toward an understanding of the confused accounts we have of the early Ismā'īlī movements.

Some of these suggestions are of unusual interest. The whole movement takes its name from Ismā'īlī, the elder son of Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq, who normally would have become the Seventh Imām of the Ehī'a succession, but who was passed over in favour of his younger brother Mūsā al-Kāẓim. The figure of Ismā'īl is somewhat of a mystery. We read tales of how his father found him addicted to strong drink and judged him unworthy of the succession, but Dr



Lewis, following Michelangelo Guidi in bringing into prominence the figure of Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb, who is noted in many of the sources as the first to organize a movement of the *Bāṭinī* (esoteric) type, suggests that Ismā'īl's rejection was due to his associating himself with and becoming involved in movements of this sort. Again in the matter of Ismā'īlī affiliations, where we are told that So and So was the son of So and So, or that Such an One was the father of Such an One, but where the relationship seems clearly impossible, he develops a suggestion of Massignon that in these cases the relation meant to be expressed by *Abū* and *Ibn* is not physical but spiritual, that the neophyte when initiated is the "son" of the master who initiated him. This then leads to a further suggestion for bringing order into some of the confused Ismā'īlī lists of Imāms. All through its early history the Ismā'īlī movement made claim to devotion to the 'Alid house (*Ahl al-Bait*), and only a true 'Alid could be the Imām. Yet in certain instances it seems clear that the Imām of the time was not an 'Alid at all. This is explained as due to the practice of concealing the real Imām in times of danger and putting in the public position of Imām a "Helper," who would be trustee Imām until the time of danger was past. The impossible number of names in some of the lists of these Imāms is thus in all probability due to the listing of both the *mustawḍa'* and the *mustaqarr* Imāms.

Dr Lewis follows Massignon in his interpretation of the Ismā'īlī movement, but one wonders whether it is possible to accept easily Massignon's principle that the movement can be explained as a natural development from within Islam. One is struck continually by the preponderance of non-Arab, and indeed anti-Arab elements in the various Ismā'īlī groups as they successively appear, with a strong anti-Islamic feeling which, as the movement ages, slides more and more towards orthodoxy, whereupon comes another outburst to start the process over again. In the original following of Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb there was a strong Iranian influence, so much so that they were looked upon as *malāhida* (atheists), and the movement seems to have attempted to unite all anti-Arab elements with the disaffected Arab elements in an anti-Islamic reaction. The Carmathians again are heard of as early as the Servile Zanj revolt in Southern Mesopotamia, and seem to have been recruited largely from the "Nabataean" populace, whose movement the Ismā'īlī *dā'īs* (missionaries) captured and used for their own purposes. It



is very curious how we find them in their early period continually acting under the guidance of mysterious figures in the background who never themselves appear. The Fāṭimid movement was in its beginnings essentially a Berber movement which Ismā'īlī *dā'īs* exploited, and when it lapses into orthodoxy there is a revolt, the Nizārīs separate from the Musta'lis and form the Assassins, who beginning as *malāḥida* yet lapse into orthodoxy again under Jalālu'd-Dīn. All through the history of these groups one feels that though devotion to the 'Alid family is ostensibly their point of union, the actual members of 'Alī's house were ever feeble and ineffectual persons who served merely as a façade for abler minds working behind.

The earlier Orientalists were convinced that at the heart of the whole movement there was a revolt against Islam. The national and racial elements in this were perhaps overemphasized, and Dr Lewis does well to lay stress on the social character of the revolt, a factor which is illustrated by the continuous string of accusations of communism levelled against the Ismā'īlī groups by orthodox Muslim writers. The vigour of orthodox polemic, however, seems justified to the extent that these polemists saw in the movement something that was fundamentally anti-Islamic and a danger to the Islamic system. This must surely have come in large part from elements of non-Islamic origin, who though under the domination of Islam were yet resentful of Islam.

Any book on the Ismā'īlīs, in the present state of our knowledge, must raise more problems than it solves; but students will welcome this little volume which presents welcome new material, and makes a new and very able attempt to picture the beginnings of the movement in the light of present information. Not the least admirable feature of the book is the clarity of its presentation.

ARTHUR JEFFERY

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*Northeastern Asia, a Selected Bibliography.* Two volumes. By ROBERT J. KERNER. Berkeley: UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS, 1939. Vol. I: pp. xi, 676; Vol. II: pp. xxxii, 622.

Among the efforts to promote and to facilitate Oriental studies in America, *Northeastern Asia* by Professor Robert Kerner is ad-



mirable. It includes 13,884 items, in English, French, German, Russian, Chinese, Japanese, and Korean, covering Russia in Asia as well as the Far Eastern countries, in practically all major fields of study, from the ancient times up to the eve of publication. As a selected bibliography, it is not only more comprehensive in scope than any in existence, but also more extensive in selection, since it contains many works in Russian and Japanese. Of course, many Chinese works could have replaced those in Japanese, particularly on Chinese subjects. The omission of Tibetan, too, necessarily undermines the entire field of Buddhism. But no one, at the present stage of Oriental studies in America, can expect a perfect bibliography. The compiler himself considers the work as essentially pioneering. Improvement there is bound to be, but the work will be serving a great purpose as a basis for future melioration.

It is with this idea in mind that the following criticisms are made, with regard to Oriental philosophy. The scanty selection of works on Eastern philosophy in general indicate the poverty of material in Western languages on the subject. To represent the general field of Oriental philosophy (I, 91), the choice of René Grousset's *Histoire de la philosophie orientale* is excellent, in the absence of any scholarly book in English on the subject, *The Story of Oriental Philosophy* by Adams Beck and *Oriental Philosophy* by Frances Grant being essentially popular in nature. The *Bibliography* has nothing to lose, however, in including Paul Deussen's *Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie* and Masson-Oursel's *La philosophie en Orient*. The entire fields of Eastern logic and ethics are not represented, except by one or two Japanese works on Oriental ethics, and this must be admitted to be a serious drawback.

On the history of Chinese Philosophy (I, 275), Forke's *Geschichte der mittelalterlichen chinesischen Philosophie* and *Geschichte der neueren chinesischen Philosophie* are well chosen. We may agree with the omission of Deussen's *Geschichte der alten chinesischen Philosophie*, in view of the inclusion of Hu Shih's *The Development of the Logical Method in Ancient China*. But the exclusion of Fung Yu-lan's *A History of Chinese Philosophy* can hardly be approved by students of Chinese philosophy, since it is not only the latest, but is also the most comprehensive. Neither the philosophy of Yang Chu nor the philosophy of Huai-nan Tzu



is represented in the bibliography, not to mention many other minor schools and the products of the entire period between 100 B. C. and 1000 A. D. Both translations and studies of these are available in English. What is more serious is that of the four basic Confucian classics two are curiously absent, the *Great Learning* and the *Golden Mean*. A translation of the *Works of Mencius* is not found in the section on Confucianism, but in the section on "Taoism and Others" (I, 270)! In the case of the Neo-Confucianism of the Sung Dynasty, a study, *Ethical Realism in Neo-Confucian Thought* by Hsü Pao-ch'ien, is given, in place of such source materials as the *Philosophy of Human Nature by Chu Hsi* and *Chu Hsi and His Masters*, both translated and compiled by J. P. Bruce, whereas in the case of the Neo-Confucianism of the Ming Dynasty, Henke's translation of *Wang Yang-ming* is given without the accompaniment of a good study, *La Philosophie morale de Wang Yang-ming* by Wang Tch'ang-tche. For Confucianism in Japan, Armstrong's *Light from the East* is an excellent choice, but should be classified under Japanese Confucianism instead of "Religion and Missions" (I, 93), especially when it has hardly anything to do with religion.

In the section Taoism and Others, which includes only nine items, two translations each of both *Mo-Tzu* and *Chuang-Tzu* are given, while for the *Tao-te Ching*, only Giles' version is selected out of many European translations. Undoubtedly Paul Carus' translation, *Canon of Reason and Virtue*, is better known and Arthur Waley's rendering, *The Way and its Power*, is superior to all in interpretation and in style. The neglect of the Legalists, the Logicians, the Neo-Mohists, *Lieh Tzu*, etc., is hardly justifiable, especially in view of the prominence given to Moh Tzu.

When it comes to Buddhism, *Northeastern Asia* can stand a great deal of improvement (I, 94 ff.). No dictionary is recommended, although the epoch-making *Hobogirin* by Lévi and Takakusu and the convenient *Dictionary* by Soothill and Hodous are really indispensable. For bibliography, we find Held's *Deutsche Bibliographie*, but neither the *Bibliographie bouddhique* by La Vallée Poussin et al, a work of scholars of world renown and of later date, nor Hamilton's *Buddhism in India, Ceylon, China, and Japan*, a handy and good student guide. For a general account, Eliot's *Hinduism and Buddhism* is as good a choice as any. The total absence of source materials in any European translation, how-



ever, is indefensible, and the exclusion of such authorities as Stcherbatsky, Lévi, Takakusu, Suzuki, and others, is in no way justifiable. For Tibetan Buddhism, we are referred only to Grünwedel's *Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet unter der Mongolei*, in the section of "Tibetan Religious Conditions" (I, 664). This is a standard work, to be sure, but for religious conditions, either Waddell's *The Buddhism of Tibet*, Bell's *The Religion of Tibet*, or Ellam's work by the same title is more helpful than Grünwedel. The choice of Reichelt's *Truth and Tradition of Chinese Buddhism* for Chinese Buddhism (I, 271) is for general purposes a happy one, although its revised and enlarged edition of 1934 should be given instead of the 1927 original. Many problems, however, are not covered by Reichelt, and students should have been referred to older works by Beal, Edkins, Hodous, Pratt, and others, or to Chinese and Japanese sources. For Japanese Buddhism, the listing of Eliot and Nanjio indicates sound judgment, and one is pleased to find mentioned here the Japanese translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka, although the Chinese Tripitaka, if not the Tibetan also, should have been included somewhere.

Generally speaking, in the limited space devoted to each subject, a more balanced, more representative, and more comprehensive choice could be made if more authoritative titles were selected in place of a great number of nonessential works, which hardly contribute anything to the general field or to a specific problem. Nevertheless, many important works which other bibliographies omit are here included, particularly works in German and Russian. In this way, *Northeastern Asia* has a unique contribution to make.

WING-TSIT CHAN

Oriental Institute,  
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*Suye Mura—A Japanese Village.* By JOHN F. EMBREE; Introduction by A. R. Radcliffe-Brown. Chicago: UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS, 1939. 311 pages, with Appendices, Bibliography and Index.

This book is one of a series of studies in Social Anthropology which is being made under the aegis of Professor Radcliffe-Brown. Doctor Embree states the purpose of his work thus: "This book is



an attempt to present an integrated social study of a peasant village in rural Japan."

As such, *Suye Mura* is a well-conceived and well-executed piece of research. The author has succeeded notably in his work of observation and in the recording of his observations. He has, as well, reached several valid and interesting conclusions. But at this point it must be stated that there is something lacking in a methodology based almost entirely on mere observation in studying a literate people such as the Japanese, who have a long tradition of historical research and a tremendous accumulation of ancient and modern documents and other source materials to substantiate any conclusions that may be reached. It appears that Doctor Embree, in *Suye Mura*, has applied to the study of a literate people a research technique adapted to the study of a pre-literate people. In a word, he has failed to tap the vast reservoir of source materials, official and otherwise, published in the Japanese language. True, the first chapter is devoted to a satisfactory historical sketch of the Tokugawa Period, and there are references to standard general historical works in European languages for background material, yet the bibliography is certainly inadequate. To start a study of any group in Japanese society with the Tokugawa Period, although it is a most important period in Japanese history, is analogous to beginning a study of rural life in the United States with the Civil War. It is true that Doctor Embree has done an excellent job of observation and summarization, but Japanese villages were in existence many hundreds of years prior to the seventeenth century. Such disregard for hundreds of formative years of Japanese village life cannot pass uncensured.

The village chosen for study, Suye Mura, located on the southern island of Kyushu, in Kumamoto Prefecture, was picked with the utmost care and as many factors as possible were taken into consideration in attempting to find a representative Japanese village. The volume opens with an historical sketch of the Tokugawa Period entitled "Historical Background." As has been stated, this seems rather an incomplete study of the background for any stratum of Japanese society. This introductory chapter is, however, followed by an excellent and detailed study of village organization. Clear diagrams and pertinent illustrations are used as an aid to the reader in picturing the social set-up of a Japanese rural com-



munity. The social and political divisions of rural Japan are carefully explained: the *mura*, or rural administrative unit of the Prefectural government; the *ku*, or political subdivisions of the *mura*; the all-important basic social unit in the Japanese rural community, the *buraku*, or "the natural communities of about twenty households each. It has its own head and takes care of its own affairs, such as funerals, roads and bridges, on a co-operative basis"; and finally the *kumi*, or groups of three to five houses. The interrelationships of these various groupings and the details of the everyday life of the villagers are treated with great care. Chapter Three is devoted to "Family and Household," being a presentation of the details of family life, the system of adoption, parties and banquets, songs and dances. The fourth chapter is highly interesting and important, setting forth the several forms of communal cooperation which are so essentially a part of the social pattern of a Japanese village. There is the cooperative action of the *buraku* group in rotating responsibility, classified as Civic Coöperation, such as road and bridge building; Helping Coöperation, such as in the case of house building; Exchange of Labor, particularly in regard to rice transplanting; and the Coöperative Credit Clubs for the extension of credit and the making of loans. In "Social Classes and Associations" (Chapter Five) the author points out the gradual merging and intermingling of the classes of Feudal Japan since the Imperial Restoration of 1868, and he devises the following terms to classify the social strata found in rural Japan: Upper Upper, Lower Upper, Upper Middle, Lower Middle, Upper Lower, and Lower Lower. The functions of several village associations, such as the Firemen's Association are also discussed here. In the succeeding chapter the life history of the individual is carefully traced from birth to death. The various duties, functions, and ceremonies attendant upon various phases of the individual's life are dwelt upon. "Religion," the subject of the seventeenth chapter, is a summary of generally accepted explanations of Japanese religious beliefs and customs, and superstitions. The extreme importance of the yearly Festival Calendar upon the activities of the villager is stressed.

So much for the factual content of the volume. Doctor Embree's conclusions, drawn from the facts which he has compiled, are summarized in the concluding chapter, entitled "Changes Observable



in the Social Organization of Suze Mura." To quote: "The changes taking place in the social structure of Suze are, then, of two kinds: those affecting the internal relations of the household, *kumi*, and *buraku*, and those affecting the external relations of the *mura* and people in it to the environment, i. e., nearby towns, Hitoyoshi, and the county as a whole. These changes in turn take two forms: those directed by the government and those not so directed. Directed changes are such things as the school, conscription, the agricultural association, and various national societies. The outstanding uncontrolled factors are the change from a rice to a money economy and the related phenomenon of an increased use of machines." To Dr. Embree the question of how far Western influences, introduced within the last seventy-five years, are responsible for the changes in Japan's social structure, particularly in the rural areas, and how far the process is a mere continuation of native tendencies active before continued Western contact during the latter part of the nineteenth century, is still unanswered. It is his contention that it is "probably impossible for a given type of society to be drastically changed by contact with another, in this case Western civilization, and still survive." This contention is certainly open to question, but in his concluding words the author qualifies his statement further by stating, "In order to survive, it would seem, there are two courses open: either to reject the new order, as such, as much as possible, admitting it only in pieces, as China is doing (not always successfully), or to adopt Western culture in controlled form. Japan as a nation has deliberately chosen to introduce the new civilization under careful official control. On the whole, and in spite of such uncontrolled factors as money and machines, Japan has succeeded in this policy, especially in the countryside, as demonstrated in Suze Mura." This final conclusion is certainly valid, and of real importance to the person concerned with the study of the curious mixture of East and West found in Japanese society.

RICHARD A. FAUST.

University of Pennsylvania

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## NOTES OF OTHER SOCIETIES

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With the invasion this year of Belgium the publication of *Isis* has been interrupted. At the time of the invasion several issues were in various stages of printing, to wit, No. 84 completing Volume 31 and the whole of Volume 32. No. 83, though dated November, 1939, was so much delayed that it reached America only in 1940; it is counted as the first number of 1940. The corrected page proofs of Nos. 84 and 85 were mailed to Belgium on March 27 and May 8, respectively. The neutrality of Belgium was violated by Germany on May 10.

From 1941 on (Volume 33 ff.) *Isis* will be printed in the United States. The first American number will include a list of all the papers and reviews which were scheduled to appear in the last Belgium issues (No. 84 and Vol. 32). Authors of these papers and reviews are welcome to publish them in other journals, but they should warn the editors to whom they apply that publication in *Isis* is not abandoned and may occur sooner than we think. Communications concerning *Isis* may be addressed to Professor George Sarton, 185 Harvard Library, Cambridge, Mass.

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PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
**American Oriental Society**

AT THE MEETING AT NEW YORK, N. Y., 1940

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The One Hundred and Fifty-second Meeting of the Society was held at New York, N. Y., on March 26, 27, 28, 1940, upon the invitation of The Metropolitan Museum of Art and The Jewish Theological Seminary of America. The following were among the members of the Society who participated in the sessions:

W. F. Albright	E. H. Cutts	B. Geiger
J. C. Archer	Miss I. Della Valla	E. A. Gellot
S. N. Au-Young	G. L. Della Vida	H. L. Ginsberg
L. C. Barret	I. H. DeLong	S. Glazer
A. G. Barrois	Mrs. A. S. DeWitt	A. Goetze
G. R. Berry	P. E. Dumont	H. Goldman
K. Biggerstaff	G. S. Duncan	L. C. Goodrich
C. J. Blair	I. Dyen	C. H. Gordon
E. P. Boardman	Miss E. S. Eaton	D. C. Graham
D. Bodde	F. Edgerton	S. V. Grancsay
J. H. Bonfante	S. Elisséeff	E. Grant
H. Borton	A. I. Elkus	M. Graves
Mrs. B. M. Bowen	A. zu Eltz	G. v. Grünebaum
F. H. Bowen	M. B. Emeneau	G. C. O. Haas
G. W. Briggs	R. M. Engberg	L. W. Hackney
R. S. Britton	T. E. Ennis	E. A. Hahn
W. N. Brown	J. K. Fairbank	E. Hale
L. Bull	Mrs. J. K. Fairbank	A. S. Halkin
Mrs. R. Bullock	N. A. Faris	A. R. Hall
M. Burrows	C. Feng	R. A. Hall, Jr.
E. E. Calverley	L. Finkelstein	E. W. Hammer
D. A. J. Cardozo	C. M. Fleischner	E. R. Hardy
Mrs. D. Carter	C. T. Fritsch	G. Hartman
M. Cassady	A. H. Fry	L. Hartman
R. M. Chait	R. N. Frye	R. S. Hauptert
Y. Chao	E. M. Gale	W. C. Hayes
A. E. Christy	A. Gallatin	Mrs. J. B. Hayward
J. O. Clark	C. S. Gardner	N. M. Heeramanek
A. K. Coomaraswamy	G. E. Gaskill	R. v. Heine-Geldern
J. D. Cooney	Miss J. Gaston	A. J. Hertz
J. H. Cox	M. J. Gates	P. K. Hitti
E. Cross	H. S. Gehman	W. Hochstädter



L. Hodous	H. M. Orlinsky	M. A. Simsar
Mrs. L. H. Hough	A. Pawley	P. W. Skehan
E. H. Hume	C. H. Peake	S. L. Skoss
R. E. Hume	K. S. Pearce	L. P. Smith
A. W. Hummel	F. F. Penney	M. B. Smith
J. P. Hyatt	A. L. Perkins	A. C. Soper
Mrs. A. V. W. Jackson	T. C. Peterson	F. Spiegelberg
Miss V. Jacobs	J. A. Pope	E. A. Speiser
A. Jeffery	Miss E. v. Porada	H. H. Spoer
S. L. Joshi	A. Priest	D. v. d. Steinen
E. J. Jurji	J. D. Prince	J. E. Steinmueller
A. E. Kane	E. H. Pritchard	F. R. Steele
P. J. Keller	H. Ranke	F. J. Stephens
G. A. Kennedy	N. J. Reich	W. F. Stinespring
R. G. Kent	R. W. E. Reid	E. H. Sturtevant
J. A. Kerns	E. O. Reischauer	Miss N. L. Swann
P. Kosok	D. J. Reisman	G. R. Taylor
E. A. Kracke	H. Ripperger	W. R. Taylor
A. Lansing	L. P. Roberts	Z. Taylor
K. S. Latourette	Q. Roosevelt	P. Tedesco
W. R. Leete	S. Rosenblatt	J. R. TenBroeck
D. v. Lentz	M. C. Ross	P. W. Townsend
I. Lichtenstädter	D. N. Rowe	R. Tsunoda
R. B. MacDonald	Miss T. Rowell	C. C. Torrey
J. E. McCall	B. Rowland	M. Vogelstein
D. I. Macht	R. C. Rudolf	J. V. Walsh
A. M. Maginnis	S. Sakanishi	Y. Wang
H. W. Magoun	A. Salmony	J. R. Ware
D. G. Mandelbaum	A. O. Sarkissian	Mrs. A. H. Webb
G. Marsh	L. L. Scaife	Miss E. Weil
A. Marx	A. A. Schiller	A. G. Wenley
C. D. Matthews	M. Schloessinger	H. E. Winlock
I. Mendelsohn	E. Schroeder	Mrs. R. Wischnitzer
C. Meng	F. D. Schultheis	K. A. Wittfogel
J. M. Menzies	B. Schwartz	R. E. Wolfe
G. C. Miles	R. Sell	T. C. Young
J. A. Montgomery	O. R. Sellers	H. B. Young
E. T. Newell	Miss M. H. Shimer	S. M. Zwemer
J. Obermann	O. Shimizu	
C. J. Ogden	J. K. Shryock	
M. Olcott	Miss P. Simmons	
		Total, 216

### THE FIRST SESSION

The first session of the meeting was called to order by President Ludlow Bull at 10.00 A. M. on Tuesday, March 26, in Class Room A of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.



## A. BUSINESS MEETING

Dr. C. J. Ogden reported on behalf of the local Committee on Arrangements concerning plans for the meeting and exhibitions in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Jewish Theological Seminary, Columbia University, Low Memorial Library, and the New York Public Library.

It was voted that the Secretary be instructed to send telegrams of greetings to Dr. Cyrus Adler and Prof. John Dyneley Prince.

## REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

After certain remarks of an informal nature the Secretary submitted his report as follows:

1. Delegates have been appointed by President Ludlow Bull to represent the Society at various meetings and celebrations as follows:

The Sesquicentennial Celebration of Georgetown University, at Washington, D. C., May 28-June 3, 1939, Prof. W. F. Albright and Dr. A. W. Hummel.

The Fifth International Congress of Linguists, at Brussels, Belgium, Aug. 28-Sept. 2, 1939, Prof. P. E. Dumont. The Congress was postponed because of the international situation.

The Semicentennial Celebration of the Catholic University of America at Washington, D. C., Nov. 11-13, 1939, Prof. W. F. Albright.

The Tenth All-India Oriental Conference, at Hyderabad, Deccan, India, Dec. 20-23, 1939, Dr. H. I. Poleman. The Conference was postponed because of the war.

The Forty-fourth Annual Meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, at Philadelphia, Pa., April 12-13, 1940, Profs. J. A. Montgomery, W. N. Brown, and Dr. J. K. Shryock.

2. We mourn the death of the following members:

PÈRE AUGUSTIN M. BOYER was born in France Nov. 20, 1850. He was an Indic scholar held in high esteem by his colleagues, who had been a corporate member of our Society since 1928. He died in Paris, Jan. 2, 1938.

Miss CATHERINE COOK, a corporate member of our Society since 1935, died in New York, Dec. 1938, in her seventy-fifth year. Her life was devoted to high school teaching and journalism. For some years previous to her death she was employed by the Open Court Publishing Company and the New Orient Society of America.

Dr. CHARLES PENROSE KEITH was born in Philadelphia, Pa., on March 15, 1854. In addition to his 62 years of practice as a lawyer, he was interested in historical research, and was the author of several volumes, prized for their wealth of reliable genealogical material. He had been a corporate member of our Society since 1929. He died in Philadelphia, April 23, 1939.



Prof. HARRY BERTRAM REED died June 15, 1939, at the age of 67. He was a professor of Old Testament exegesis in Northwestern Lutheran Theological Seminary at Minneapolis, Minn., and a corporate member of the Society since 1921.

Prof. ISRAEL DAVIDSON after serving for 23 years on the Faculty of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, in New York, died in Great Neck, Long Island, June 27, 1939, at the age of 69. As a world recognized authority in his field, he was author of many books including *Thesaurus of Medieval Hebrew Poetry* which he completed in 1933 after nearly 20 years' work. He had been a member of our Society since 1921.

NATHANIEL SCHMIDT, Professor Emeritus of Semitic Languages and Oriental History at Cornell University, died at Ithaca, June 29, 1939, at the age of 77. He became a corporate member of our Society in 1894 and passed to the list of life members in 1934. He served the Society as President in 1931-32. For many years he served as our representative on the Corporation of the ASOR. His scholarly publications in the field of Oriental and Biblical studies are numerous and well known.

IRA MAURICE PRICE, Professor Emeritus of Semitic Languages and Literature of the University of Chicago, died at his summer home near Olympia, Washington, Sept. 18, 1939, at the age of 83. He became a corporate member of our Society in 1887 and a life member in 1927. At the time of his death he was a member of our Committee on Investments. The list of his publications on Biblical subjects is a long one. He also made significant contributions in the field of cuneiform studies.

Prof. WALTER PETERSON, of the University of Chicago, died on Oct. 3, 1939. He was 58 years old. He had been a corporate member of our Society since 1909. He was the author of numerous articles in the field of general Indo-European linguistics and in recent years had given special attention to Hittite.

Dr. FRANK J. GOODNOW, President Emeritus of the Johns Hopkins University, died in Baltimore, Nov. 14, 1939, in his 81st year. He had been an Honorary Associate of our Society since 1921. He was an authority on international affairs and once served as legal adviser to the first government of the Republic of China.

Prof. DAVID SAMUEL MARGOLIOUTH, Laudian Professor of Arabic at the University of Oxford, died March 23, 1940, at the age of 81. He was elected an honorary member of our Society in 1937. He was a most distinguished Arabic scholar, whose writings dealt chiefly with Arabic commentaries on Aristotle and the history of Mohammedanism.

3. Other losses of members during the year included those who have found it necessary to resign (11) and those who were dropped from the roll according to constitutional requirements (26). Our total losses during the year were thus 47. Over against these losses, we may set our gain of 101 newly elected corporate members. Of this number 60 were added to the roll as the direct result of the work of the Membership Committee campaign under the direction of Prof. P. K. Hitti, Chairman. One former corporate member was reinstated. The total gain for the year was 102. The net gain was 55. The total membership as of March 26, 1940, is 797.



4. In the present year Professor Hanns Oertel, of Munich, Germany, is celebrating the 50th anniversary of his election to membership in the Society.

Respectfully submitted,

FERRIS J. STEPHENS, *Secretary*.

It was voted that the report be received.

It was voted that the Secretary be instructed to send the Society's greetings to Prof. Hanns Oertel on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of his membership in the Society.

#### REPORT OF THE TREASURER

The Treasurer submitted the following report upon the Society's finances for the fiscal and calendar year 1939:

1. CERTIFICATE OF HOLDINGS

This is to certify that as of December 31, 1939, Yale University is holding for account of the American Oriental Society the following securities:

*Bonds*

\$1,000 American Tel. & Tel. 3¼s of 1961  
2,000 Eastern Gas & Fuel Associates 4s of 1956  
2,000 Morris & Essex Railroad 3½s of 2000  
1,000 Niagara Falls Power 3½s of 1966  
2,000 Pacific Gas & Electric 4s of 1964  
2,000 Terminal Railroad Association of St. Louis 4s of 1953

*Stocks*

15 shs. American Tel. & Tel.  
10 " Bankers Trust Co.  
10 " Chemical Bank & Trust Co.  
20 " Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Railway, pfd.  
10 " First National Bank of Boston  
5 " Union Pacific Railroad, com.

*Mortgage*

\$6,000 par—688-90 Dixwell Avenue, New Haven, Conn. Maturity, April 1, 1940.

The cash balance as of December 31, 1939, is \$1,555.69.

Yale University,

By H. J. OSTRANDER, *Cashier*.



2.

## INVESTMENTS

	Date of Purchase	Book Value	Market Value Dec. 31, 1939	Yield
<i>Mortgage</i>		\$6,000.00	\$6,000.00	6%
<i>Bonds</i>				
1 Amer. Tel. & Tel.	Oct. 16, '36	1,011.90	1,090.00	3¼%
2 East. Gas & Fuel	Mar. 31, '36	1,936.67	1,602.50	4%
2 Morris & Essex	July 9, '35	1,900.68	900.00	3½%
1 Niag. Falls Power	June 25, '36	1,051.47	1,102.50	3½%
2 Pac. Gas & Elec.	July 9, '35	2,096.39	2,255.00	4%
2 Term. R.R. St. Louis	July 9, '35	2,120.12	2,180.00	4%
<i>Stocks</i>				
10 Amer. Tel. & Tel.	June 3, '36	1,660.35	1,708.75	\$9.00
5 Amer. Tel & Tel.	Mar. 29, '37	855.53	854.38	9.00
20 Chic., R. I. & Pac.	Dec. 16, '12	1.00	12.50	0.00
5 Union Pac. R. R.	Feb. 26, '37	666.78	472.50	6.00
10 Chem. Bk. & Trust.	Oct. 16, '36	667.50	500.00	1.80
10 Bankers Trust	June 11, '36	605.00	600.00	2.00
10 First Nat. Bk. Boston	June 11, '36	465.00	465.00	2.00
Total.....		\$21,038.39	\$19,743.13	
<i>Interest Collected</i>				
On Cash.....		\$ 46.73		
On Investments.....		960.50		
Total.....		\$1,007.23		
Index Figure on Investments.....		4.55 percent		

3.

## BALANCE SHEET

	Book Value Dec. 31, 1938	Book Value Dec. 31, 1939
<i>Assets</i>		
Investments (book value).....	\$21,038.39	\$21,038.39
Cash .....	2,023.64	1,555.69
Total.....	\$23,062.03	\$22,594.08
<i>Liabilities</i>		
Trust Funds .....	\$13,300.00	\$13,300.00
Life Member Fund.....	4,330.00	4,457.50
Reserve Fund .....	2,000.00	2,000.00
Total.....	\$19,630.00	\$19,757.50
<i>Surplus</i> .....	3,432.03	2,836.58
Total.....	\$23,062.03	\$22,594.08



DISTRIBUTION OF SURPLUS

Monograph Account Balance.....	\$2,194.97
General Account Balance.....	217.60
Offprint Account Balance Held for Authors.....	2.35
Contingency Fund Balance.....	421.66
Total.....	<u>\$2,836.58</u>

4. INCOME AND EXPENDITURES

Cash Balance, Jan. 1, 1939.....	\$2,023.64
---------------------------------	------------

*Income*

Annual Dues.....	\$2,965.78
Life Membership Dues.....	127.50
Interest .....	1,007.23
JOURNAL Sales (Yale Press).....	512.15
“ “ (Office) .....	114.07
Refunds from Authors.....	115.85
Subventions to Monographs.....	725.00
Monograph Sales.....	423.28
Offprint Sales.....	18.72
Library Catalogue Sales.....	5.00
Reimbursement for clerical service.....	1.75
Subscription to Biblical Archaeologist (for ASOR).....	1.00
	<u>6,017.33</u>
Total.....	<u>\$8,040.97</u>

*Expenditures*

JOURNAL Account.....	\$3,548.98
JOURNAL Authors.....	116.30
Monograph Account.....	1,674.67
Secretary-Treasurer's Account.....	871.84
Offprint Account.....	6.17
Librarian's Account.....	.40
Office moving and equipment.....	29.06
Committee on Membership.....	28.86
Committee on Prom. Or. Research.....	48.00
Middle West Branch.....	100.00
ACLS Dues.....	25.00
ASOR Contribution.....	25.00
Refund to ASOR (Bib. Arch.).....	1.00
Transfer of payment to Yale Press.....	10.00
	<u>6,485.28</u>
Cash Balance Dec. 31, 1939.....	<u>\$1,555.69</u>



5.

## GENERAL ACCOUNT

*Credits*

Balance Jan. 1, 1939.....	\$ 560.97
Dues (Arrears).....	185.00
Dues (Current).....	2,739.78
Dues (Advance).....	41.00
Interest .....	1,007.23
Reimbursement for clerical service.....	1.75
Subscription to Biblical Archaeologist (for ASOR).....	1.00
Returned from Committee on Membership.....	42.64
Returned from Committee on Promotion of Oriental Research.....	6.00
Returned from Secretary-Treasurer Account.....	129.91
Returned from Graham Committee Account.....	25.00
Returned from Office Equipment Account.....	170.94
Transferred from Librarians Account.....	4.60
Transferred from JOURNAL Account (dues credit).....	.50
Total.....	<u>\$4,916.32</u>

*Debits*

JOURNAL Expense.....	\$2,475.00
Editor's honoraria.....	400.00
Secretary-Treasurer's Account.....	1,000.00
Office equipment and moving.....	200.00
Middle West Branch.....	100.00
ACLS Dues. ....	25.00
Contingency Fund.....	460.97
Transferred to Yale Press.....	10.00
Refund to ASOR (Bib. Arch.).....	1.00
Transferred to Secretary-Treasurer's Account.....	1.75
Contribution to ASOR.....	25.00
	<u>\$4,698.72</u>
Balance December 31, 1939.....	\$ 217.60

6.

## JOURNAL ACCOUNT

*Credits*

Per Budget (from General Account).....	\$2,875.00
Sales (Yale Press).....	512.15
“ (Office) .....	114.07
Refunds from Authors.....	115.85
Transferred from Contingency Fund.....	100.00
“ “ Offprint Account.....	10.40
Total.....	<u>\$3,727.47</u>



*Debits*

JAOS 58/4.....	\$ 884.48	
JAOS 59/1.....	803.33	
JAOS 59/2.....	625.45	
JAOS 59/3.....	707.02	
Engravings for JAOS.....	42.69	
	<hr/>	\$3,062.97
Honoraria .....	400.00	
Editorial Expenses.....	41.13	
Expended for Authors.....	116.30	
Back numbers purchased.....	23.50	
Addressograph .....	5.55	
Postage (Office).....	13.88	
Additional reprints.....	.31	
Express charges on gift set.....	1.64	
Credit transferred to General Account.....	.50	
"        "        " Monograph Account.....	1.00	
	<hr/>	\$3,666.78
Balance returned to Contingency Fund.....		60.69
Receivable from Authors		
Arrears .....	\$13.45	
JAOS 59.....	6.35	
	<hr/>	
Total.....	\$19.80	

7.

MONOGRAPH ACCOUNT

*Credits*

Balance Jan. 1, 1939.....	\$2,719.18
Credits held Jan. 1, 1939.....	1.18
Subvention (AOS XIV).....	500.00
Subvention (AOS unpublished volumes).....	180.00
Reader's Fees (AOS unpublished volumes).....	45.00
Sales .....	423.28
Credit transferred from JOURNAL Account.....	1.00
	<hr/>
Total.....	\$3,869.64

*Debits*

AOS XIV Publication cost.....	\$751.27
AOS XVI Publication cost.....	695.95
AOS XII Printing errata slip.....	5.00
Reader's and Editor's fees.....	120.00
Storage of type AOS VIII.....	12.50
Advertising .....	48.60
Postage and supplies.....	40.15
Refund for volume returned.....	1.20
	<hr/>
	1,674.67
	<hr/>
Balance Dec. 31, 1939.....	\$2,194.97



## GROSS INCOME FROM SALES ITEMIZED

Barton, Royal Inscriptions.....	( 5)	\$ 5.25
AOS I (Blake) .....	( 5)	26.98
IV (Emeneau) .....	( 3)	5.46
V (Albright) .....	( 6)	6.44
VI (Pfeiffer) .....	( 3)	11.18
VII (Emeneau-U. L) .....	(17)	30.65
VIII (Harris-Gram.) .....	(24)	71.38
IX (Barret) .....	( 4)	8.46
X (Cross) .....	( 2)	2.16
XI (Shryock) .....	(15)	19.84
XII (Poleman) .....	(25)	44.59
XIII (Hamilton) .....	(39)	47.05
XIV (Goetze) .....	(53)	90.64
XV (Burrows) .....	(42)	50.64
XVI (Harris-D. C. D.) .....	( 1)	2.56
Total.....		\$423.28

8.

## OFFPRINT ACCOUNT

*Credits*

Balance Jan. 1, 1939 (held for author) .....	\$ .20
Sales Offprint No. 2 .....	.41
" " " 3 .....	.55
" " " 4 .....	.60
" " " 5 .....	1.68
" " " 6 .....	.82
" " " 7 .....	.40
" " " 8 .....	4.78
" " " 9 .....	9.48
Total .....	\$18.92

*Debits*

Postage .....	\$ .77
Refund to Author Offprint Nos. 6 and 9 .....	5.40
Transferred to JOURNAL Account .....	10.40
	16.57
Balance Dec. 31, 1939 (held for Authors) .....	\$2.35

9.

## SECRETARY-TREASURER'S ACCOUNT

*Credits*

Per Budget .....	\$1,000.00
Reimbursement for clerical service transferred from General Account .....	1.75
Total .....	\$1,001.75



*Debits*

Secretarial assistance.....	\$382.93	
Honorarium .....	200.00	
Postage, Supplies, Express.....	73.69	
Travel .....	46.00	
Printing, Addressograph service.....	159.22	
Accounting services.....	10.00	
		<u>871.84</u>

Balance, Dec. 31, 1939, returned to General Account..... \$ 129.91

10. COMMITTEE ON PROMOTION OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

Balance Jan. 1, 1939..... \$54.00

*Debits*

Postage and Expenses..... 48.00

Balance Dec. 31, 1939, returned to General Account..... \$ 6.00

11. COMMITTEE ON MEMBERSHIP

Balance Jan. 1, 1939..... \$71.50

*Debits*

Stationary, Printing, Postage..... 28.86

Balance Dec. 31, 1939, returned to General Account..... \$42.64

12. GRAHAM COMMITTEE

Balance Jan. 1, 1939..... \$25.00

*Debits* ..... 0.00

Balance Dec. 31, 1939, returned to General Account... \$25.00

13. LIBRARIAN'S ACCOUNT

*Credits*

Catalogue sales..... \$5.00

*Debits*

Postage ..... .40

Balance Dec. 31, 1939, returned to General Account..... \$4.60

14. CONTINGENCY FUND

*Credits*

Per Budget..... \$460.97



*Debits*

Transferred to JOURNAL Account.....	\$100.00
Remainder .....	\$360.97
Returned from JOURNAL Account.....	60.69
Balance Dec. 31, 1939.....	\$421.66

## 15. OFFICE MOVING AND EQUIPMENT ACCOUNT

*Credits*

Per Budget.....	\$200.00
-----------------	----------

*Debits*

Moving Expenses.....	\$ 2.50
Office Equipment.....	26.56
	<hr/> 29.06
Balance returned to General Account.....	\$170.94

16.

## CERTIFICATE OF AUDIT

January 11, 1940.

We hereby certify that we have examined the accounts of the Treasurer and that we believe them to be correct and in accord with the report transmitted.

(Signed): FRANKLIN EDGERTON,

CARL KRAELING,

*Auditing Committee.*

It was voted to receive the report.

## REPORT OF THE EDITORS

Prof. W. N. Brown presented the following as the report of the Editors of the Society's publications:

During the year 1939-40 the editors have published parts 2, 3, 4, of Volume 59 of the Society's JOURNAL, and part 1 of Volume 60. Volume 59, as completed, contains 533 pages.

As a Supplement to the JOURNAL, the editors published the Symposium entitled "The Beginnings of Civilization in the Orient," which was presented at the meetings of the Society in April, 1939. This work occupied 61 pages. The cost was met by the American Council of Learned Societies, which generously gave the money at the request of its committees on Near Eastern Studies, Indic and Iranian Studies, and Chinese and Japanese Studies.



In the American Oriental Series the editors have published Volume 16, *Development of the Canaanite Dialects*, by Zellig S. Harris. Volume XVII by Derk Bodde, *Statesman, Patriot, and General in Ancient China*, is to be published before April 15.

W. NORMAN BROWN. *Editor*.

J. K. SHRYOCK, *Associate Editor*.

E. A. SPEISER, *Associate Editor*.

It was voted to receive the report.

# REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

The Secretary presented the following as the report of Mr. B. Knollenberg, the Society's Librarian:

During the year 1939/40, 77 volumes and 258 numbers of periodicals have been added to the Library. Of the periodicals 248 were in continuance of sets already in the Library; 10 represent titles new to the Library. Two new exchanges have been established: with *Ex Oriente Lux* and with *L'Ecole Francaise d'Extrême Orient*. 32 volumes have been forwarded to the editors of the *JOURNAL* for purposes of review.

The cataloguing of books, pamphlets and periodicals is up to date.

The following is the list of accessions for the year:

- Accademia dei Lincei. *Indice degli Atti accademici pubblicati dal 1925 al 1934. 1936.*
- Barbeau, M. *Assomption sash. [1939?] (Canada. Dept of mines and resources. Bull. no. 93. Anthropol. ser. no. 24)*
- Beaglehole, E. *Ethnology of Pukapuka, by E. and P. Beaglehole. 1938. (Bernice P. Bishop museum. Bull. 150)*
- Brockelmann, C. *Geschichte der islamischen Völker und Staaten. 1939.*
- Buck, P. H. *Ethnology of Mangareva, by Te Rangi Hiroa (Peter H. Buck). 1938. (Bernice P. Bishop museum. Bull. 157)*
- Bulsara, J. F. *Mass and adult education in India. 1938.*
- Bunken hokoku, v. 5, no. 1, 7-12. 1939.
- Burrows, E. G. *Ethnology of Uvea (Wallis island). 1937. (Bernice P. Bishop museum. Bull. 145)*
- Caley, E. R. *The composition of ancient Greek bronze coins. 1939. (Memoirs of the American philosophical society, v. XI)*
- Calverley, E. E. *The fundamental structure of Islam. [1939]*
- K. *Česka společnost náuk, Prague. Opervm a Regia societate scientiarvm bohemia, annis 1905-1935 editorvm. Index generalis. 1938.*
- Chamberlain, J. *The letters of John Chamberlain. Ed. with introduction by N. E. McClure. 1939. 2v. (Memoirs of the American philosophical society, v. XII, pt. 1-2)*
- Charles, H. *Tribus moutonnières du Moyen-Euphrate. [1939] (Documents d'études orientales de l'Institut français de Damas, t. VIII)*
- Chinese year book. 4th issue. 1938-39. [1939]
- Dutch East Indies. *Landsarchief. Jaarverslag over 1938. 1939.*



- Ehrich, A. M. H. Early pottery of the Jebel region. Appendices by D. Wyckoff and E. O. Forrer. 1939. (Memoirs of the American philosophical society, v. XIII)
- Emory, K. P. Archaeology of Mangareva and neighboring atolls. 1939. (Bernice P. Bishop museum. Bull. 163)
- Field, H. Contributions to the anthropology of Iran. [1939] (Field museum of natural history. Publ. 458-459. Anthropol. ser., v. 29, no. 1-2)
- Goetz, H. Bundela art. [1938]
- The Central Asian mausoleum in India. *Typewritten copy from "Islamic culture."*
- The crisis of Indian civilisation in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. 1938. (Calcutta university readership lectures)
- An Indian element in European renaissance art. [1939]
- Some European influences on Indian art. [1939]
- Goetze, A. Accent and vocalism in Hebrew. 1939. (Publ. of the American oriental society, Offprint series, no. 11)
- Harris, Z. S. Development of the Canaanite dialects. 1939. (American oriental series, v. 16)
- Hunain ibn Ishak, al-'Ibādī. Le livre des questions sur l'oeil de Hunain ibn Ishak par le R. P. P. Sbath et M. Meyerhof. [1938] (Mémoires présentés à l'Institut d'Égypte publiés sous les auspices de Sa Majesté Farouk I<sup>er</sup>, t. 36)
- Irani, Z. S. R. Allusions and references in Persian literature. [1937]
- Itkonen, E. Der ostlappische Vokalismus vom qualitativen Standpunkt aus. 1939. (Suomalais-ugrilainen seura. Toimituksia LXXIX)
- Journal of Chinese folk-lore. v. 1. 1937.
- Juvainī. Juvainī's version of Chingis Khan's Yasa [by G. Vernadsky]. [1939]
- Khabardar, A. F. The silken tassel. 1918.
- Kioto imperial university. Dept. of literature. Geographical reports, no. II. [1938]
- Kunst, A. Probleme der buddhistischen Logik in der Darstellung des Tattvasaṅgraha. 1939. (Prace Komisji orientalistycznej Polskiej akademja umiejętności, nr. 33. Mémoires de la Commission orientaliste, no. 33)
- Kurat, A. N., ed. & tr. Türkische Urkunden, hrsg. und übers. von A. N. Kurat und K. V. Zetterstéen. [1938] (Monografier utgivna av K. Humanistiska vetenskaps-samfundet i Uppsala, 1)
- Lowdermilk, W. C. History of soil use in the Wu t'ai shan area, by W. C. Lowdermilk and D. R. Wickes. [1938]
- Macgregor, G. Ethnology of Tokelau islands. 1937. (Bernice P. Bishop museum. Bull. 146)
- Mackay, E. J. H. Further excavations at Mohenjo-daro. 1938. 2v.
- Madras (Presidency) Government oriental mss. library. An alphabetical index of Sanskrit manuscripts, by S. Kuppuswami Sastri and P. P. Subrahmanya. Pt. 1. 1938.
- An alphabetical index of Tamil manuscripts by S. Kuppuswami Sastri. 1932.



- Madras (Presidency) Governmental oriental mss. library. An alphabetical index of Telugu manuscripts by S. Kuppuswami Sastri. 1932.
- A descriptive catalogue of the Sanskrit manuscripts by S. Kuppuswami Sastri and P. P. Subrahmanya Sastri. v. 27—Supplemental. 1937.
- A descriptive catalogue of the Telugu manuscripts by S. Kuppuswami Sastri. v. 3-5. 1934-36. 3v.
- A triennial catalogue of manuscripts collected during the triennium 1919-20 to 1921-22 by S. Kuppuswami Sastri. Vol. IV, pt. 3. Telugu. 1934.
- A triennial catalogue of manuscripts collected during the triennium 1922-23 to 1924-5 by S. Kuppuswami Sastri. Vol. V., pt. 2. Tamil. 1936.
- A triennial catalogue of manuscripts collected during the triennium 1928-29 to 1930-31, by S. Kuppuswami Sastri and P. P. Subrahmanya Sastri. Vol. VII, pt. 1. Sanskrit. 1937.
- Martin, P. S. Modified basket maker sites, Ackmen-Lowry area. [1939] (Anthropol. ser. Field museum of natural history. v. XXIII, no. 3. Publ. 444)
- Mason, J. A. Archaeology of Santa Marta, Colombia. The Tairana culture. Pt. II, Section 2. Objects of pottery. With an appendix on ceramic technology by D. Horton. 1939. (Field museum of natural history. Publ. 446. Anthropol. ser., v. XX, no. 3)
- Monumenta nipponica. v. 2, no. 2. 1939.
- Mouw, H. The spirit of China. [1938]
- Mysore. University. Government oriental library. A descriptive catalogue of the Sanskrit manuscripts by M. S. Basavalingayya and V. T. T. Srinivasagopalachar. v. 1. Vedas. 1937. (Univ. of Mysore. Oriental library publ.)
- New Asia. v. 1, no. 2. 1939.
- Nirgidma de Torhout, *princesse, comp.* Dix-huit chants et poèmes mongols transcrits par Madame Humbert-Sauvageot. 1937. (Bibliothèque musicale du Musée Guimet. 1. sér.—t. IV)
- Paasonen, H. Mordwinische Volksdichtung, hrsg. und übers, von P. Ravila. 1938-39. 2v. (Suomalais-ugrilainen seura. Toimituksia LXXVII, LXXXI)
- Tscheremissische Texte, hrsg. von P. Siro. 1939. (Suomalais-ugrilainen seura. Toimituksia LXXVIII)
- Peiping. National library. Selected Chinese books, 1933-1937. Ed. through the generosity of the Rockefeller foundation, New York. Pt. 1-2. 1939.
- Quarterly bulletin of Chinese bibliography <Chinese ed.> New series, v. 1, no. 1-2. 1939.
- Ramstedt, G. J. A Korean grammar. 1939. (Suomalais-ugrilainen seura. Toimituksia. LXXXII)
- Runge, H. J. Über Ġazâlî's Faisal-al-tafriqa baina-l-Islâm wa-l-zandaqa. 1938.
- Samādhirājasūtra. Three chapters from the Samādhirājasūtra [ed. by K.



- Régezey]. 1938. (Towarzystwo naukowe warszawskie. Komisja orientalistycznej. Rozprawy. Nr. 1)
- Sarkar, B. K. The positive background of Hindu sociology. Bk. I. Introduction to Hindu positivism. 1937. (Sacred books of the Hindus series, v. XXXII)
- South Manchuria railway company. Library, Dairen. Nan Manshū Tetsudō Kabu-shi kwai-sha Dairen to-sho-kwan Wa-Kan to-sho bun-rui moku-roku. v. 2-5, 6b-8. 1932-36.
- Speiser, E. A. Studies in Hurrian grammar. 1939. (Publ. of the American oriental society. Offprint series, no. 10)
- Stewart, T. D. Anthropometric observations on the Eskimos and Indians of Labrador. Material and data collected by W. D. Strong. [1939] (Field museum of natural history. Publ. 462. Anthropol. ser., v. 31, no. 1)
- Stimson, J. F. Tuamotuan legends (island of Anaa). Pt. I. The demigods. 1937. (Bernice P. Bishop museum. Bull. 148)
- Tokyo. Tōyō bunko. Odagiri bun-ko moku-roku. 1938.
- Tō-yō bunko chi-hō shi moku-roku. 1935.
- Toledo museum of art, Toledo, Ohio. East Indian sculpture from various American collections. [1940]
- Unvala, J. M. Coins of Tabaristān and some Sassanian coins from Susa. 1938.
- Upanishads. Muṇḍaka-Upaniṣad (Traducere din limba sanscrita) de Th. Simenschy. 1939.
- Väisänen, A. O. Untersuchungen über die ob-ugrischen Melodien. 1939. (Suomalais-ugrilainen seura. Toimituksia. LXXX)
- Vernadskii, G. V. O sostave Velikoi ĬAsy Chingis Khana. 1939. (Studies in Russian and oriental history, no. 1)
- Virittäjä sisällys vuosina, 1927-36. 1939.
- Vooraziatisch-egyptisch gezelschap "Ex Oriente lux," Leyden. Jaarbericht, no. 6. [1939]
- Yukuo Uyehara. Intensive Japanese reading. [1939]
- Zalmoxis, revue des études religieuses. [1939]

BERNHARD KNOLLENBERG, *Librarian.*

It was voted to receive the report.

#### REPORT OF THE DELEGATES TO THE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES

Prof. F. Edgerton presented the following as the report of the Society's delegates to the American Council of Learned Societies:

The annual meeting of the American Council of Learned Societies was held at Philadelphia on January 26-27, 1940. Both of your delegates, as well as the Secretary of the Society, were present. Additional members of



the Society were also present as delegates from other societies, chairmen of committees, or secretaries of committees.

We note with regret that the present time has been deemed unpropitious for raising a permanent endowment in order to place the Council's current administrative needs upon an independent basis.

The Council continues to administer study-aids, and the fields of scholarly endeavor fostered by our Society are benefiting richly from them. It remains for us to encourage our respective departments and institutions of learning to make room for the young scholars who are being developed with these generous grants.

It is also a pleasure to report that, with funds that have been allocated specifically for the Far East, there will be held during the summer session of 1940 a Far Eastern Institute at Harvard University. Three courses will be offered covering the history and culture and the fine arts of both China and Japan. To permit careful work by the students, usual summer school regulations will be applied, so that no student will do more than two of these courses for credit. The attempt will be made to assemble a selected group from the teachers of history and the social sciences who need to acquire quickly, under sympathetic guidance, accurate information and bibliography on the Far East. The teaching personnel is being drawn from the younger members of our Society who have specialized in the respective fields. During the discussion of this report it was brought out that the Council's special committees on Chinese and Japanese studies are planning to ask approval to devote the summer session of 1941 to the study of the Chinese and Japanese languages by a similar group of selected students.

Our membership will also be glad to learn that the Council has available for 1940-41 a sum of \$15,000 to be expended as grants-in-aid of research. Older scholars will welcome the re-establishment of these most useful grants, and for the information of the younger group it might be added that these are post-doctoral grants, usually quite small, for the prosecution or completion of some personal research project. Professor Carl Kraeling, our former Secretary-Treasurer, will be a member of the administering committee, but all information should be sought from the Council's office in Washington, D. C.

FRANKLIN EDGERTON,  
JAMES R. WARE.

It was voted to receive the report.

#### REPORT OF THE SOCIETY'S REPRESENTATIVE ON THE CORPORATION OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOLS OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

Prof. O. R. Sellers presented the following as the report of the Society's representative on the corporation of the American Schools of Oriental Research:

Although both local and international political situations have compelled great reduction in the field work of the Schools, the past year has



been exceedingly gratifying in the development of the Schools in scientific influence and in financial stability. Noteworthy was the raising in 1939 of more than \$25,169.45, which was the sum necessary to secure the balance of \$50,338.90 of the Rockefeller Foundation's appropriation. This was raised in large measure by small contributions involving personal sacrifice. A vital factor in the campaign was the lecture tour of the Jerusalem School's director, Professor Nelson Glueck, who came to America for this specific purpose. Between October 20 and December 20 he gave fifty-two lectures, ranging from the Eastern coast to Kansas City and Dallas. This tour not only brought in funds, but added many new friends of the Schools. The total endowment now is over \$347,000. Among the gifts to the endowment fund was \$25, which was voted by the Executive Committee of this Society and for which the Schools are grateful.

The Baghdad School, under the direction of Professor Speiser, has on account of the war been unable to resume active work in the field, but it has issued the sixth volume of the Nuzi text publications under the title *Miscellaneous Texts*, by Dr. E. R. Lacheman. The Jerusalem School, with lectures necessarily curtailed and with a reduced student group, has been active in a way truly remarkable in view of the tense situation in Palestine. Last spring Dr. Glueck conducted the second campaign at Tell el-Kheleifeh (the Biblical Ezion-Geber), which he reported in the October and December *Bulletins* of the School, and according to a recent cable to Dr. Burrows he is now engaged on the third campaign at the site.

Dr. Glueck also is the author of the double volume, XVIII-XIX, of the *Annual* of the Schools, entitled *Explorations in Eastern Palestine III*. And the mimeographed *News-letters* from him telling of events in Jerusalem have been exciting. His work in holding together the School in a delicate situation has been notable.

Regular publications of the Schools are uninterrupted. *The Bulletin*, edited by Professor Albright, continues to be one of the foremost and most authentic archaeological periodicals. *The Biblical Archaeologist*, edited by Dr. G. E. Wright, has met with such success that it has been able to improve its style and appearance.

Supporting institutional members of the Corporation have increased from fifty-nine to sixty-four during the past year. Dr. Robert M. Engberg, who has been Field Secretary of the Schools since January, 1939, will succeed Dr. Glueck as director of the School in Jerusalem at the end of the present year, when Dr. Glueck will return to Hebrew Union College. So the Schools, with justifiable pride in the past year, look to the future with confidence.

O. R. SELLERS.

It was voted to receive the report.

It was voted to adopt the following resolution:

The American Oriental Society is highly gratified to learn that an endowment of approximately \$350,000 has been secured for the American Schools of Oriental Research, which constitutes one



of the most important instrumentalities for accomplishing the Society's purposes. Appreciative thanks are extended to those who collected this money and particularly to the donors.

### REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Secretary presented the following as the report of the Executive Committee:

The Executive Committee met last night at the Century Club, 7 W. 43rd St., to hear the reports of officers and committees responsible to it and to transact the business required of it by the Constitution.

Reports were heard from the Secretary, Committee on Membership, Committee on Promotion of Oriental Research, Committee on Centennial Celebration, Committee on the Society's Library, Committee on Advancement of Oriental Studies, Committee on Enlargement of Resources, Committee on Investments, and the Treasurer. All reports were discussed in detail and at length. The following decisions will be of special interest to the Society: that the Centennial Celebration is to be held in 1942, but the place is yet to be determined; and that we accept the invitation of the University of Chicago to hold our next meeting there in recognition of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the University. Prof. E. H. Sturtevant was appointed on the Committee on Investments. Dr. A. W. Hummel was appointed to succeed himself on the Committee for the Promotion of Oriental Research. Mr. Henry Field was appointed chairman of the Membership Committee.

The following budget for the calendar year 1940 was adopted:

Balance in General Account Jan. 1, 1940.....	\$ 217.60
Balance in Contingency Fund Jan. 1, 1940.....	421.66

Estimated income for 1940:

Dues .....	\$3,521.93	
Interest .....	950.00	
		<hr/> 4,471.93

Total.....	\$5,111.19
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Expenditures:

JOURNAL Account.....	\$2,438.17
Editor's Honoraria .....	400.00
Secretary-Treasurer's Account.....	1,000.00
Membership Committee.....	50.00
Committee on Promotion of Oriental Research.....	50.00
Committee on Advancement of Oriental Studies.....	50.00
Society's Library.....	200.00
ACLS dues.....	25.00
Contingency fund.....	898.02
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Total.....	\$5,111.19
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It was voted that the abstracts of papers submitted for the program of the meeting of 1940 be not printed in the JOURNAL.

FERRIS J. STEPHENS,  
*Secretary.*

The President appointed the following as a Committee on Resolutions: J. C. Archer, O. R. Sellers, J. R. Ware.

## B. PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Vice-President A. W. Hummel took the chair.

President Ludlow Bull delivered the Presidential Address on the subject: Egypt and Syria-Palestine before the Hyksos.

## C. PRESENTATION OF COMMUNICATIONS

The following communications were presented:

Prof. R. G. KENT (*University of Pennsylvania*): Grotefend and the Interpretation of the Cuneiform Script. (Illustrated.)

Mr. H. E. WINLOCK (*Metropolitan Museum of Art*): The Last Mentuhotpe and the First Amen-em-hêt. (Illustrated.)

Dr. D. G. MANDELBAUM (*University of Minnesota*): Fire-Walking. (Illustrated.)

Dr. A. SALMONY (*New York University*): The Possibility of Attributing Chinese Bronzes to Pre-Anyang Times. (Illustrated.)

Mr. A. PRIEST (*Metropolitan Museum of Art*): Analysis of the Monster Mask Rebus—Bird or Cicada? (Illustrated.)

Mrs. J. K. FAIRBANK: Problems in the Reconstruction of Wu Liang Tz'ü. (Illustrated.)

The session adjourned at 12.50 P. M.

A special luncheon was held by the Arabic and Islamic Group in the cafeteria of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

## THE SECOND SESSION

The second session was called to order at 2.15 of the same day in Class Room A of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The following communications were presented:

Mr. J. A. POPE: The Earliest Dated Chinese Buddhist Figure. (Illustrated.)

Dr. M. A. SIMSAR: Early Timûrid Paintings of the Şuwar al-Kawākib of the Library of Congress. (Illustrated.)



Mr. A. LANSING (*Metropolitan Museum of Art*): An Ancient Egyptian Salûki Hound in Ivory. (Illustrated.)

Mr. E. SCHROEDER (*Fogg Art Museum*): Iconography of the Leningrad "Siege" Platter. (Illustrated.)

Mr. S. V. GRANCSAY (*Metropolitan Museum of Art*): Oriental Swords in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. (Illustrated.)

Mr. M. C. ROSS (*Walters Art Gallery*): A Coptic Bone Carving in the Walters Art Gallery. (Illustrated.)

Dr. B. ROWLAND, JR. (*Fogg Art Museum*): Notes on the Iconography of Mt. Meru. (Illustrated.)

Dr. R. von HEINE-GELDERN (*American Museum of Natural History*): Pre-Aryan Elements in Early Buddhist Art. (Illustrated.)

Miss M. H. SHIMER: Two Pairs of Painted Jaina Manuscript Covers of the 14th Century. (Illustrated.)

Prof. H. GOLDMAN (*Institute for Advanced Study*): The Sandon Monument of Tarsus. (Illustrated.)

The Session was concluded at 5.15 P. M.

President and Mrs. Bull entertained the members at tea from 5.00-7.00 P. M. of the same day at the Cosmopolitan Club.

On Tuesday evening, Mrs. William H. Moore and Miss Louise Wallace Hackney entertained the members of the Far East Group at Mrs. Moore's home, with an exhibition of her collection of Chinese art.

### THE THIRD SESSION

The third session began at 10:00 A. M. Wednesday, March 27. It consisted of four simultaneous group meetings. All were held at the Jewish Theological Seminary except the meeting of the Far East Section, which was held at Columbia University, Low Memorial Library.

#### A. ANCIENT NEAR EAST SECTION: PHILOLOGICAL AND LINGUISTIC

President Ludlow Bull presided. The following communications were presented:

Prof. E. A. SPEISER (*University of Pennsylvania*): Phonetic Method in the Hurrian Orthography. Remarks by E. H. Sturtevant, J. J. Obermann, and W. F. Albright.

Prof. A. GOETZE (*Yale University*): The Larsa Dialect of Old Babylonian. Remarks by J. A. Montgomery and W. F. Albright.

Dr. C. H. GORDON (*Institute for Advanced Study*): Notes on the Ugaritic Language.

Prof. J. J. OBERMANN (*Yale University*): Ugaritic SKN and PGR. Remarks by W. F. Albright and T. M. Gaster.



Prof. C. C. TORREY (*Yale University*): Translation from Aramaic in the Hebrew Bible. Remarks by C. H. Gordon.

Prof. J. P. HYATT (*Wellesley College*): The Peril from the North in Jeremiah.

Prof. O. R. SELLERS (*Presbyterian Theological Seminary*): Self-pity in the Psalms. Remarks by T. M. Gaster.

#### B. ISLAMIC AND LATER NEAR EAST SECTION: HISTORICAL

Professor P. K. Hitti presided. The following communications were presented:

Prof. W. F. STINESPRING (*Duke University*): Titus Tobler in Jerusalem. Remarks by G. S. Duncan.

Dr. A. O. SARKISSIAN: History and Archeology of Eastern Asia Minor.

Mr. M. B. SMITH (*Library of Congress*): The Functional Prototype of the Isfahān Squinch. (Illustrated.) Remarks by Aga-Oglu and C. Wilson.

Prof. W. R. TAYLOR (*University College, Toronto*): A Syriac Manuscript from Peking.

Dr. N. A. FARIS and G. C. MILES: An Inscription of Bārbak Shāh of Bengal. (Illustrated.)

Prof. C. D. MATTHEWS (*Birmingham-Southern College*): Manuscripts and a Mamlūk Inscription in the Lansing Collection in the Denver Public Library. (Illustrated.) Remarks by P. K. Hitti and G. C. Miles.

#### C. MIDDLE EAST SECTION: HISTORICAL

Prof. W. N. Brown presided. The following communications were presented:

Mr. E. H. CUTTS: British Educational Policy in India under the East India Company. Remarks by P. Kosok.

Prof. P. KOSOK (*Long Island University*): What Rôle did Irrigation Play in the life of Ancient Medieval India? Remarks by M. Olcott.

Prof. J. C. ARCHER (*Yale University*): Two Psalms of the Sikhs.

Dr. A. K. COOMARASWAMY (*Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*): Remarks on the Marriage of the Spiritual Authority (*brahma*) to the Temporal Power (*kṣatra*). Remarks by E. H. Cutts, Miss T. Rowell, and C. J. Ogden.

Dr. G. HARTMAN (*The Library of Congress*): Symbols of the Twelve Nidānas in the Tibetan "Wheel of Life."

Dr. M. B. EMENEAU: A Volume of Texts in Kota, a South Dravidian Language. Remarks by F. Edgerton, A. H. Fry, G. R. Taylor, and A. K. Coomaraswamy.

Prof. P. E. DUMONT (*The Johns Hopkins University*): Some Remarks on the Avyakta-Upaniṣad. Remarks by Miss T. Rowell, F. Edgerton, P. Tedesco, and A. K. Coomaraswamy.

Prof. B. GEIGER (*Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology*): Old and New Parallels between Veda and Avesta.



D. FAR EAST SECTION: PHILOLOGICAL AND LINGUISTIC

Vice-President A. W. Hummel presided. The following communications were presented:

Prof. G. A. KENNEDY (*Yale University*): "Why?" and "Why Not?" in Early Chinese.

Prof. J. R. WARE (*Harvard University*): The Final Particle *wei*- "to do, to be."

Dr. Y. R. CHAO (*Academia Sinica*): Occurrence of the Unstressed Tone in Disyllabic Compounds in Mandarin.

Prof. J. M. MENZIES (*Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology*): The Nobles and Officials of the Shang Dynasty China 1400-1122 B.C. (Illustrated.)

Mr. Y. WANG: The Chun Organization of the Ch'in Empire.

Mr. R. C. RUDOLF (*University of Chicago*): "Emu tanggo orin sakda i gisum sarkiyān," an unedited Manchu Manuscript.

Mr. Q. ROOSEVELT (*Harvard University*): Moso Pictograph Manuscripts Recently Collected in the Nashi Kingdom. In the absence of the writer, the paper was read by Prof. R. S. Britton.

Mr. O. SHIMIZU (*Columbia University*): An Experimental Method of Cataloguing Japanese Books for Western Libraries.

At 1.15 p.m. the members were entertained at lunch by the Jewish Theological Seminary of America.

THE FOURTH SESSION

The fourth session was held at 2.30 p.m. of the same day, meeting in the same places as those of the third session.

A. ANCIENT NEAR EAST SECTION: HISTORICAL

Prof. L. Bull presided. The following communications were presented:

Dr. J. BONFANTE (*Princeton University*): The Illyrian Origin of the Philistines. Remarks by E. A. Speiser, J. A. Montgomery.

Miss V. JACOBS: El, the Moon and the Waters.

Prof. M. BURROWS (*Yale University*): The Marriage of Boaz and Ruth.

Dr. R. M. ENGBERG (*American Schools of Oriental Research*): Historical Analysis of Archaeological Evidence. Remarks by W. F. Albright.

Dr. M. VOGELSTEIN (*Hebrew Union College*): The Chronology of Hezekiah and his Successors.

Prof. H. RANKE (*University of Pennsylvania*): Coffins of Foreign Mercenaries in the Egyptian Army. (Illustrated.) Remarks by W. F. Albright, L. Bull.



Dr. E. von PORADA: A Hittite Theriomorphic Vase in San Francisco. (Illustrated.) Remarks by E. A. Speiser.

Miss A. L. PERKINS: Prehistoric Mesopotamian Temples. (Illustrated.)

Mrs. R. WISCHNITZER-BERNSTEIN: Is There a Unity of Conception in the Paintings of the Synagogue of Dura-Europas? (Illustrated.)

## B. ISLAMIC AND LATER NEAR EAST SECTION: PHILOLOGICAL AND LINGUISTIC

Prof. P. K. Hitti presided. The following communications were presented.

Prof. N. J. REICH (*Dropsie College*): Coptic "Mill" Ostraca.

Dr. G. von GRÜNEBAUM (*Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology*): Arabic Literary Criticism in the 10th Century A.D. Remarks by A. S. Halkin.

Dr. A. S. HALKIN (*Columbia University*): A Samaritan-Arabic Book of Definitions.

Dr. I. LICHTENSTÄDTER (*Jewish Theological Seminary*): Folk lore and Fairy-tale Motifs in Early Arabic Literature. Remarks by M. T. Gaster.

Dr. S. GLAZER: The Methodology of a 14th Century Arab Grammarian.

Dr. E. J. JURJI (*Princeton Theological Seminary*): The Islamic Theory of War. Remarks by J. J. Obermann.

Prof. J. J. OBERMANN (*Yale University*): A Mis-heard Hebrew Word in the Koran. Remarks by A. S. Halkin.

Rev. A. CHAURIZE: The Origin of the Arabic Verb: The Monosyllabic Theory.

## C. MIDDLE EAST SECTION: PHILOLOGICAL AND LINGUISTIC

Prof. W. N. Brown presided. The following communications were presented:

Dr. H. W. MAGOUN: Vedic "Metrical" Forms.

Dr. J. A. KERNS: (*New York University*) and Mr. B. SCHWARTZ (*New York Public Library*): Indo-Hittite Vocalism in the Light of the Laryngeal Hypothesis. Remarks by F. Edgerton and E. H. Sturtevant.

Prof. E. H. STURTEVANT (*Yale University*): Indo-European *k* from Indo-Hittite ?. Remarks by B. Schwartz, F. Edgerton, I. Dyen, G. L. Trager, and J. A. Kerns.

Prof. E. A. HAHN (*Hunter College*): Against Benveniste's Interpretation of Hittite *Ul manka* as *nihilo minus*. Remarks by A. Goetze.

Prof. L. H. GRAY (*Columbia University*): Fifteen Prākṛit Etymologies, Chiefly without Immediate Sanskrit Cognates. Remarks by F. Edgerton, W. N. Brown, E. H. Sturtevant, P. Tedesco, and I. Dyen.

Prof. A. H. FRY (*Catholic University*): The Pronunciation of *ś*, *ṣ*, and *s* in Sanskrit. Remarks by C. J. Ogden, E. H. Sturtevant, and M. Emeneau.

Prof. L. SCHERMAN: The Survival of Siddha, the Antique Sanskrit Writ-



ing, in Buddhist Mysticism. In the absence of the writer, the paper was presented in brief by Prof. F. Edgerton.

Prof. F. EDGERTON (*Yale University*): Sanskrit *samādhi* "hostage," with Remarks on the Vocabulary of the Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra.

Dr. P. TEDESCO (*Institute for Advanced Study*): The Foundations of the Old Indic *iṣ-aorist*. Remarks by F. Edgerton, B. Schwartz, and J. H. Bonfante.

#### D. FAR EAST SECTION: HISTORICAL

Prof. H. Borton presided. The following communications were presented:

Dr. K. A. WITTFOGEL (*Institute of Pacific Relations*): The Development of Early Chinese Institutions in the Light of Modern Anthropology. Remarks by J. M. Menzies, D. Bodde, C. S. Gardner, and Y. Wang.

Dr. R. S. BRITTON (*New York University*): Two Series of Anyang Inscriptions. (Illustrated.) Remarks by J. M. Menzies and J. K. Shryock.

Prof. D. BODDE (*University of Pennsylvania*): The Early Use of Iron Weapons in China. Remarks by T. T. Read, Mrs. D. Carter, J. M. Menzies, and L. C. Goodrich.

Dr. N. L. SWANN (*The Gest Oriental Library, Princeton*): A War Loan in 154 B. C. Remarks by C. H. Peake, H. Borton, and G. A. Kennedy.

Dr. E. O. REISCHAUER (*Harvard University*): Koreans in T'ang China. Remarks by H. Borton.

Mr. C. FENG: The Social Stratification of the Liao Empire.

At 7.30 P. M. of the same day, the members of the Society attending the sessions, friends of members, and invited guests met at the Columbia Faculty House for the annual Subscription Dinner. The attendance was 136.

After the dinner, greetings were delivered to the Society by C. J. Ogden, who read a letter from Miss Adelaide Rudolf; by the Secretary, who read a telegram from Prof. John Dyneley Prince; and by O. R. Sellers, who presented the greetings of the Middle West Branch.

President L. Bull then introduced Dr. Waldo G. Leland, Director of the American Council of Learned Societies, who delivered the address of the evening, upon the subject "The American Council of Learned Societies and Oriental Studies."

#### THE FIFTH SESSION

The fifth Session was called to order by President L. Bull at 9.30 A. M. on Thursday, March 28, in Class Room A of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.



## A. BUSINESS MEETING

Prof W. F. Albright presented the report of the Nominating Committee as follows:

*President:* Dr. Arthur W. Hummel.

*Vice-President:* Prof. W. Norman Brown.

*Secretary-Treasurer:* Prof. F. J. Stephens.

*Editor:* Prof. W. Norman Brown.

*Associate Editors:* Dr. John K. Shryock, Prof. E. A. Speiser.

*Librarian:* Prof. Bernhard Knollenberg.

*Member of Executive Committee to serve until 1943:* Prof. Franklin Edgerton.

*Delegate to American Council of Learned Societies:* Prof. E. A. Speiser.

*Members of Committee on Nominations, to serve until 1942:* Dr. Murray B. Emeneau, Prof. W. F. Edgerton, Prof. G. A. Kennedy.

W. F. ALBRIGHT, *Chairman*

L. C. BARRET

L. C. GOODRICH

J. MORGENSTERN

C. J. OGDEN

L. WATERMAN

It was voted that the Secretary-Treasurer cast a unanimous ballot for the persons nominated.

President Bull appointed C. H. Kraeling and F. Edgerton as the Committee of Auditors for 1940.

Prof. J. C. Archer presented the report of the Committee on Resolutions as follows:

The American Oriental Society assembled in New York City March 26-28, 1940, in its one hundred and fifty-second general session, acknowledges with gratitude the many evidences of good will and the innumerable courtesies and services of its hosts, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Jewish Theological Seminary of America and Columbia University, in particular. These institutions have put every facility at our disposal, including attention from many of their officers and attendants, thus ministering to the various interests of an unusually large gathering of our members and friends.

In an even more personal way, we are indebted to our Committee on Arrangements with whom these institutions so willingly cooperated, to our President and Mrs. Bull for the delightful reception and collation at the Cosmopolitan Club, to Mrs. William H. Moore who with the assistance of Miss Louise Wallace Hackney, opened her home for an inspection of her collection of Chinese art, and to the Seminary for a generous luncheon.

We would spread this acknowledgment upon our permanent records and communicate it to our several hosts, retaining for ourselves the abiding memory of a stimulating, profitable and happy meeting.

J. C. ARCHER, *Chairman*

O. R. SELLERS

J. R. WARE



It was voted to adopt the resolutions and to instruct the Secretary-Treasurer to send copies of them to the institutions and individuals referred to in them.

Upon motion of Prof. W. F. Albright it was voted to re-appoint Prof. O. R. Sellers representative of the Society upon the corporation of the American Schools of Oriental Research.

It was further voted to designate President J. Morgenstern as Chairman of the Nominating Committee which is to report at the next meeting.

Prof. W. F. Albright read a letter from Dr. Samuel I. Feigen urging the Society to take some action to expedite the release of Prof. Moses Schorr, who is being held in prison for political reasons. Upon motion of Prof. E. A. Speiser it was voted that the case of the imprisonment of Prof. Schorr be referred to the Executive Committee and that the Committee be asked to use any proper means to secure his release.

The Secretary read the following report from the Committee for the Promotion of Oriental Research:

In the past year the Committee gave its approval to five projects of research. In every case the Committee made a careful investigation, with an appointed reader or referee, and with a report to the Committee from its member in the field concerned. Appropriations for publication of several manuscripts have been obtained. The Committee voted approval of an important foreign project for which we failed to raise a contribution in this country. One application for our support is still pending.

H. H. BENDER, *Chairman*

The Secretary reported for the Membership Committee as follows:

Early last fall your Membership Committee sent a circular letter to the entire membership of the Society soliciting their cooperation in discovering and interesting candidates.

Number of responses: 33

Number of names submitted: 151.

A letter was then sent to each one of the nominees asking for authorization to submit their names for corporate membership to the Executive Committee.

Number of favorable replies thus far received and duly elected: 60.

P. K. HITTI, *Chairman*

H. BORTON

I. J. GELB

A. H. LYBYER

C. D. MATTHEWS

W. POPPER

F. J. STEPHENS

F. V. WINNETT



The Secretary further reported that the Committee on the Celebration of the Society's Centennial is definitely planning to hold the celebration in 1942, although the place is not yet determined; that the Committee is planning the publication of a history of the Society as a part of the Centennial Celebration; and that Dr. C. J. Ogden has consented to write the history in cooperation with an editorial committee.

Dr. C. J. Ogden asked for the cooperation and help of the members in gathering data for the compiling of the history of the Society.

### B. PRESENTATION OF COMMUNICATIONS

The following invited papers on Oriental Religions were read:

Prof. W. F. ALBRIGHT (*Johns Hopkins University*): Islam and the Religion of the Ancient Orient. Prof. A. Jeffery, the appointed critic of the paper, led in the discussion. There were further remarks by E. E. Calverley and C. J. Ogden.

Prof. G. L. DELLA VIDA (*University of Pennsylvania*): Nationalism and Universalism in Early Islam. Prof. A. Jeffery led in the discussion. There were further remarks by M. A. Simsar, J. C. Archer, J. K. Shryock, and A. K. Coomaraswamy.

Prof. W. N. BROWN (*University of Pennsylvania*): The Basis for the Hindu Act of Truth. Prof. F. Edgerton, the appointed critic, led in the discussion. There were further remarks by R. E. Wolfe, J. M. Menzies, A. K. Coomaraswamy, W. F. Albright, J. C. Archer, and C. J. Ogden.

Rev. D. C. GRAHAM: Religion of the Ch'uan Miao. Prof. J. K. Shryock led in the discussion. There were further remarks by S. N. Au-Young, J. C. Archer, and J. M. Menzies.

The members of the Far East Group held a luncheon meeting at 1.00 p. m. at the Hotel Croyden.

### THE SIXTH SESSION

The sixth session was held as a continuation of the Session of the Far East Section: Historical. It was held in Class Room A in the Metropolitan Museum of Art on Thursday afternoon, March 28. Prof. J. R. Ware presided and called the session to order at 2.30 p. m. During the second half of the session Dr. C. S. Gardner presided. The following communications were presented:

Dr. E. H. HUME: Some Notes on Medical Education in China Prior to 1600 A. D.



Prof. F. D. SCHULTHEIS (*University of Washington*): The Disaster at T'u-mu in 1449 A. D.

Dr. C. S. GARDNER (*Harvard University*): A Series of Illustrations of Imperial Manchu Victories. (Illustrated.) Remarks by N. L. Swann.

Prof. J. K. FAIRBANK (*Harvard University*): Aspects of Ch'ing Finance in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century. Remarks by E. O. Reischauer.

Mr. E. P. BOARDMAN: Recent New Material for the Study of the T'ai P'ing.

Prof. A. E. CHRISTY (*Columbia University*): The Diffusion of Orientalism in the West: John Gould Fletcher.

Prof. E. H. PRITCHARD (*Wayne University*): A Theory of the Historical Development of China.

Prof. D. N. ROWE (*Princeton University*): The Lower-Division Course on Chinese Culture at Princeton University.

Rev. R. SELL: Examples of Religious Polemics in Chinese Literature.

The following communications were presented by title:

Prof. J. LEWY (*Hebrew Union College*): The Meaning of the Divine Names Yarhiböl, 'Agliböl and 'Arqirešef.

Prof. H. M. ORLINSKY (*Baltimore Hebrew College*): On the Cohortative and Jussive after an Imperative or Interjection in Biblical Hebrew.

Prof. R. MARCUS (*Columbia University*): (a) The "Tree of Life" in Proverbs. (b) The Meaning of the Word "Qoheleth."

Dr. D. von den STEINEN (*University of California*): Sigh-poetry in and before the Han Dynasty.

Prof. F. R. BLAKE (*Johns Hopkins University*): The Vocalization of the Pretonic Open Syllable in Hebrew.

Prof. G. W. BRIGGS (*Drew University*): Ojha and Ojhāi among the Doms.

Mr. CHIH MENG (*China Institute in America*): The Education of Chinese Students in America: A Survey and an Appraisal.

Prof. T. E. ENNIS (*West Virginia University*): The Influence of Socialism upon Japanese Thought and Action.

Dr. G. C. O. HAAS (*Institute of Hyperphysical Research*): Ancient Hindu Concepts of the "Formative" Body of Man.

Dr. D. L. MACHT: Biblical References to Serpents in the Light of Modern Herpetology.

Dr. P. M. PURVES (*University of Chicago*): Semitic Auditory Perception as the Agency in the Distinction between Voiced and Voiceless Stops in Hurrian.

Prof. N. J. REICH (*Dropsie College*): The Demotic Chester Beatty Papyrus No. 16.

Prof. W. BINGHAM (*University of California*): The Rise of Li in a Ballad Prophecy.

The meeting was adjourned and the entire session concluded at 5.30 P. M.



PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
MIDDLE WEST BRANCH  
OF THE  
**American Oriental Society**

AT THE MEETING AT LEXINGTON, 1940

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The Middle West Branch of the American Oriental Society held its Twenty-Fourth Annual Meeting on Friday and Saturday, April 5 and 6, in Lexington, Kentucky. The members of the Society and nominees were guests of the College of the Bible.

Headquarters of the Branch were in the Lafayette Hotel. Friday and Saturday morning's sessions were held in the Hotel, Friday afternoon's at the College of the Bible.

The following members were present at one or more of the sessions:

Albert	Hughes	Rigg
Blank	Lewy	Robbins
Bloomhardt	McGovern	Ross
Braden	May	Sellers
Buckler	Moore	Shier
Dubberstein	Morgenstern	Waterman
Fields	Nims	Worrell
Fisher	Putcamp	Wright
Hamilton	Pyatt	
Hardy	Reid	
		Total, 28

There was present also as a nominee for membership in the Society Dr. F. Rosenthal of Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati.

At every session there were present many students, wives of members and others interested in the programs.

**THE FIRST SESSION**

At 10.00 A. M. on Friday, President William Montgomery McGovern called to order the first session of the meeting in the Red Room of the Hotel Lafayette.



Reading of the minutes of the meeting in Chicago, December 30 and 31, 1938 (for the meeting of 1939) was omitted since they were already in print. The Treasurer reported that expenditures for the calendar year of 1939 were negligible, since the expenses of the Chicago meeting fell into the year 1938 and had already been published.

The President appointed the following as members of the committee on Resolutions: Professors Braden (Chairman), May, and Wright.

The Branch then elected as a committee on nominations the following: Professors Sellers (Chairman) Dubberstein, and Buckler.

There followed the reading of papers:

Prof. O. R. SELLERS (*Presbyterian Theological Seminary*): Old Testament Words for "Fool." Comments by President Morgenstern, Professors Rigg, Pyatt, Lewy, and Blank.

Mr. RALPH W. E. REID (*Northwestern University*): Some Aspects of Piracy in the Mongol Dynasty of China. Comments by Professors Buckler and McGovern.

Dr. JAMES MARSHALL PLUMER (*University of Michigan*): The Significance of our Pacific Heritage. (Read by title.)

At 11.30 the President of the Branch, Professor William Montgomery McGovern of Northwestern University, delivered the Presidential Address: The Development of Oriental Studies in the United States. Discussion of the President's address was initiated by Mrs. Cleta Olmstead Robbins, followed by Professor Braden, President Morgenstern, and Professor Buckler.

In accordance with suggestions in the Address and brought out further in the discussion, it was *voted*, on motion of Professor Braden, seconded by Dr. Dubberstein, that a committee be appointed to study the possibility of cooperation between Political Scientists and the American Oriental Society, particularly in the realm of Oriental Studies.

The meeting then adjourned for luncheon.

#### THE SECOND SESSION

President McGovern called the second session to order at 2.00 p. m. in Room 11 of the College of the Bible and the reading of papers was resumed:



Prof. CHARLES S. BRADEN (*Northwestern University*): *Oriental Religions and Wars*. Comments by Professor McGovern and Dr. Dubberstein.

Prof. HORACE ABRAM RIGG, JR. (*Western Reserve University*): *Sargon's Eighth Campaign Route: A Reconsideration*. Comments by President Morgenstern and Mr. Hamlin.

Mr. JOHN HAMLIN (*Graduate School of Theology, Oberlin*): *Notes on Psalm 134*. Comments by President Morgenstern.

President JULIAN MORGENSTERN (*Hebrew Union College*): *Šafon in Biblical and Apocalyptic Literature*. Comments by Professors May, McGovern, J. Lewy, and H. Lewy.

Dr. G. ERNEST WRIGHT (*Presbyterian Theological Seminary*): *The Oriental Background of the Greek Hermes as Ram Bearer*. (Illustrated.) Comments by Professor McGovern, Dr. H. Lewy, and Mrs. Robbins.

Mrs. DAVID ROBBINS (*Oriental Institute, University of Chicago*): *Greek Sculpture at Persepolis*. Comments by Dr. Wright and Dr. Dubberstein.

At 6.30 P. M. was held the Annual Dinner of the Branch in the Red Room of the Hotel Lafayette. Professor Charles Lynn Pyatt, of the College of the Bible, presented the greetings of the host college to the Branch.

Following dinner, the Branch adjourned to the Gold Room for an open meeting where the work of the American Schools of Oriental Research was presented in illustrated form by Professor Fisher of Berea College. Discussion followed, participated in by former members of the schools.

### THE THIRD SESSION

The Third Session was called to order by the President of the Branch in the Gold Room of the Hotel Lafayette at 9.30 A. M., and the reading of papers was resumed:

Prof. LEROY WATERMAN (*University of Michigan*): *Some Repercussions from Late Levitical Genealogical Accretions in P and the Chronicler*. Comment by President Morgenstern.

Prof. ALLEN D. ALBERT, JR. (*Seabury-Western Theological Seminary*): *Some Factors of Location in City Survival in Mesopotamia*. Comment by Professor McGovern.

Prof. SHELDON H. BLANK (*Hebrew Union College*): "And they shall know that I am Yahveh."

Prof. W. H. WORRELL (*University of Michigan*): *Interrelationship of the Coptic Dialects*.

Dr. ROBERT S. HARDY (*Oriental Institute, University of Chicago*): *T/Labarna as a Title of Hittite Kingship*.

Dr. HILDEGARD LEWY (*Hebrew Union College*): *The "Brotherhood" Documents from Nuzi*.



Prof. JULIUS LEWY (*Hebrew Union College*): Narâm-Sin's Campaign in Anatolia in the Light of Geographical Data in the Kültepe Texts.

Prof. HERBERT G. MAY (*Graduate School of Theology, Oberlin*): "'Al . . ." in the Superscriptions in the Psalms.

Following the reading of papers, the Nominating Committee brought in the following report:

Your committee nominates the following persons to hold office for the year 1940-41:

For President—because this next session will be the Branch's Twenty-fifth Annual Meeting, because it will be a joint meeting on the occasion of the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the University of Chicago, because on account of these factors the election should be a rather special one and on no account to be construed as setting up any precedent—one who did much for the establishing of this Branch and the welfare of the Parent Society, who has already held the office of President, not only of the Branch but of the Parent Society as well: Professor A. T. OLMSTEAD

Vice-President: Professor HERBERT G. MAY

Secretary-Treasurer: Professor ALLEN D. ALBERT, JR.

Members of the Executive Committee: Professor WILLIAM MONTGOMERY MCGOVERN of Northwestern University and Dr. G. ERNEST WRIGHT of Presbyterian Theological Seminary.

Signed: O. R. SELLERS, *Chairman*,  
WALDO H. DUBBERSTEIN.  
FRANCIS W. BUCKLER.

On motion of President Morgenstern, seconded by Dr. Nims, the report was accepted and the Secretary instructed to cast a white ballot for the nominees. President McGovern then declared them elected as nominated.

Professor Braden then read the report of the Committee on Resolutions with some of his personal reminiscences, which were incorporated in the report as follows:

The Oriental Society has this year sustained a major loss in the passing of Professor Ira M. Price of the University of Chicago. One of the original faculty at the new University on the Midway, whose fiftieth anniversary we will help celebrate next year, he was until the day of his death last autumn one of the most tireless Oriental scholars in the entire membership of the Society. I have myself been a member of the Society for fourteen years. He had already retired from his professorship when I joined, but no younger scholar was more constant in his application to scholarly research than he, and he continued his productive work 'till the very end of his life.



He could always be counted on for a paper that made some definite contribution to his field.

A great original research scholar, he had also the ability to make the results of scholarship available to the non-academic world. His books, *Monuments of Bible Lands* and the *Ancestry of the English Bible*, have gone through many editions and have done much to create interest in Near Eastern studies in particular. In addition he brought his vast knowledge of Biblical matters to popular use in his long and influential service on the lesson committee of the International Sunday School Union.

One of the things for which Professor Price was notable was his encouragement to younger scholars. My own memory of him goes back to my first Oriental meeting in Cincinnati in 1927. I knew him by sight only. When I got off the train and walked through the station, Dr. Price was just ahead of me. Not knowing him then, save as a name, I purposely held back not wishing to intrude on the great man's presence. Also, being newly come to a salaried position after some years of graduate study, I was in no financial position to go to an expensive breakfast with a plutocratic professor from the University of Chicago. I deliberately, therefore, took a different street on leaving the station than that Professor Price had taken and a block or two away slipped into a humble Thompson's for breakfast. I had hardly settled into my armchair, when in walked Professor Price and got a simple breakfast from the counter. He and I were good friends from that day, and I noticed it was his custom to make friends with new members and to try to make them feel at home in the group.

We record with deep feeling our tribute to this great-hearted scholarly gentleman, who by a long life-time of conscientious scholarly effort did much to advance our knowledge of the Ancient Orient.

The meeting place of the society this year was very happily chosen. The very good attendance seems to indicate that it is not necessary to meet at or in the near vicinity of Chicago in order to attract the membership. We would go on record as favoring more frequent meetings in connection with institutions which are on the outer fringe of our area. Concentration of interest in the programs of the Society seems better assured than when meetings are held in Chicago or our other larger centers. We are not quite sure of the extent to which this meeting has been made the occasion for arousing interest in Oriental affairs among institutions in the immediately contiguous area, but it seems quite likely that if definite efforts were made our membership might be considerably increased.

The local arrangements for our housing and meetings have left nothing to be desired. The hospitality extended to us by the College of the Bible has been sincerely appreciated. We desire to thank them heartily. In particular we would record our gratitude to Professor Pyatt, who has, working behind the scenes, quite effortlessly, assured the smooth running of all the sessions. He didn't do so well by us in the matter of weather, but doubtless he did the best he could for us even here.

Our warm appreciation goes also to the officers of the Society for the efficient conduct of the sessions. Particularly to the Secretary-Treasurer



whose task here, as in most such organizations, is relatively onerous and at the same time usually thankless, we would say, "Thank you."

The papers have been interesting, the discussions stimulating. Our only observation is that we would gladly have heard also from some of our silent brothers who have been in attendance.

We regret that illness has kept some of our most active members from attending, notably Professor Olmstead.

The total setting, then, for this year's meeting has been very satisfactory, the program good, the housing excellent, the food tasty, the fellowship splendid, the humor rich. For all this we are in grateful mood as we come to the end of the sessions. A hearty "thank you" to all who have made this possible.

CHARLES S. BRADEN, *Chairman*,  
HERBERT G. MAY,  
G. ERNEST WRIGHT.

The Meeting closed with a luncheon in the Red Room of the Hotel Lafayette, where the members and their guests were entertained by the College of the Bible. A greeting on behalf of the hosts was extended by President Corey of the College, to whom President McGovern conveyed the appreciation of the members.

Respectfully submitted,

ALLEN D. ALBERT, JR.,  
*Secretary.*



# EGYPTIAN PHONETIC WRITING, FROM ITS INVENTION TO THE CLOSE OF THE NINETEENTH DYNASTY

WILLIAM F. EDGERTON  
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE FOLLOWING STUDY was begun in the spring of 1935 as a review of Albright's *The Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography*.<sup>1</sup> This undertaking led me much farther afield than I had anticipated. It led me, in fact, to revise my own previous views of the history of Egyptian writing more than a little.

My chronological stopping-point has been dictated by the desire to meet Albright's arguments squarely on ground which he himself has chosen. Albright concludes that what he calls the "syllabic" orthography began (so far as his evidence goes) about the beginning of the Middle Kingdom, that it gradually developed in the following centuries, that it "reaches its most elegant form about the reign of Amenophis III," and that "the transcriptions" (of Asiatic names and loan-words into Egyptian) in the reign of Ramses II "are hardly inferior in vocalization to cuneiform. . . . There is no appreciable decline in precision during the reign of Menephthes (cir. 1234-27), but in that of Ramesses III (cir. 1180-50), following a period of anarchy, we find a distinct change for the worse . . . However, the transcriptions of the time of Ramesses III are still quite good, on the whole. . . . During the rapid decay of the Egyptian state, accompanied by a similar decline of its old culture, which followed the death of Ramesses III, the syllabic orthography became corrupt. . . . The corruption becomes still greater in the early Twenty-first Dynasty. By the beginning of the Twenty-second Dynasty the corruption becomes still worse, if possible . . ." until finally it is "clear that the syllabic orthography became almost completely amorphous by the tenth century B. C."<sup>2</sup>

I cannot say that I regard the foregoing historical sketch as very probable, but I do not wish to argue the point here. Instead, I have rigidly excluded all texts later than the Nineteenth Dynasty

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<sup>1</sup> New Haven, 1934 (American Oriental Series, Volume 5).

<sup>2</sup> Pages 12-15.



from the following study. This involves the exclusion of 30 out of some 315 different words which Albright adduced in support of his theory, or 9½% of his evidence.

I must ask Egyptologists to bear with me when I elaborately explain facts which are self-evident to them, since the argument is addressed also to Semitists and others who have little or no knowledge of Egyptian.

Egyptian hieroglyphic writing seems to have originated toward the end of the Predynastic Period. Presumably it was invented by a person or group living in a particular part of Egypt and speaking a particular dialect of the Egyptian language. Presumably there were, at the same time, other groups of people inhabiting other parts of Egypt and speaking other dialects of the language. We have no proof that the dialect spoken by the inventors of hieroglyphic writing was ancestral to any of the dialects found in the alphabetic writings of Coptic Egypt, thirty to forty-five centuries later. It is probable that the speech of the inventors of hieroglyphic did not contain the phoneme *l*:<sup>3</sup> this tends to suggest that their dialect was not ancestral to Coptic, since all Coptic dialects show a phoneme *l* which goes back to the parent Semitic-Berber-Cushite speech. If the dialect was not ancestral to Coptic, then there is no procedure known to me by which any detail of its vocalization can be determined, since Old Egyptian certainly never wrote any vowels.

Once invented, the system of writing probably spread rapidly throughout the country, perhaps as the written vehicle of a standard language which may or may not have been identical with the speech of the first inventors.

The earliest hieroglyphic inscriptions known to us date approximately from the time of Menes, the Upper Egyptian king who united the two kingdoms of Upper and Lower Egypt under his sole authority and founded the First Dynasty. We have no proof that the invention of writing, in any form, was very old at that time.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> See Ember, in *The Johns Hopkins University Circular*, N. S., 1919, No. 6. Whole Number 316. "Proceedings of the University Philological Association, 1918-1919." June, 1919, page 32.

<sup>4</sup> Neugebauer has shown that a calendar year of 365 days could be developed, in Egypt, by a population of illiterate peasants; that it does not necessarily presuppose even the simplest observation of the stars; and that any determination of the date of its introduction must allow a margin of error of several centuries. See *Acta Orientalia* 17, part 3 (1938) 169-195.



In all known stages of its history, Egyptian hieroglyphic could write the name of any concrete entity merely by drawing a picture of it. To take only one example out of many, the word for "sun," *r*<sup>c</sup> (\**rī*<sup>c</sup>*w*, Sahidic *rē*) is often written merely by drawing a circle, without the addition of any other sign whatever. It seems certain that word-signs of this type must have been an integral part of the system from the time of its invention.

But the same picture of the sun, still unaccompanied by any other sign, is also very commonly used in all known periods to write the etymologically unrelated word *hrw* (\**hrāw*, Sahidic *hōw*) "day." This use of a word-sign to represent, not the name of the pictured thing, but another word expressing some related idea, was also, in all probability, an integral part of the system from the time of its invention.

Both of the foregoing uses of signs are purely ideographic. The history of Egyptian ideograms is a complicated one. Nothing further will be said about it in this article, since it has no further relevance to the subject in hand.<sup>5</sup>

Of the total number of signs in any normal hieroglyphic or hieratic text, the overwhelming majority will not be ideographic at all but phonetic. The invention of the phonetic principle was what gave ancient Egyptian writing its essential character. This invention was an extremely simple application of the rebus principle, conditioned by the phonetic and morphological characteristics of the Egyptian language.<sup>6</sup>

In the inflections of the ancient Egyptian language, as in those of Semitic, vocalic changes of the type represented by English *woman: women, sing: sang: sung*, played an extremely important part. Consonantal or syllabic affixes were also common, but these were usually accompanied by internal vocalic changes, as in *steal: stolen*; less frequently (if ever) were they unaccompanied by such

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Unlike H. E. Winlock, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 83 (1940) 450, I find Neugebauer's view on this point completely satisfactory. See also A. Scharff, *Historische Zeitschrift* 161 (1940) 3-32.

<sup>5</sup> The ideographic uses of Egyptian hieroglyphs were first correctly analyzed by Sethe, "Zur Reform der ägyptischen Schriftlehre," in *ÄZ* 45 (1908) 36-43.

<sup>6</sup> The following paragraphs owe much to Sethe, "Der Ursprung des Alphabets," in *Nachrichten der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1916, pages 88-161, though deviating from Sethe's views in various ways.



internal changes, as in *stole: stolen*.<sup>7</sup> Inflectional disappearance of a root consonant, as in *teach: taught*, certainly appears in Copitic.<sup>8</sup> Some peculiar spellings in Old and Middle Egyptian may perhaps reflect the same inflectional disappearance of a root consonant or inflectional phonetic shift as in *life: lives*.<sup>9</sup> New themes were sometimes formed by repetition of one or more consonants or syllables, even to the entire consonantal structure of the word as in *dally: dilly-dally*.

The vocalic phenomena briefly suggested above were certainly characteristic of Old Egyptian verbal conjugations of all types. It has been established beyond doubt that the characteristic root idea of every Old Egyptian verb was carried by its consonantal skeleton (as is the case, for instance, in Arabic) while internal vocalic changes, partly accompanied and partly unaccompanied by external prefixes and affixes, served the purposes of inflection.

Corresponding evidence regarding the inflection of the Old Egyptian noun may be said to tend in the same direction. In some nouns the root vowel in the forms which we can deduce preserved a single quality and a single position in the word, undergoing merely an inflectional change in quantity, ex. \**rāʕ* "mouth," \**rāʕf* "his

<sup>7</sup> Statements regarding the vocalization of Old Egyptian, such as those above, rest exclusively on comparative evidence, since direct evidence is non-existent. It is largely for this reason that non-Egyptian examples have been chosen for illustrative purposes at this point: specific examples from Old Egyptian are open to serious question, though the general importance of the principle of vocalic inflectional change in Old Egyptian has been established beyond reasonable doubt. For the evidence itself, see Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (Oxford, 1927) pages 422-427, and especially Sethe, *Das ägyptische Verbum*, vol. II (Leipzig, 1899) *passim*.

<sup>8</sup> E. g., Sahidic "horse," masc. sing. *ḥtō*, fem. sing. *ḥtōrē*, common plur. *ḥtōr*, from Old Egyptian "span (of oxen & sim.)," masc. sing. \**ḥtār*, masc. plur. \**ḥtārʿw*.

<sup>9</sup> I have in mind especially the proper noun "Nile," which may have had, in Old or Middle Egyptian, a sing. *Ḥpy* or *Ḥp* (from *Ḥpr*) and a plur. *Ḥprw* ("Niles" = "inundations" in successive years). This view, which is essentially that of Erman, *ÄZ* 44 (1907) 114, has always seemed to me more probable than the divergent views of Gardiner, *ÄZ* 45 (1908) 140-141, Dévaud and Sethe, *ÄZ* 47 (1910) 163-164. Compare the snake-name, masc. *hki* (i. e., *hky?* *hk?*), fem. *hkrt*, *Pyr.* 429 a, and Sethe's note thereon, *Übersetzung u. Kommentar zu den altäg. Pyramidentexten* II (Glückstadt and New York, 1936) 202. The whole question of the interchange of final *r* with final reed-leaf (' or *y* or no consonant) in Old and Middle Egyptian orthography requires further study.



mouth," \**rāṣw* "mouths." Any attempt to vocalize *rṣwsn* "their mouths" would be pure guess-work.<sup>10</sup> In other cases the attachment of the plural ending was accompanied by more conspicuous internal changes, ex. \**nāčr* "god," \**nčūr̃w* or \**nčūr̃w*, "gods." Such plurals may be compared to the "broken plurals" of Arabic, ex. *bēt* "house," *buyūt* "houses." Comparable nominal inflections are exceedingly common in Semitic speech,<sup>11</sup> and it seems not improbable that they may have been equally common in the closely related speech of those ancient Egyptians who invented hieroglyphic writing. However, it should be noted that O. Eg. plural nouns probably never lacked the plural ending (m. -*w*, f. -*wt*).

It has already been indicated that hieroglyphic writing began when the Egyptians hit upon the idea of expressing the words of their language by means of rebuses. Sumerian writing probably was already in existence at that time, and the inventors of hieroglyphic may or may not have known of it. It is conceivable that one of the two peoples may have borrowed the underlying idea of the rebus from the other, but they used it in fundamentally different ways.<sup>12</sup> In the Sumerian language vowel change within the noun or verb root as a means of inflection was unknown: vowels and consonants alike were associated with root meaning, as in the English weak verbs and the great majority of English nouns and adjectives. Consequently, when the Sumerians began to write in rebuses, it did not occur to them to dissociate their


<sup>10</sup> This expression would perhaps occur, in Egyptian, only in discussing a plurality of individuals each possessing a plurality of mouths. But we are equally ignorant of the Old Egyptian vocalization of such common expressions as *nčrwsn* "their gods," *hrdwēn* "your children."

<sup>11</sup> See, e. g., Brockelmann, *Kurzgefasste vergleichende Grammatik der Semitischen Sprachen* (Berlin, 1908) § 115.—When Albright states (*Vocalization* 39 VI A 2) that the Coptic plural *ēntēr* "gods" (from which the vocalization of the Old Egyptian plural is deduced) "must be derived from a collective," I understand him to mean that it is a plural of the type indicated above. His immediately preceding statement that Coptic *ēbrēcē* "is not a direct derivative" of L. Eg. *brk* (Burchardt, *Die altkanaanäischen Fremdworte und Eigennamen im Aegyptischen*, Leipzig, 1909, no. 357) is in the nature of a truism: *brk* is a verb, something which water does, while *ēbrēcē* is a noun, "lightning." The hypothetical Coptic descendant of *brk* which would have served Albright's purpose would be \**bōrk* rather than the \**bōrk* which he offers.

<sup>12</sup> I am indebted to my colleague Dr. Thorkild Jacobsen for the Sumerian data used here.



vowels from their consonants. But it is a characteristic of the Sumerian language that final phonemes, whether vocalic or consonantal, tend to disappear under conditions not all of which have been fully analyzed. For instance, a final consonant tends to be lost unless it is protected by a following grammatical element beginning with a vowel:<sup>12a</sup> example, *kud* "to cut, decide," has a nomen agentis<sup>13</sup> *ku* (from *kud*; original final *d* unprotected) and a nomen actionis *kuda* (final *d* of the root protected by the grammatical ending *a*); for these reasons, the corresponding sign has the phonetic values *kud* and *ku*,<sup>14</sup> but this sign never corresponds to *kad*, *kid*, *ka*, *ki*, or the like.<sup>15</sup> Similarly, the sign KU (a picture of a "seat") represents the verb *durun* "to dwell" (of many persons), whose nomen actionis *duruna* retains the *n* while the nomen agentis *duru* has lost it; the sign has a phonetic value *dur* (among others), used, e. g., in the noun *dur* "bond," but is never used in standard orthography for *dar* or *dir*. These examples will suffice, I believe, to show that cuneiform phonetic writing owes its essentially syllabic character to certain morphological characteristics of the Sumerian language.

The essentially consonantal character of Egyptian phonetic writing resulted similarly from characteristics of the Egyptian language. The same type of mental process which led the Sumerians to associate their rebus-picture of a "seat" with the consonant-vowel-consonant sequence *dur* led the Egyptians to associate their rebus-picture of a "face" (\**ḥār* "face"; \**ḥrīf* or \**ḥrēf* "his face") with the purely consonantal sequence *hr* in such a way that the sign  could represent the sequence of consonants *hr* in any word in which it occurred, regardless of vocalization.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>12a</sup> Cf. Poebel *apud* Kramer, *Archiv Orientalní* 8 (1936), 19.

<sup>13</sup> "Nomen agentis" and "nomen actionis" are used here in the sense of Poebel's *Grundzüge der sumerischen Grammatik* (Rostock, 1923).

<sup>14</sup> I omit the subsidiary labels (in this case the index number <sub>5</sub> of *ku*<sub>5</sub>) used by Sumerologists to distinguish homophonous signs, since such labels are capable of suggesting to outsiders that some phonetic distinction may be intended.

<sup>15</sup> In exceptional cases a Sumerian word may have synonymous forms of identical consonantal structure but different vocalization, these differences being presumably either dialectical or chronological in character. Such cases may perhaps account for the fact that some cuneiform signs have two or three phonetic values differing in the same way, e. g., *uru* and *eri* "city."

<sup>16</sup> So Sethe, *Ursprung des Alphabets* 115. A slightly different view is taken






Besides ignoring all vowels in their rebus-system, the inventors of hieroglyphic certainly did not pay strict attention to all consonants. This fact has been disputed by so great a scholar as Sethe, but is easily and, I think, conclusively proved.

Sethe himself pointed out that they commonly ignored the final *-t* of feminine nouns.<sup>16a</sup> Thus, the picture of a "horned viper" (*ft*) was used to write *f*; a wavy line representing "water" (*nt*) to write *n*; an "eye" (*irt*) to write *ir*;<sup>17</sup> the plant *swt* to write *sw*; "water-pot" (*hzt*) to write *hz*; "feather" (*šwt*) to write *šw*; a certain type of "piece of cloth" (*siʔt*) to write *siʔ*, and so on; the list could easily be extended. On the other hand, the final *-t* of the masculine noun *ht* "wood," "tree," was not ignored: the rebus-picture of the "stick of wood" has the phonetic value *ht*.

In a few cases, this rough and ready use of the rebus goes even farther. Thus, the picture of a serpent (*wʕgt* or *wʕgyt*) is used to write the consonant *g*,<sup>18</sup> and the triangle representing the slope of a "hill" (some noun from the root *kʕy* "to be high") to write *k*.<sup>19</sup>

Excepting the final *-t* of feminines, the only consonants known to have been ignored by the inventors in assigning consonantal values to their rebus-pictures were *ʕ*, *w*, and *y*.<sup>20</sup> Many centuries

by Gardiner, *Grammar* § 7.—It may be of interest to note that the biconsonantal and triconsonantal signs in Egyptian writing practically never overlap the division between words, nor even the division between a noun or verb and a following pronominal suffix. On the other hand, they often overlap the division between a noun and the masculine plural ending *-w*, or between such verbal prefixes as *m-* or *n-* and the following root. Compare Sapir, *Language* (New York, 1939) 35 note 6.

<sup>16a</sup> *Ursprung des Alphabets* 116, 150-158.—A case in which what is believed to be the final *-t* of a feminine noun was retained in the phonetic value of the resulting sign, is  (*mwt*, perhaps also *mt*), but here we have no satisfactory knowledge of the underlying word. The phonetic use of  to write the word *mwt* "mother," (Sahidic *māʔu*) goes back at least to the Second Dynasty, e. g., Sethe, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens* III (Leipzig, 1905) 37; the *-t* is always present in the phonetic value of  throughout our period.

<sup>17</sup> The foregoing examples in this paragraph are drawn from Sethe, *Ursprung des Alphabets*, and the following examples in the same paragraph from Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*. Sethe's explanation (that the consonants ignored by the inventors had been lost by phonetic change in the underlying words) seems to me untenable; see below.

<sup>18</sup> Sethe, *op. cit.* 157.

<sup>19</sup> Sethe, *op. cit.* 156.

<sup>20</sup> Most of the evidence for this statement dates from the Old Kingdom or later.



later these three consonants show a tendency to disappear from standard Egyptian in certain situations, though in other situations *w* and *y* were kept as long as Egyptian speech survived at all. Also, by 1400 B. C. the final *-t* of feminine nouns and adjectives had disappeared in the absolute state.<sup>20a</sup> But in the standard Old Egyptian of the Fifth Dynasty none of these changes appear: the feminine ending *-t* is regularly written in the absolute as well as in the construct and pronominal states, and the treatment of *ḥ*, *y*, and *w*, while irregular in certain respects, suggests a degree of indifference to the written expression of these sounds rather than any tendency on the part of the sounds themselves to disappear from speech. Abundant evidence in support of this last statement will be found, for instance, in Raymond O. Faulkner, *The Plural and Dual in Old Egyptian* (Bruxelles, 1929) §§ 1, 20, and 39-41: the masculine plural of O. Eg. nouns and adjectives was characterized by an ending *-w* which is sometimes written but much more often omitted; many examples in which the *-w* is not written are sufficiently characterized as plurals by the triple writing of one or more ideographic or phonetic signs, but other examples (too numerous to be dismissed as scribal errors) show no indication of plural number at all. If these grammatical endings *-t* and *-w* had disappeared from speech before the invention of writing, the orthographic phenomena which we observe in standard Old Egyptian could never have arisen. Either the inventors of hieroglyphic were more or less indifferent to the written expression of *ḥ*, *y*, *w*, and feminine final *-t*, or else they spoke a dialect which had broken down phonetically before the beginning of the First Dynasty to a much greater degree than standard Old Egyptian had done in the Fifth Dynasty. We cannot disprove the difference of dialect which is here suggested, but on the other hand there is no reason for proposing it<sup>21</sup> and

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<sup>20a</sup> Many Egyptologists believe that this loss of *-t* occurred as early as the Sixth Dynasty; see especially Sethe, *ÄZ* 49 (1911) 23 (the reference there to "*ÄZ* 44, 40" should read "*ÄZ* 44, 80") and *Vokalisation* 201. I cannot share this view, for reasons which I hope to set forth elsewhere.

<sup>21</sup> The absence of the phoneme *l*, mentioned above as a probable characteristic of the dialect of the inventors of hieroglyphic, appears also to have been a characteristic of standard Old Egyptian and standard Middle Egyptian. Not until the Eighteenth Dynasty did hieroglyphic develop a distinctive graphic representation of this phoneme (a combination of signs representing *n* + *r*). If Sethe's explanation of the absence of a sign for *l* in early times (viz., absence of a monoconsonantal word *l* in contemporary





the graphic phenomena under discussion are more easily explained by the alternative hypothesis—that the inventors of writing did not attempt a precise consistency in the application of their rebuses.<sup>22</sup> No third explanation seems possible.

A priori, we ought never to have expected that the invention of Egyptian writing in the fourth millennium B. C. would proceed along consistent, systematic lines. In attempting to find a system in that invention, we are attributing to the Egyptians of the Predynastic Period an intellectual characteristic which is but very imperfectly developed among ourselves, in spite of all that the Greeks and others have accomplished in the intervening fifty centuries. Few persons without special training can list their own speech-sounds correctly. The Egyptian inventors were probably not attempting any such theoretical task. We need not even assume that they made any rational attempt to distinguish between vowels as such and consonants as such. All that they consciously knew was that certain sounds were associated with certain ideas which

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speech) had been the correct one, the picture of the crouching lion would have provided a clear and unambiguous sign for this phoneme before the Eighteenth Dynasty, for by that time the old but unrecorded dialectical word *lw* "lion," must have lost its final *-w*, thereby becoming monoconsonantal. (The sign is, in fact, used both for *r* and for *l* in standard Late Egyptian.) Contrary to Sethe but in agreement with Ember, I believe that the standard Old Egyptian word for "lion" was *rw*, not *lw*. The picture of the lion, therefore, could have furnished a sign for *r*, but was not needed for that purpose and did not happen to be so used until Late Egyptian. It could not furnish a sign for *l* either in the earliest (lost) hieroglyphic, in standard Old Egyptian, or in standard Middle Egyptian, because the phoneme *l* did not exist in any of those dialects.—Incidentally, I see no reason to assume that standard Old Egyptian or standard Middle Egyptian is ancestral to any known form of Coptic, although I regard it as certain that standard Late Egyptian was ancestral to all the known Coptic dialects. The relation of this highly hypothetical negative remark to Gardiner's working hypothesis of the intermediate position of Late Egyptian between Middle Egyptian and Coptic (*JEA* 16 [1930] 229) must remain a subject for future study.

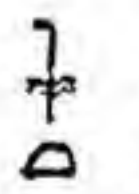
<sup>22</sup> This is essentially the view of Gardiner, *JEA* 2 (1915) 61-75; see especially page 66 note 1 ("the earlier scripts are *suggestive* of sound values rather than precise and exhaustive renderings of them") and the account of the origin of the monoconsonantal sign  (*ǝ*) on page 68. But on page 67, in discussing the origin of the monoconsonantal sign  (*r*), Gardiner makes what seems to me a wholly unnecessary and improbable concession to the modern demand for system.



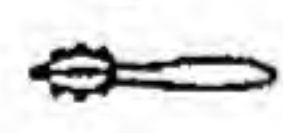
could be expressed in pictures. This consciousness enabled them to use the pictures, with complete lack of system but with gradually increasing effectiveness, to give written expression to the sounds. The purely consonantal character of the product was, as Sethe showed, not at all a result of inventive thought, but an absolutely unavoidable consequence of the morphological characteristics of Egyptian speech. The absence of system in the invention is well illustrated by the fact that the Egyptians possessed and used a written character for each and every consonant in their language for many centuries without ever truly "possessing" a consonantal alphabet. It is a misnomer to call the monoconsonantal hieroglyphs "alphabetic," for the adjective "alphabetic" implies a certain system of writing, the alphabet, and the Egyptians never wrote alphabetically until they took over the Greek alphabet.<sup>23</sup>

Consistent with the unsystematic manner in which the inventors of hieroglyphic utilized sometimes all and sometimes only a part of the consonants which they pronounced in the words underlying their rebuses is their parallel and equally unsystematic tendency to write only a part of the consonants which they pronounced in a given utterance. This tendency never wholly disappeared, but was particularly strong in the archaic period, and certain examples of it in later times are, I think, unquestionably archaisms. The three following (a-c) are examples of this tendency:


(a)  (as if *ǵ-mdw*), the almost invariable early spelling of *ǵd-mdw* "utterance."

(b)  (as if *swt*), a usual spelling of *ny-swt* "King of Uppper Egypt" (literally "he of the *swt*-plant"). This spelling goes back to the First Dynasty: see Griffith in *Royal Tombs* I 34.

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<sup>23</sup> Sethe's opinion (*Ursprung des Alphabets* 120-121) that the familiar hieroglyph  (*h*) did not acquire monoconsonantal value before the Old Kingdom can neither be proved nor disproved at present because of the scarcity of pre-Old Kingdom materials. There is nothing inherently improbable in it. But Sethe's explanation (that the picture of a "belly" could not become monoconsonantal until the word *hꜥt* "belly" had developed a form without *ꜥ*) seems to me directly contrary to all that we know or can infer regarding the origin and history of hieroglyphic writing. If the final *-t* of such a noun could be ignored, surely the *ꜥ* should trouble no one. The example cannot prove anything except the completely unsystematic character of Egyptian phonetic writing.—Regarding the lack of a sign for *l*, to which Sethe appealed in the same connection, see footnotes 3 and 21.



(c)  (as if *gd ht nb ir ns*), the regular Second, Third, and Fourth Dynasty spelling<sup>24</sup> of an epithet of the Queen or Queen-Mother which may be freely translated "for whom whatsoever she asks is done" (more literally, "who says any thing (and it) is done for her"). Only from the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties have examples been found in which the active participle *gdt* "who says," and the adjective *nbt* "all," "any," are given their correct feminine endings.<sup>25</sup>

Other conspicuous examples of failure to write all actually pronounced consonants are to be found in the suffix pronoun first person singular (consonantal *-y*) which is regularly omitted in Old Egyptian, and in the *nisbe*-adjectives, whose characteristic ending *-y* is very often omitted in both Old and Middle Egyptian. In certain ancient titles containing *imy* "he who is in" and *iry* "he who pertains to" (*nisbe*-forms of the prepositions *m* and *r*, respectively) archaic spellings consisting of the monoconsonantal signs *m* and *r* alone survived as the regular spellings throughout our period. A complete list of cases in which spoken *y* and *w* were either regularly or often unwritten in Old and Middle Egyptian would be very long.<sup>26</sup>

At no period whatever did the writers of hieroglyphic achieve a completely systematic representation of the consonants of their language.<sup>27</sup> But the orthography of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties seems to be fairly consistent in the phonetic value which it attaches to each individual sign. When used phonetically—in other words, when not designating the thing pictured or a related idea—the

<sup>24</sup> *Royal Tombs* II pl. xxiv no. 210; Garstang, *Mahasna and Bet Khallaf* pl. x K 1 no. 7; de Rougé, *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques* pl. lxii.




<sup>25</sup> See *ÄZ* 36 (1898) 142-144.—In view of such facts as these, I think that the common Middle Egyptian writing of the adjective *nb* "all," "every," "any," as if masculine singular when *nbt* (feminine) or *nbw* (plural) is meant must be regarded as an archaism. A different view is taken by Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* § 74 Obs.

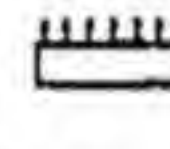
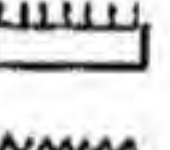
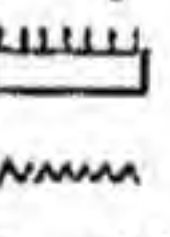
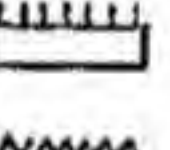
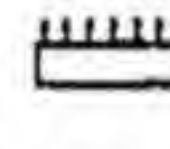







<sup>26</sup> On the other hand, *rc* without word-sign for *rmč* "man" is a scribal error: see Lacau in *ÄZ* 51 (1913) 7-11. Lacau knew only one example of this error (*Pyr.* 256 d, in Unas). Another is *Urak.* I 205 1 (var. *čr*, *ibid.* line 17). Examples from the Twelfth and Eighteenth Dynasties are given by EG *WB* II 423 def. 8 *Belegstellen*.


<sup>27</sup> For this reason, all systematic accounts of the consonantal structure of Egyptian speech necessarily involve much that is hypothetical. It ought to be unnecessary to add that what we know about the vowels is infinitesimal compared to what we do not know about them.




picture of the mouth is always *r*, never *r*<sup>3</sup>; the *z*<sup>3</sup>-goose, always *z*<sup>3</sup> and never *z*; the horned viper, always *f* and never *ft*; the stick of wood, always *ht* and never *h*; the sedge, always *sw* and never *swt* nor *s*. The manner in which these phonetic values became fixed seems to have been totally unsystematic; but once fixed, the values seem to have been treated with respect for some centuries.



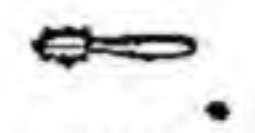


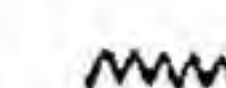





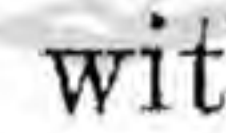





The overwhelming majority of phonetic hieroglyphs have only one phonetic value each, and the number of exceptions is perhaps smaller in Old Egyptian than later. In the relatively rare cases where a Fourth or early Fifth Dynasty sign does have more than one phonetic value, the values are usually unrelated, deriving from two etymologically unrelated rebus-uses of the picture or of two originally distinct pictures, ex.  *iw* and *isw* (Gardiner, *Grammar* 457 F 44). But it is not certain that the Egyptians ever observed this principle; and if they ever did, they certainly abandoned it later, as is shown by the phenomena of group-writing and by other evidence. In exceptional cases even as early as the Fourth Dynasty, a sign may have acquired a second phonetic value through phonetic change in one or more of the words in which it was written, e. g.,  (*wp* and *yp*),  (*w'h* and *y'h*).

An Egyptian phonetic sign may represent one, two, or three consonants.<sup>28</sup> A biconsonantal or triconsonantal sign is usually accompanied by one or more "phonetic complements," that is, monoconsonantal or biconsonantal signs which add nothing whatever to the significance of the principal sign but merely repeat one or two of its component consonants. For example,  (*mn*) is usually accompanied by  (*n*), and the combination  never represents *mnn* but always and exclusively *mn*. In this case the phonetic complement  is absolutely useless, since the sign  has no other value than *mn* and is not readily confused in appearance with any other sign. Again, the biconsonantal sign  (*b*<sup>3</sup>) is very often followed by the phonetic complement  (*3*) and sometimes also preceded by the phonetic complement  (*b*), but the combinations of two or three signs,   and  

<sup>28</sup> In exceptional cases a single sign may perhaps represent four consonants. For example, the staff  commonly transliterated *mdw* may really represent *mdwdw*. There is no a priori reason why a single sign might not have come to represent five consonants, since quinqueconsonantal nouns existed in the language; but no quinqueconsonantal sign is known.



express neither more nor less than that which is expressed by the single sign . The habitual employment of absolutely useless signs is a conspicuous characteristic of Egyptian orthography.

Again, it happens in various cases that more than one sign or group of signs may be used alternatively to express one and the same consonant or sequence of consonants. For example, the sequence of consonants *hn* may be expressed by writing first the monoconsonantal sign  (*h*) and then the monoconsonantal sign  (*n*), thus: . But in addition, there are two distinct biconsonantal signs,  and , either of which may be used with or without the phonetic complement  (*n*) to express this same sequence of consonants. It may be that  and  were originally triconsonantal (*hny*, *hnw*) and perhaps distinct from one another; but they are identical and purely biconsonantal in phonetic value, at least during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties, the period which is of crucial importance for the present discussion. Furthermore, certain words (e.g., *hnhn* "to approach")<sup>29</sup> are regularly spelled with  and certain others (e.g., *hnty* "statue")<sup>30</sup> regularly with , while a few rare words such as the diseased condition *hn*<sup>31</sup> are written only with the monoconsonantal signs , and a considerable group of words containing the sequence of consonants *hnm* make no use of any of the signs discussed above in this paragraph but use only the triconsonantal sign  (*hnm*) with or without the monoconsonantal complement  (*m*). The complete phonetic meaninglessness of such variations is as well established as any fact whatever regarding the pronunciation of Egyptian. I have enlarged upon this fact here because some scholars have been troubled, on aprioristic grounds, by the proposition that a tendency to write, say,  (originally *bw*; later *b* in my opinion but *bu* in Albright's opinion) in some words and  or  or  (all three originally *b<sup>3</sup>*; later, all three *b* in my opinion but *bi* in Albright's opinion) in certain other words, can be phonetically meaningless.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>29</sup> EG WB IV 384.

<sup>30</sup> EG WB IV 385.


<sup>31</sup> Papyrus Ebers 42. 17.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Burchardt, § 6; Albright, *Vocalization* 4. — English shows many orthographic distinctions which do not correspond and never have corresponded to any phonetic reality. I am indebted to my colleague Dean Clarence H. Faust for the following specimen. The modern derivative of Old English *gást*, *gáest* "soul," "spirit," etc., is now always spelled *ghost*



Beginning in the Pyramid of Unas, the last king of the Fifth Dynasty, and continuing with cumulative force as long as hieroglyphic continued to be written at all, Egyptian orthography shows a renewed tendency to treat certain biconsonantal signs or groups as if they were monoconsonantal. This is the practice which Albright and most other writers call "syllabic" writing; I prefer Gardiner's noncommittal "group-writing." Some centuries later, certain triconsonantal signs or groups begin to be treated as if they were biconsonantal. The only consonants which are usually treated as non-existent in this process are *ḥ*, *i*, and *w*. In isolated cases, other consonants are ignored: e. g., *r* in *m-hnw* (see below, page 491) and *t* in the pronoun *s* spelled *st* (see below, page 494). Neither group-writing, nor the related biconsonantal use of triconsonantal signs or groups, is very frequent before the Eighteenth Dynasty.

The examples of group-writing in the Pyramid Texts are not numerous, but several of them seem indisputable. Most of the following are drawn from Sethe, *Verbum* I § 73 and § 120.<sup>33</sup>

, *Pyr.* 807 (PN), "that which Horus did for Osiris," certainly contains the perfective relative form of

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in standard English orthography. "The spelling with *gh*-, so far as our material shows, appears first in Caxton, who was probably influenced by the Flemish *gheest*. It remained rare until the middle of the 16th c., and was not completely established before about 1590." (*Oxford English Dictionary*, s. v.) Caxton has also *ghoos* ("goose" < Old English *gós*), *ghoot* ("goat" < Old English *gát*) and *gherle* ("girl"). In all of these cases and in the modern *aghast* and *ghastly*, *gh* is "a mere capricious substitute for *g*" (*O. E. D.*, under the letter *g*). I cannot find in the *O. E. D.* so much as a single example of initial *gh* in any form of *go*, *gone*, or *get*, *got*, *gotten*. The Egyptian orthographic distinctions which have seemed so important to Burchardt and Albright are not often maintained with such stubborn consistency as the demonstrably meaningless distinction in modern English between the initial consonants of *ghost* (Old English *gást*, *gæst*) and *go* (Old English *gán*, etc.)—this in spite of the fact that most of the relevant Egyptian words exist only in a handful of examples each.

<sup>33</sup> The special case of *anok*, cited op. cit. § 186, is to be treated rather under the head of the inexact methods which marked the earliest phonetic writing; cf. Franz Calice, *Grundlagen der ägyptisch-semitischen Wortvergleichung* (Wien, 1936) no. 124. The use of three *nw*-jars for the two consonants *nw* (*Verbum* I § 186) is a companion-piece to the much more familiar use of three *nfr* signs for the masculine singular noun *nfrw* "beauty," and will not bear the weight of argument which Sethe placed on it.



*iry* "to do," *iry(w)tn-*. At no period in the history of the language did this form contain the sequence of consonants *ty* or *ti*. Therefore the sign  $\text{𓂏}$  (normally *ty* or *ti*) can only be an example of group-writing, here as so often in later centuries.

$\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$  (as if *imytys*), *Pyr.* 532 b (T, where P has the usual spelling  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$  *imytys*), is a feminine *nisbe* from the preposition *m* "in," with suffix pronoun object of the third person feminine singular, meaning "(that, feminine) which (is, was, is to be, or similar) in it (feminine)." When Sethe (*Übersetzung u. Komm.* II 408) translates "der in ihm (dem Himmel) sein soll," his use of "sein soll" is permissible. But when he adds (op. cit. 417) that this form "giebt mit der Schreibung  $\text{𓂏}$  für seine Endung eine schöne Bestätigung für die Gunn'sche These, dass diese Schreibung für die fem. prospektiven Formen charakteristisch sei," Gunn will hardly be grateful for this "confirmation." Actually, Gunn's theory of a feminine prospective ending *-ty* (already treated skeptically by Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* § 387.2) is here reduced to the grotesque. All of Gunn's "prospective" forms are, of course, verbal (participles and relative forms). Egyptian adjectives of non-verbal origin do not express "prospective," "perfective," or "imperfective" aspects. I cannot interpret the text before us without assuming that the  $\text{𓂏}$  here, too, is an example of group-writing.

$\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$  (as if *imz<sup>3</sup> k(w) irf*), *Pyr.* 645 c (T, where PMN have the usual spelling *imz k(w) irf* without the *z<sup>3</sup>* bird) "Go to him!" (Literally, "transport yourself to him"). Here the imperative of the verb *mz* "transport" is written as if the root were 3 rad., *mz<sup>3</sup>*. But the prothetic reed-leaf, here and in many other examples of this imperative in *Pyr.*, proves that the verb was 2 rad., *mz*.<sup>34</sup> The *z<sup>3</sup>* bird, therefore, can only be an example of group-writing.

In *Pyr.* 85 c (WN) the perfective relative form of this same verb *mz*, properly *mz(w)tnf*, is similarly spelled with the *z<sup>3</sup>* bird, as if *mz<sup>3</sup>(w)tnf*.

$\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$  (as if *intysn*), *Pyr.* 1650 and 1651 (total 9 examples, all in N) and  $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$  (as if *ntysn*), *Pyr.* 1651 (total 4 examples, all in M)<sup>35</sup> are spellings of the independent pronoun,

<sup>34</sup> On *irs* "awake!", see now Till in *ÄZ* 73 (1937) 135-136.

<sup>35</sup> See the text and translation in Gunn, *Studies in Egyptian Syntax* (Paris, 1924) 48 exx. 8-13.



third person plural, normally  $\overline{\text{ntsn}}$  (ntsn; the presence or absence of the initial *i* is not relevant to our problem). Here it might be argued that the independent pronouns with initial *nt-* may be *nisbes* from the relative element *n(y)t*, and the  $\overline{\text{ntsn}}$  therefore a genuine writing of the two consonants *ty*. But in view of the related facts which are here adduced, I believe most Egyptologists will agree that this is merely another occurrence of  $\overline{\text{ntsn}}$  in group-writing.

It will be observed that the foregoing examples of group-writing in the Pyramid Texts represent four of the commonest native Egyptian words: *iry* "to do"; *imyt* feminine singular of the *nisbe* *imy* "which (is) in"; *mz* "to transport"; and *ntsn* "they." It is because these four words are extremely common that we can describe their consonantal structure with some approach to certainty, thereby precluding any reasonable possibility that the signs  $\overline{\text{ntsn}}$  and  $\overline{\text{imyt}}$  might here have their ordinary biconsonantal values *ty* and *z<sup>3</sup>*. Of the other examples from the Pyramid Texts cited in *Verbum* I § 73, the verbs *hsr* "repell" (written as if *h<sup>3</sup>sr*) and *hnz* "traverse" (written as if *h<sup>3</sup>nz*) are familiar enough, and are believed to be 3 rad., not 4 rad., but I know no proof of this. The word written as if *tyhtyh* in Pyr. 392 d (an epithet of gods hostile to Re; spelled uniformly in WTN) is surely identical with the word written as if *th<sup>3</sup>h<sup>3</sup>* (M once), or *th<sup>3</sup>th<sup>3</sup>* (M once, N twice) in Pyr. 1701 c, d (also an epithet of gods hostile to Re): *thth* must therefore be read in both passages, with a possible variant *thh* in 1701 c (M).<sup>35a</sup>

There are other possible examples of group-writing in the Pyramid Texts; for instance, the unintelligible signs *kbbhytytybyty* in Pyr. 240 may represent only the consonants *kbbhttb*. True, we cannot suggest any reason for the use of "groups" to represent *httb* while monoconsonantal signs are used for the initial *kbb*, but we shall encounter exactly this difficulty in typical specimens of group-writing in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties. Since I am compelled to reject the current view that group-writing was "a peculiar method . . . of writing foreign words and etymo-

<sup>35a</sup> Grapow, *SB. d. Preuss. Akad.* 1938. 329, attempts to explain *tyhtyh* and *th<sup>3</sup>th<sup>3</sup>* as representatives of a 6 rad. root or stem, with phonetic interchange between *y* and *z<sup>3</sup>* accompanied by metathesis. But no 6 rad. word has been noted hitherto in the Egyptian language.



logically obscure names,"<sup>36</sup> I wish to avoid giving the improbable impression that there was ever a time when it was used only in writing familiar Egyptian words and in no others.

The only consonants ignored in the Old Egyptian examples of group-writing which have been noted, are  $\mathfrak{z}$  and  $y$ , but the fact that a similar treatment of  $w$  has not been noted may be due merely to the extreme rarity of the examples of group-writing in this period. The Sahidic vocalization of such words as  $\check{g}\check{o}\check{g}$  "head" (O. Eg.  $\check{g}\mathfrak{z}\check{g}\mathfrak{z}$ ; cf. Sethe, *Vokalisation* 195-196) appears to me to warrant the conclusion that medial  $\mathfrak{z}$  following the accented vowel and preceding a consonant had ceased to be pronounced before the accented vowels acquired the quantities which they show in Sahidic; and that date may perhaps have been anterior to the reign of Unas.<sup>37</sup> Loss of  $\mathfrak{z}$  in certain other situations, and of  $y$  and  $w$  in certain situations, probably occurred later than the loss of  $\mathfrak{z}$  in the specific situation described above, but still perhaps before the reign of Unas. It seems unlikely that well-established biconsonantal signs such as  $\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{t}$  and  $\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{y}$ , after some centuries of consistent use with the values  $z\mathfrak{z}$  and  $ty$  respectively, would acquire new values  $z$  and  $t$  (or  $z + \text{vowel}$  and  $t + \text{vowel}$ , on Albright's theory) unless they had occurred in the traditional spellings of some words in which the  $\mathfrak{z}$  and the  $y$  had ceased to be pronounced. We know on other grounds that all of the consonants which are ignored in group-writing did, in fact, disappear sooner or later in certain phonetic situations, and there is at present no clear evidence that phonetic changes of these types did not occur early enough to account for the various phenomena of group-writing as they arise.<sup>38</sup>



If it be granted that  $\mathfrak{z}$  and  $y$  were lost in certain situations by the time of Unas or earlier, even though we cannot define the situations satisfactorily, then it is easy to see how the signs  $\mathfrak{z}\mathfrak{t}$

<sup>36</sup> Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* § 60.

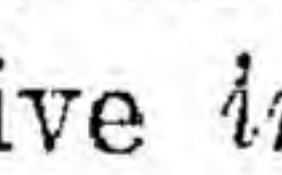
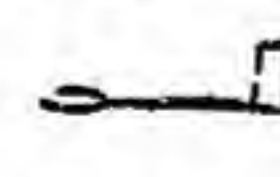
<sup>37</sup> Sethe held (loc. cit.) that the date must be predynastic; I have indicated above (pp. 480-1) that the evidence which led Sethe to this conclusion seems to me to be open to a different and more probable interpretation.

<sup>38</sup> An argument to the contrary could be based on the data regarding the shift in the position of the accent in compound words, presented by Sethe, *Vokalisation* 190 ff. The apparent conflict here may perhaps be due to a difference between compound words and simple words (this seems to have been Sethe's view); perhaps to unknown divergencies among the Old Egyptian dialects; or perhaps to the gradual nature of phonetic change, for which see Sapir, *Language* 190.



(*z*<sup>3</sup>) and *ty* may have come to correspond, in some words, to a *z* and *t* which were no longer followed by *z* or *y*. In an essentially syllabic system of writing, such as cuneiform,  and *ty* might then have come to represent *z* + vowel and *t* + vowel, respectively. But in an essentially consonantal system, such as Egyptian, there is, in my opinion, a much stronger a priori probability that they would acquire purely monoconsonantal value, i. e., *z* and *t* without any implication regarding the presence or absence of any vowel. Later in this paper I shall present evidence tending to show that the values thus acquired by such "group-writings" as  and *ty* were, in fact, purely monoconsonantal and not syllabic. The facts which I wish to emphasize at this point are, first, that the earliest known examples of group-writing include cases of its use in very familiar, native Egyptian words; and, second, that group-writing probably owes its origin to certain phonetic changes (viz., the disappearance of certain "weak" consonants in certain situations) in the Egyptian language. There is, then, nothing "peculiar" about group-writing unless it turns out to be genuinely syllabic (which is the principal question at issue); and its associations are neither exclusively nor primarily "foreign."

These facts have been very unfortunately obscured by Egyptologists, including, probably, all of the most distinguished authorities on the language who are now alive or who have been alive within the past forty years. Specialists in other fields, like Albright, cannot be blamed for accepting the unanimous testimony of Erman,<sup>38a</sup> Gardiner,<sup>39</sup> and Sethe<sup>40</sup> regarding the allegedly "peculiar" character and "foreign" associations of this method of spelling.

During the First Intermediate Period, the word-sign for the anomalous imperative *imy* "give!,"  (a human arm "presenting" a loaf; also often with the loaf omitted, when the sign is graphically identical with , ' ) begins to be used for the single consonant *m*. This sign, when combined (as it is usually in hieroglyphic and perhaps always in hieratic<sup>41</sup>) with another sign

<sup>38a</sup> *Aegyptische Grammatik* 3rd ed. (Berlin, 1911) § 89; 4th ed. (1928) § 89.

<sup>39</sup> See footnote 36.

<sup>40</sup> *Ursprung des Alphabets* 158.

<sup>41</sup> Three hieroglyphic examples with the simple arm alone (as if ' ), all from the Eighteenth Dynasty, are cited by Burchardt, § 59, where they are wrongly treated as scribal errors. Burchardt, loc. cit., mentions the more frequent occurrence of the arm with loaf alone in this use "from



for *m* (the owl, or the rib) constitutes Albright's group VIII A, to which he assigns the syllabic values *ma*, *mi*, and *mu*. Perhaps the earliest example is in the noun *mhr* "granary" (an *m*-formation from the preposition *hr*, meaning literally "container"? This is its earliest recorded occurrence, for Old Egyptian *mhr* can hardly be the same word) in Petrie, *Denderah* pl. XVIII, "Adua, Tomb 331." Petrie assigned this text to Dyn. VI-VIII, and the editors of the Berlin Dictionary (II 134/6 *Belegstellen*, 1938) have accepted this date.

An interesting Middle Kingdom specimen of group-writing is the use of three wavy lines under a *nw* jar for the preposition *m-hnw* "in," correctly analyzed by Sethe in *ÄZ* 59 (1924) 61-63. The three wavy lines are the group for *mw* ("water"), here used for *m*. By placing the "water" "under" the *nw* jar, the scribe has indicated the preposition *hr* "under," without writing it, and this unwritten group *hr* is used for *h*. Examples are found chiefly in the Coffin Texts, but also in hieroglyphic inscriptions of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties. Interesting variants of this rebus (one not noted at all by Sethe, and one which he found only in the New Kingdom) are found in Coffin Texts II, 69 *a* and 69 *b*.

In the Middle Kingdom, examples of these new monoconsonantal groups are still rare. Familiar Egyptian words written in Twelfth Dynasty hieratic papyri with the group for *m* discussed above include *mht* "ferry"; *mhty* "ferryman"; *mfk3t* or *mf3kt* "turquoise"; references can now be found in the Berlin Dictionary *Belegstellen*. Albright, pages 9-10, cites a few Middle Kingdom words using other "syllabic" groups, including probably more than one Asiatic loan-word.


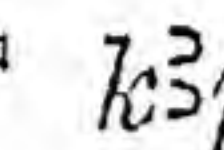
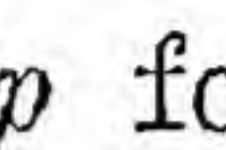
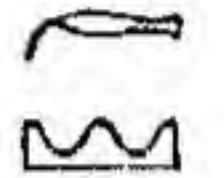
In the Second Intermediate Period, group-writing slowly increases in frequency. *Intf*, one of the active *sdmf* forms of *iny* "to bring," is twice spelled as if *intwf* in the hieratic Papyrus

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Dyn. XVIII to Ramses III" without specifying whether any of the examples are hieratic; those known to me (18 or 19 foreign names or loan-words, all gleaned from Burchardt, more than half of them antedating the Twentieth Dynasty) are found only in hieroglyphic texts; several of them have hieroglyphic or hieratic variants where the arm is accompanied by the owl or the rib.—Albright was mistaken (page 30) in thinking that Burchardt "exaggerated the importance" of the "distinction between hieroglyphic and hieratic writings"; several specific errors in Albright's book are due to his failure to follow Burchardt's good example in this respect.



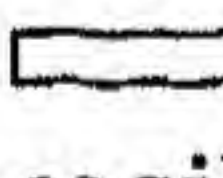


Westcar (7, 8 and 8, 3; cf. Gardiner, *Grammar* 365), thus furnishing another indisputable case of group-writing in one of the commonest and most ancient words in the language.

About the close of the Twelfth Dynasty we meet the earliest evidence known to me of the development of an alternative biconsonantal value for an originally triconsonantal sign. This is the sign  *k³p* for *kp* or *kb*<sup>42</sup> in   *Kpn* (written as if *K³pny*; representing perhaps *Kpl* or *Kbl*) "Byblos," in Pap. Kahun 28. 5,<sup>43</sup> in Sinuhe R 53, and in four manuscripts of Sethe's *Achtungstexte*.<sup>44</sup> In the somewhat earlier manuscript Sinuhe B 29 the same sign is used for *kp* but the word is misspelled  (as if *K³p*) without any indication of the third consonant; the same misspelling occurs on a Thirteenth Dynasty scarab published by Newberry in *JEA* 14 (1928) 109 Fig. 1 (see Montet in *Syria*

<sup>42</sup> Sethe's explanation of the apparent shift from *b* to *p* in this name (*ÄZ* 45 (1908) 9) is not entirely satisfactory. In the other words which he cites, the shift seems to have occurred many centuries later.

<sup>43</sup> First pointed out by Gardiner, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe* (Paris, 1916) 22.—I cannot date more precisely the four "Middle Kingdom" stelae from which Sethe quotes the same spelling, *Achtungstexte* 56 n. 1.

<sup>44</sup> Page 55 f 2, in Sethe's edition, "Die Achtung feindlicher Fürsten, Völker und Dinge auf altägyptischen Tongefässscherben des Mittleren Reiches," *Abh. d. Preussischen Akademie* (Berlin, 1926), Nr. 5. On paleographic grounds, the *Achtungstexte* published by Sethe cannot be earlier than Sesostri III and are more probably to be placed in the Second Intermediate Period. The isolated lexical and orthographic archaisms, to which Sethe gave undue weight, prove merely that the formulae were copied directly or indirectly from Old Kingdom sources; a few early forms of signs, such as  (pot 71),  (*tiw*, pot 17), and the rectangular  (*š*, pot 68), have the same origin. Religious or magical texts may easily perpetuate isolated obsolete words and forms; but they do not suddenly introduce multitudes of new forms and new ways of writing several generations before these appear in every-day life. Posener has now shown (*Chronique d'Égypte*, No. 27, Jan. 1939, page 46) that the content of the texts is not irreconcilable with a Twelfth Dynasty date. I cannot determine what evidence, if any, may be derivable from the pottery on which the texts are written: this is a question which I earnestly commend to some specialist in Egyptian pottery. After considering all of the other evidence, the extreme limits of possibility seem to me to be Sesostri III-Thutmose III (say, 1900-1450 B. C.) and the earlier extreme seems as improbable as the later. Similar conclusions have already been reached by Montet (1928) and Meščerskij (1929); see the references in Albright, *Vocalization* 7 n. 10, where Sethe's dating is understandably, but wrongly, followed. I have not seen Meščerskij's article.



10 (1929) 12, for the date, supporting Newberry's deduction from the style of the scarab).

The next specimen of this type which I can find is the use of  $\text{𓂏}$  (originally  $w\check{g}$ ) to represent the two consonants  $w\check{g}$  or  $w\check{d}$ . My earliest example of this use of  $\text{𓂏}$  is in  $w\check{d}h$  "pour," written as if  $w\check{g}h$ , Papyrus Ebers 94. 13. The same use appears in hieroglyphic in  $sw\check{g}$  "hand over," written as if  $sw\check{g}$ , Urk. IV, 55, 10.<sup>45</sup>

A great many examples of group-writing, in native as well as in foreign words, can be cited from Eighteenth Dynasty texts.

In the Nineteenth Dynasty, group-writing enters into the standard Late Egyptian orthography of many native Egyptian words and grammatical elements, some of which are among the commonest in the language. For example:

$nymw$  for Old and Middle Egyptian  $in-m$  "who?"<sup>46</sup>

$\text{𓂏}irw$ ,  $\text{𓂏}ryw$ ,  $\text{𓂏}rw$ , etc., for various forms of the verb  $iry$  "to do," where  $\text{𓂏}$  and  $w$  were never present.<sup>47</sup>

$-tw-$  for  $-t-$  in the pronominal state of many feminine nouns (including infinitives).<sup>48</sup>

$mtw-$  for the conjunctive prefix, which never contained  $w$ .<sup>49</sup>

$bwpw-$ , etc., for the negative first perfect;<sup>50</sup> whatever may be thought of the first  $w$ , the second certainly never had consonantal value.

$hry$  (preposition) "under," the regular spelling before noun object in Nineteenth Dynasty papyri (Old Egyptian  $hr$ ; Sahidic  $ha-$ ).

<sup>45</sup> This biconsonantal use of  $\text{𓂏}$  ( $w\check{g}$  for  $w\check{g}$  or  $w\check{d}$ ) is usually said to go back to the Middle Kingdom: so, for instance, Sethe, *Verbum* I §72.1; Gardiner, *Grammar* 470 M13; EG WB IV 78, s.v.  $sw\check{g}$ . While awaiting the *Belegstellen* for WB IV, I can only point out that Gardiner gives only the two examples which I have cited above and that Sethe's one alleged Middle Kingdom example (Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions* I 6/7) seems to be a mistake on Sethe's part. If the reference is to Sharpe's volume I, plate 6, there is no example of  $sw\check{g}$  in any line of that plate which could be called line 7. The word does occur in line 6 from the bottom of the plate; there, however, the sign is certainly not  $w\check{g}$  but the originally biconsonantal  $w\check{g}$ ; it is correctly given by Sharpe, and by Sethe himself in his *Aegyptische Lesestücke* (Leipzig, 1924), page 89 line 18. See the photograph in *JEA* 21 (1935) plate I.

<sup>46</sup> Erman, *N. äg. Gr.*<sup>2</sup> §743; Albright, *Vocalization* IX B 5.

<sup>47</sup> *N. äg. Gr.*<sup>2</sup> 456.

<sup>48</sup> *N. äg. Gr.*<sup>2</sup> §§139 ff.

<sup>49</sup> *N. äg. Gr.*<sup>2</sup> §§575 ff.; *JEA* 14 (1928) 86-96.


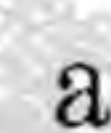
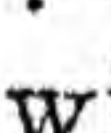
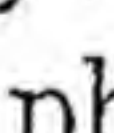
<sup>50</sup> *N. äg. Gr.*<sup>2</sup> §§776 ff.



The foregoing list could easily be extended.

Since group-writing consists essentially in the writing of certain non-existent consonants, it may be well to point out that the same otiose tendency shows itself in many other spellings which occur too frequently, and in too well written texts, to be ignored. For instance, the Nineteenth Dynasty hieroglyphic inscription of Mes<sup>51</sup> writes *st* for the suffix pronoun 3. f. s. (-s, the terminal sound in all forms of the language from Old Egyptian to Coptic, inclusive) five times: *snwst* for *snws* "her brothers (and sisters)," in N 2, N 3; in *iwst hr smi* for *iws hr smi* "she accused," N 6; in *iwst hr ġd* for *iws hr ġd* "she said," N 7; and in *p̣yst šri* for the ancestor of Sahidic *pěššērē* "her son," N 33.<sup>52</sup> The historical spelling, *s*, is used six times in the same text.<sup>53</sup> This habit of writing *st* for a final *s* which certainly was not followed by any vowel is, of course, thoroughly familiar to all students of Late Egyptian. We do not ordinarily call it group-writing, but the distinction is a purely arbitrary one.

Other cases of the heaping up of meaningless consonantal signs in Nineteenth Dynasty inscriptions and papyri can easily be cited. I content myself with two further types:

(1) The verbs *nd* "to grind"<sup>54</sup> (O. Eg. *nġ*; Sah. *nōūt*) and *kd* "to form, to build"<sup>55</sup> (Sah. *kōt*) are constantly spelled with the two signs  (*nw*) and  (*w*), as if the words were to be read *ndnw* and *kdnw*, respectively. The origin of this practice has nothing to do with phonetics,<sup>56</sup> and the two signs   without other indication of the *n* are never used, as far as I know, either for *nw* or for *n*.<sup>57</sup>

(2) The verb *dns* "be heavy," is written a number of times as if it were *dnsmn*,<sup>58</sup> for no better reason than that *dns* "be heavy," and *smn* "establish," have one phonogram and one ideogram in common.

<sup>51</sup> Edited by Gardiner, in Sethe, *Untersuchungen* IV.


<sup>52</sup> I purposely omit "they did not let it be plowed" in N 6, and the similar expression in N 29.

<sup>53</sup> N 12 (twice), 13, 15, 16, and S 13.

<sup>54</sup> EG WB II 369.

<sup>55</sup> EG WB V 72.

<sup>56</sup> See Gardiner, *Grammar* 515 W 24.

<sup>57</sup> Contrast the group  and its variants, Burchardt §§ 69, 70; Albright, IX D.

<sup>58</sup> EG WB V 468. Nineteenth Dynasty examples include Anast. I 10, 5; 24, 7; and Anast. V 21, 6.



The tendency to heap up signs finds many and varied illustrations in the history of hieroglyphic orthography, and is probably even more prominent in hieratic than in hieroglyphic. The greater exuberance of hieratic orthography as compared to hieroglyphic is doubtless attributable both to the greater ease with which signs could be made in ink on papyrus and to the lower cost of the surface needed for each sign: expensive as papyrus was, it must have been cheaper than the stone walls which are our chief sources for hieroglyphic inscriptions.

I have the impression that the general tendency to heap up signs of all kinds increased, on the whole, from century to century, just as did the specific variety of heaping up of signs which we call group-writing. No one has ever made an adequate study of this question, owing to the prohibitive amount of labor which would be required in collecting the materials. The only relevant collection of materials in print, as far as I know, is Eugène Dévaud's tabulation of the literary hieratic spellings of 56 common words, *L'âge des papyrus égyptiens hiératiques d'après les graphies de certains mots, de la XII<sup>e</sup> dynastie à la fin de la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie* (Paris, 1924). On analyzing Dévaud's tables, I obtain the following results:



Increase in number of phonetic signs:	17 cases
Decrease in number of phonetic signs:	13 cases
Increase in number of ideographic signs:	30 cases
Decrease in number of ideographic signs:	2 cases

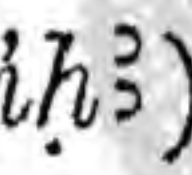
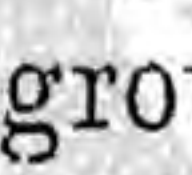


It is fair to state that Dévaud's own analysis of the same tables, while agreeing with mine on the ideographic signs, gave the contrary result for the phonetic ones: "Les variations, lesquelles concernent et les éléments phonétiques et les éléments idéographiques des mots, se produisent dans le sens d'une diminution, rarement d'une augmentation du nombre des premiers de ces éléments, et, par contre, dans le sens d'une augmentation habituelle, très rarement d'une diminution du nombre des seconds."<sup>59</sup> After trying to make all possible allowance for doubtful cases, I do not see how my conclusion regarding the phonetic signs can be reversed on the basis of the material which Dévaud published, though I admit that the difference between 17 and 13 is too small to have any statistical significance. What is significant is the difference between 30 and 2 for the ideographic signs. Some


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<sup>59</sup> Op. cit. 5.



of the cases of diminution in number of phonetic signs are very striking, e. g., the change from  ( $b + b^3 + 3 + h$  + word-sign  $b^3h$  + determinative) to  (word-sign  $b^3h$  + determinative; Dévaud's word no. 10), or the complete disappearance of the signs  $h$ ,  $r$ , and  $d$  in  $hrd$  (no. 8). Equally striking on the other side is the insertion of meaningless phonetic complements such as the  $3$  in  $ih^3$  (no. 7), the  $b$  and  $3$  in  $wb^3$  (no. 25), and the  $h$  in  $'kw$  (no. 43): these words seem as easily recognizable in the earlier, briefer spellings as in the later, longer ones, and the insertions seem purely otiose. Note also the fact pointed out by Dévaud (page 16, footnote 1) that  $'k$  "enter," is always written with the phonetic complement  $k$  even in those of his manuscripts which consistently omit this phonetic complement in the noun  $'kw$  "bread." In literary book-hands, as Dévaud successfully argued, each familiar word had a standard spelling at any given time; but the natures of these standard spellings seem to defy systematic explanation.

The foregoing and many other facts lead me to be very sceptical of any attempt to find a purposeful system underlying any group of changes in hieroglyphic or hieratic orthography. When the one sign  ( $ih^3$ ) grows into the two signs  (likewise  $ih^3$ )<sup>60</sup> the addition is meaningless; this fact seems indisputable, and has, in fact, never been disputed. I hold confidently to the opinion that the expansion of  ( $r$ ) into  (Albright's group X A, " $ra$ ") is equally meaningless. In this particular case, as it happens, my opinion can be demonstrated and Albright's opinion refuted by an examination of Albright's own material. I submit the following list of words, all of which were cited by Albright because he believed they would tend to support his "syllabic" interpretation of group-writing:

III A 12,<sup>61</sup>  (hieroglyphic) which Albright transliterates  $'A-ra-ta-tu$  and equates with " $*Ardatu$ , nominative of Amarna Ardat(a)." His theory compels him to suppose that the Egyptian wrote the equivalent of the vowel  $a$  between the  $r$  and the  $d$  where, on Albright's own showing, the underlying word contained no vowel whatever.

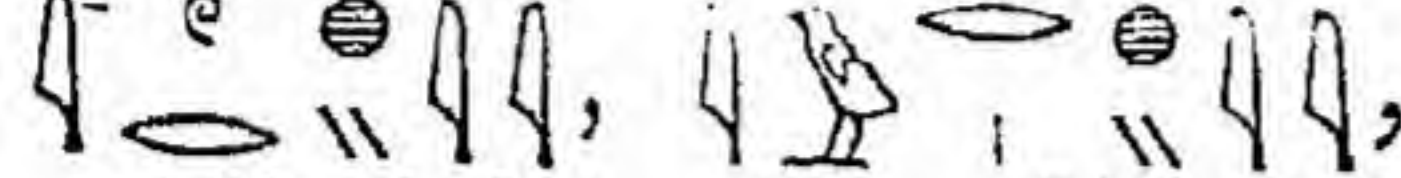
III A 13,  (hieratic) and  (hieroglyphic)

<sup>60</sup> Dévaud, op. cit., word no. 7; see above.

<sup>61</sup> These letters and numerals refer to Albright's list.

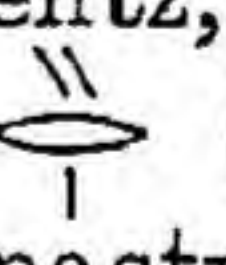


glyphic), two spellings of one geographic name. Albright transliterates “*’A-ar-tu*” and “*’A-ra-tu*” respectively, and equates with Hittite Arzawa. The first (hieratic) spelling fits his theory, the second (hieroglyphic) flatly contradicts it. Albright seems wholly undisturbed by the difference.

III E 3, , two hieroglyphic spellings of one name. Albright transliterates “*’U-r(a)-hi-ya*,” meaning *’U-r-hi-ya* for the first spelling and *’U-ra-hi-ya* for the second. He equates both with “*Urhiya*, a common Hurrian hypocoristicon.” Again one transliteration fits his theory while the other contradicts it.

Other words cited by Albright in support of his theory, which contain his group “*ra*” where his own statements would lead us to expect *r* alone with no following vowel, are IV 11 in its usual hieroglyphic form<sup>62</sup> (“*ma-ra-ya-na*” for Accadian *maryan(n)u/i*); IV 15 in its usual hieroglyphic form (“*ti-ra-ya-na*” for “W. Sem. (Amorite?) *\*širyân(a)*”); IV 17, “*Yu(?) -ra-da*” (hieroglyphic) for Amarna *Yurša*; VI B 3, *bi-ra-ta* (hieroglyphic) “for *\*bi-ir-ta* = Can. *\*birt(a)*”; VIII A 4, “*ma-ra-qi-ha-ta*” (hieroglyphic) for Can. *\*mālqihāt(a)*; VIII A 21, “*Mu-ra-mu-ra*” (hieroglyphic), “probably” for a place-name Murmurik in Mitanni; VIII A 23, “*Mu-ra-si-ra*” (hieroglyphic) for Hittite Mursili(s); X D 17, “*qa-ra-di-na*” (Dyn. XVIII hieroglyphic) for Can. *\*garzin(a)*;<sup>63</sup> and XII D 3, “*š<sup>3</sup>-ra-hu-na*” (hieroglyphic) for a Canaanite place-name “*\*š<sup>3</sup>r(a)hôn(a)*.”<sup>64</sup>

Against the foregoing list of twelve words in which, according to Albright’s own statements, his supposed “*ra*” really represents *r* without following vowel, Albright has a list of 21 words of Nine-

<sup>62</sup> Albright calls it the form which prevails in the Eighteenth Dynasty. For a Nineteenth Dynasty example, see Kuentz, *La Bataille de Qadech* (Le Caire, 1928), page 385. But the group  (“*(a)r, (i)r, (u)r*”) is certainly characteristic of the Nineteenth Dynasty rather than the Eighteenth, and is an example of that progressive heaping up of signs to which I have already alluded.

<sup>63</sup> Var. “*qa-ar-di-na*,” late Dyn. XIX or early Dyn. XX hieratic.

<sup>64</sup> This is the “Sharuhēn” of the Massoretic text, Joshua xix, 6. Albright, after dismissing the Massoretic vocalization as “false” because it conflicts with his theory, adds “the name is etymologically equivalent to Arab. *Sirhân*, in all probability, and should appear as *š<sup>3</sup>rhôn* in Can.” If I understand these words correctly, the supposed form *š<sup>3</sup>rhôn* owes its existence to Albright’s erroneous impression that it would tend to support his theory.



teenth Dynasty date or earlier in all or nearly all of which the group does actually correspond to the syllable *ra*.<sup>65</sup> Sixteen of the 21 are found only in hieroglyphic. One of these 16 (X A 6, "Alasiya") has a Nineteenth Dynasty hieratic variant (listed by Burchardt) in which Albright's "(a)r, (i)r, (u)r, (a)l, etc." ( $\overline{\text{r}}$ ) takes the place of his "*ra*" ( $\overline{\text{r}}$ ). The explanation must be evident to any Egyptologist who has followed me thus far: Albright's groups X A ("*ra*") and X D ("(a)r, (i)r, (u)r, (a)l, etc.") are in reality one and the same, "*ra*" being the older and throughout our period the usual form in hieroglyphic, while "(a)r, (i)r, (u)r" is the usual form in Nineteenth Dynasty hieratic. Each of them represents either *r* or *l*, and neither of them represents anything else.<sup>66</sup>

The group  $\overline{\text{r}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{r}}$ ,  $\overline{\text{r}}$  etc. (VIII A) is one of eight groups to which Albright assigns three syllabic values each—in this case, "*ma, mi, mu*." Since *a, i, and u* are the only vowels known to have existed in the language, this is equivalent to saying that the group in question represents "*m + vowel*." That almost one-eighth<sup>67</sup> of his groups yielded this result, should alone have been enough to make Albright somewhat more cautious in stating his conclusions. But in his words XV A 7 ("Ša-m( )-šī'-ta-u(tu)-m(a) = Can. Šamš- (cf. Ass. Samsi-muruna, originally a personal name meaning 'Šamš is our lord')")<sup>67a</sup> and XV A 8 ("Ša-m( )-šu-na = Can. \*Šamšôn(a)"), according to Albright's own statements, the alleged group "*m + vowel*" represents "*m + no vowel*."

<sup>65</sup> Both Albright's list and mine could doubtless be extended.

<sup>66</sup> The attempt to make a phonetically significant distinction between these two groups goes back to Erman, *ÄZ* 14 (1876), 41, and has been maintained by various other scholars, including Burchardt.

<sup>67</sup> The progress of Albright's studies since 1934 may have increased or diminished this percentage. In general, it is to be expected that he will have found equivalences for a number of groups which he did not discuss in 1934, while some of the groups which then showed one value each will now show two or three values each.

<sup>67a</sup> Albright's remark on segholates (p. 28, end of § 60) was presumably intended to cover this case among others. How strong his defense may be, is a question which I must leave to professional Semitists; I infer from Harris, *Development of the Canaanite Dialects* (New Haven, 1939) 80, 82, that the question has at any rate not been positively settled in favor of Albright's position. I think "Ša-m( )-šī'-ta-u(tu)-m(a)" is the only word on my list which can be covered by this particular defense.




In short, Albright's own evidence shows that his group VIII A represents the consonant *m* and nothing else.

Still according to Albright's own statements, his group V A ("a") represents ' + no vowel in three words, VI B 9, X C 6, and XIX B 3. His group X C ("ru") represents *r* + no vowel in one word, XIX F 4. His group XIII B ("hi") represents *h* + no vowel in one word, VII A 13. His group XIV A ("sa") represents *s* + no vowel in two words, III C 1 and VI A 1. His group XIX A ("ta") represents *t* + no vowel in Canaanite \**bêt*-, construct state of the noun "house," VI B 6-8 and XX B 2.<sup>68</sup> His group XIX D ("ti") represents *t* + no vowel in Canaanite \**bint*-, construct state of the noun "daughter."<sup>69</sup> His group XXI A ("da") represents *d* + no vowel in one word, Va A 2.<sup>70</sup>

Thus, Albright's own statements lead directly—and in my opinion, unavoidably—to the conclusion that nine of his so-called "syllabic" groups are really not syllabic but purely monoconsonantal. Even if we leave out the groups "ta" and "ti," where Albright's self-contradictory statements clearly go beyond the existing evidence, he has still refuted himself in a round ten per cent of his groups.

Altogether, Albright discusses 66 groups. To 8 of these he assigns three "syllabic" values each; that is, Albright believes that each of these 8 groups represents a particular consonant followed by any vowel which existed in the language. To 2 other groups, he assigns 2 syllabic values each. To the remaining 56 groups, he assigns only one syllabic value each. For perhaps one-third of the 56, he makes a strong *prima facie* case. The following 8 examples include what seem to me to be the strongest:

III A, , "'a," 21 words.<sup>71</sup>





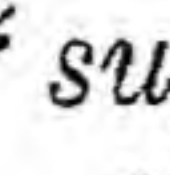

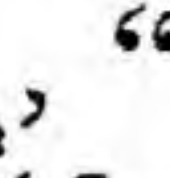
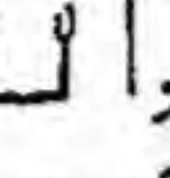
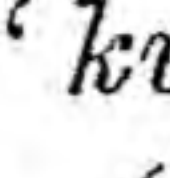
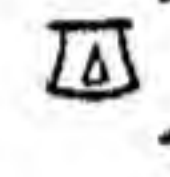
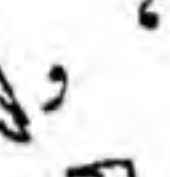


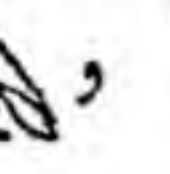
<sup>68</sup> In reality, contrary to Albright's statements, this case and the next do not offer any evidence against his theory, since no one knows whether the Canaanite construct had case-endings in this period or not; see Harris, *op. cit.*, 41-42. Whether Egyptian transcriptions "show" anything about vocalization is, of course, precisely the question here at issue.


<sup>69</sup> See preceding note.

<sup>70</sup> All questions regarding final vowels of the absolute state have been excluded from the foregoing list, in deference to Albright's statement (page 29) that "we cannot safely employ the final vowels of Semitic names or words for our purposes."

<sup>71</sup> But note one word for "'u," X B 2. Albright's effort to explain away this awkward "'u" value involves the assumption of vocalic shift in a geographic name, as between the dialect of the region named (Ugarit,



- VI B,  , etc., "bi," 19 words.<sup>72</sup>  
 IX A, , "na," 10 words.  
 XIV D,  , "su," 6 words.  
 XVII A,  , "ka," 8 words.  
 XVII C,  , "ku," 7 words.  
 XVIII A,  , "ga," 7 words.<sup>73</sup>  
 XX A,   , "ti," 12 or 13 words.<sup>74</sup>

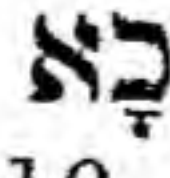
Taken by itself, the case in favor of Albright's syllabic values for the foregoing groups would seem to be strong. But I venture to predict that one after another of them will be found to have a second and then a third value (e. g.,  will be found to represent *ni* and *nu* as well as *na*) and—still worse for Albright—one after another will be found also to represent the relevant consonant alone, in situations where no vowel whatever followed.

It is this last point (typified by my discussion of Albright's "ra" above) which seems to me to be decisive.

The reader must understand that we are not dealing with a system of writing in which, as in cuneiform, the existence of the syllabic principle has been demonstrated. *Given the existence of the syllabic principle*, evidence tending to show that one and the same sign (say, cun. BE) has the values *bat*, *bit*, *but*, and many others, must be taken at its face value. But in the case of Egyptian, the non-syllabic, purely consonantal, character of the system as a whole is now beyond dispute. The early Egyptologists, including Champollion and Lepsius, failed to recognize this fact. When Erman wrote his article "Über den Werth der in den altägyptischen Texten

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the only dialect for which the vocalization of the name is recorded) and the dialect of South Canaan, for which a vocalization "\*Agôret(a)" has to be postulated to fit the needs of Albright's theory. He also offers the possibility of vocalic transposition.

<sup>72</sup> But note two words for "ba": XIV B 17, where Albright explains the apparent discrepancy between "Egyptian" "*D(i)-ra-bi-sa-na*" and Amarna *Ziribašani* as "clearly due to vocalic transposition," and Burchardt no. 374 where an Egyptian word which Albright must transliterate *bi-ka-i* is plausibly equated by Burchardt with , "terebinth."

<sup>73</sup> But note one word for "gi," X C 10, "*Ru-ga(gi?)-di*" for Amarna *Ruhizzi*.

<sup>74</sup> I count only words found earlier than the Twentieth Dynasty.—Other groups for which a similar claim might be made are III B, III E, IX B, IX C, XII A, XVII B, and XIX F.



vorkommenden semitischen Fremdwörter,"<sup>75</sup> neither he nor anyone else doubted the existence of vowel signs in ordinary hieroglyphic spellings of Egyptian words. As late as 1889, in the editorial communication which prescribed a purely consonantal transcription for use in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, it is clear that the editors (Brugsch and Erman) still believed that Old Egyptian (and, *a fortiori*, all later stages of the language) had ways of indicating the presence and the quality of vowels in some situations.<sup>76</sup> Bondi's dissertation, *Dem hebräisch-phönizischen Sprachzweige angehörige Lehnwörter in hieroglyphischen und hieratischen Texten* (Leipzig, 1886) was written under the influence of this same lingering idea, which is now known to be erroneous. Proof to the contrary was adumbrated in the first edition of Steindorff's *Koptische Grammatik* (Berlin, 1894) and fully presented in Sethe's *Das ägyptische Verbum*, Vol. I (Leipzig, 1899). Albright's principal predecessor in the "syllabic" interpretation of group-writing, Wilhelm Max Müller, emphasized the supposed contrast between group-writing and normal Egyptian writing, as many other Egyptologists have done; however, he originally found this contrast not in the fact that group-writing tried to indicate vowels, but that it *regularly* tried to indicate *all* of the vowels in foreign names and loan-words.<sup>77</sup> In this respect Müller's earliest discussions of group-writing were on firmer ground than his own and most other later work on the subject, to the extent that he at least tacitly recognized the identity of the devices used in group-writing with those used in certain native Egyptian grammatical endings.

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<sup>75</sup> *ÄZ* 14 (1876) 38-42.

<sup>76</sup> For example: (Das Schilffblatt steht) "im alten Reiche zur Vokalan-  
deutung des *i* mancher Endungen." *ÄZ* 27 (1889) 3. The same view still  
lingers in the first edition of Erman's *Ägyptische Grammatik* (Berlin,  
1894) § 16 and elsewhere.

<sup>77</sup> *Asien und Europa nach altägyptischen Denkmälern* (Leipzig, 1893),  
58 ff., where he held that his "syllabic writing" had its roots in the native  
Egyptian system but developed under cuneiform influence. See also his  
"Studien zur ägyptischen Formenlehre," in *ÄZ* 29 (1891) 85-101, where  
he clearly gives a vocalic interpretation to certain signs in certain Old  
Egyptian morphological endings. Later, when the fundamental vowelless-  
ness of Egyptian writing had been demonstrated, Müller attributed the  
origin of "syllabic writing" exclusively to the influence of cuneiform:  
*Die Spuren der babylonischen Weltschrift in Ägypten* (Leipzig, 1912;  
*MVAG* vol. 17, 3).



Today we stand on other ground. The exclusively consonantal character of Egyptian phonetic writing at the time of its origin is now indisputable, and its generally consonantal character throughout the period here in question is equally indisputable. I hope that what I have said above may convince all Egyptologists that group-writing (whatever its nature) was certainly used in writing native and familiar Egyptian words from the Pyramid Texts to the Nineteenth Dynasty, and that its gradually increasing frequency in such words closely parallels its gradually increasing frequency in foreign names and loan-words. In short—contrary to what is today the dominant opinion of Egyptologists—group-writing is not at all peculiar to words of foreign or unfamiliar appearance. Throughout the period during which it existed at all, it was an integral part of hieroglyphic and hieratic orthography. Therefore, anyone who now attempts a syllabic interpretation of group-writing must carry a much heavier burden of proof than would have seemed to be the case fifty or sixty years ago. Given the known fact that group-writing is an integral part of an orthographic system whose original and general character was purely consonantal, the proof furnished by Albright that 8 out of the 66 groups chosen by him for presentation can represent, in each case, the relevant consonant plus any vowel that existed in the language constitutes, in itself, a fairly strong attack on the “syllabic” interpretation, though Albright does not realize it. When, in addition, it is shown on the basis of Albright’s own statements that one of these 8 groups (his “*ma, mi, mu*”) can also represent the relevant consonant plus no vowel at all, the refutation of the “syllabic” theory becomes complete and conclusive so far as that particular group is concerned. If we were discussing a cuneiform sign, the statement that it represented a certain consonant followed by any vowel which existed in the relevant language or by no vowel at all<sup>78</sup> would have to be taken at its face value and in all seriousness, because cuneiform phonetic orthography was essentially syllabic. In an essentially non-syllabic and non-vocalic system, such as Egyptian, the necessary deduction is exactly the opposite. Having shown above that nine (or at least seven) of Albright’s groups are non-syllabic,

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<sup>78</sup> Whether there is such a case in cuneiform is a question on which Assyriologists do not agree. The question is not of fundamental importance to us, since comparable cases certainly exist in other syllabic systems.



I personally believe that no further refutation of the syllabic hypothesis as a whole is needed.

However, I must confess that I am less favorably impressed than Albright appears to be by the probative value of foreign names and loan-words, notoriously liable as these are to all kinds of unpredictable perversion. I feel that our work rests on a surer foundation when we deal, as Albright also occasionally does, with native Egyptian words.

We owe primarily to Steindorff<sup>79</sup> and secondarily to Sethe<sup>80</sup> the demonstration of a regular relationship between the vowel-lengths and syllable divisions of Sahidic, on the one hand, and the consonantal structure of written Old Egyptian on the other.<sup>81</sup> Since it seems almost certain that Sahidic and all other known Coptic dialects are descended from the language represented in the standard Late Egyptian papyri of the Nineteenth Dynasty, the relationship mentioned above between Sahidic and Old Egyptian enables us to formulate an important group of statements regarding the syllabification of Late Egyptian. For this subject I refer especially to Sethe, "Die Vokalisation des Aegyptischen,"<sup>82</sup> pages 193 ff, although Sethe in those pages was thinking primarily of Old Egyptian rather than of Late Egyptian.

Let me now illustrate the light which Steindorff's and Sethe's observations enable us to throw on the interpretation of group-writing.

The Sahidic word *msāḥ* "crocodile," is derived from an Old Egyptian *mzḥ* which must—if we know anything at all about Old Egyptian vocalization—have been vocalized \**mzḥ* in the relevant dialect at the time when Egyptian accented vowels acquired the

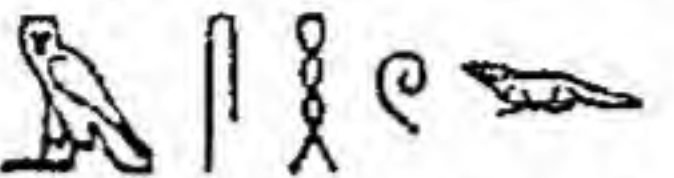
<sup>79</sup> *Koptische Grammatik* 1st ed. (Berlin, 1894) §§ 32 ff.; 2nd ed. (1904) §§ 37 ff.

<sup>80</sup> *Das ägyptische Verbum* I (Leipzig, 1899) §§ 8 ff.

<sup>81</sup> I expressly abstain from claiming that Sahidic is descended from the particular dialect represented in written Old Egyptian; cf. above, page 474.

<sup>82</sup> In *ZDMG* 77 (1923) 145-207. I quote from the "Sonderabdruck" (Leipzig, 1925).—The doubts expressed on this subject by the late Josef Sturm, "Zur Vokalverflüchtigung in der ägyptischen Sprache des Neuen Reiches," *WZKM* 41 (1934) 43-68 and 161-179, exercised a considerable influence on my thinking for a number of years; but after further study I have become convinced that these doubts rested merely on an inadequate acquaintance with the facts. I hope to restate and defend the principles involved in another place.



quantities which they show in Sahidic. There is every reason to believe that the word ended with the consonant *h* in all Late Egyptian dialects, as in all Coptic dialects.<sup>83</sup> Yet the excellent Nineteenth Dynasty manuscript of the Tale of the Doomed Prince writes the word  (*mshw*) six times.<sup>84</sup> Since all of the phonetic signs are monoconsonantal, it would have been easy for the scribe to substitute a "syllabic" group (e. g., Albright's XIV A, "sa") for the *s*, thereby expressing the accented vowel. Instead, he wrote *mshw*, omitting any indication of the accented vowel<sup>85</sup> but using a rare group (Burchardt, § 93; not used by Albright)

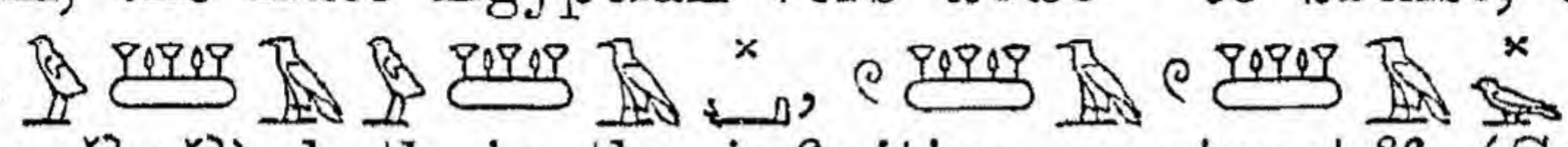
<sup>83</sup> The word is actually found, in Coptic, only in the Sahidic, Bohairic, and Fayyumic dialects, but the same syllabification is to be expected in Akhmimic and Subakhmimic.—Lacau was surely wrong in attempting to show (*Recueil de travaux* 25 (1903) 157) that *mzh* originally had a fourth weak radical. Of the four Coptic words which he compares to the singular, three (*hōf* < O. Eg. \**hāfʒw* "serpent"; *šōš* < O. Eg. \**šāsʒw* "antelope"; *uōǧ* < O. Eg. \**wāǧʒw*, qualitative of *wǧʒ* "be healthy") are clearly against him; the fourth (*ōǧ*, a less common variant of the regular *ōǧ* "thief," < O. Eg. \**āǧʒ*, "evil-doer") may perhaps represent an unrecorded but perfectly regular O. Eg. \**āǧʒw*. The Sahidic plural *msōōh* "crocodiles," which seems to have been the starting point of Lacau's reasoning, cannot be used in our present state of ignorance to throw light on the singular: in spite of the diligent efforts of Lacau and others to analyze the plurals of Coptic nouns, the systematic results may still be summarized in Till's words, "Über die Bildung dieser Formen lassen sich keine Regeln aufstellen" (*Koptische Dialektgrammatik*, München, 1931, page 15). That the language was creating new plurals analogically in the Hellenistic Age or later is sufficiently proved by the Greek loan-words *psykhē* "soul," pl. *psykhōuē*, and *ēpistolē* "letter," pl. *ēpistolōuē*.—Crum's *Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford, 1929-1939) now provides an enormous body of source material for the study of Coptic word formations, including the plurals of nouns, and its publication will doubtless mark the beginning of a new and most important epoch in this field. But I cannot help regretting that Crum, in agreement with all other Coptacists as far as I know, decided to omit the great mass of Coptic words of Greek origin—as if the Oxford English Dictionary had omitted *meerscham* and *polo*, *sherbet* and *lexicon*.

<sup>84</sup> Col. 4, line 4; col. 7, lines 6, 9, 12; col. 8, lines 10, 11.

<sup>85</sup> Albright is several times confronted with words in which, according to his theory, the Egyptian scribe wrote one or more unaccented vowels while ignoring the accented vowel. To save space, I will cite only one example of this type: VIII A 9, according to Albright, was written "*ma-ǧ-q-ta*" and pronounced "*maššiq(ā)t(a)*." If the scribe had wished to write the accented vowel, he might have used Albright's group XXII B ("ǧi") or XXII A ("ǧa, ǧi, ǧu").



which, if Albright's general principles were correct, must indicate the presence of a vowel after the *h*. I am much more confident of the absence of any vowel after the *h* in this Egyptian word than I am of the Egyptian pronunciation of most of the Asiatic names and loan-words on which Albright chiefly builds his case.

Again, the Late Egyptian verb *wšwš* "to bruise, to crush," is spelled  and the like (as if *wššwšš*) both in the infinitive construct<sup>86</sup> (Sah. \**wēšwēš*-, Boh. \**wěšwěš*-; neither form actually found) and in the qualitative<sup>87</sup> (Boh. *wěšwōš*; the Sahidic form, if it occurred, would be identical). This particular verb is of unknown origin, but the quadriliteral class to which it conforms is well known and the positions which must be occupied by the vowels in the Late Egyptian forms confronting us here are well established. The infinitive construct must have been \**wšwš*- and the qualitative must have been \**wšwš* representing an Old Egyptian type \**wšwšw*. Albright must transliterate both forms *wšawša*, *wšiwši*, *wšuwšu*, or the like, ignoring the accented vowel of the qualitative and the only vowels which existed in the infinitive, while inserting one non-existent vowel in the qualitative and two non-existent vowels in the infinitive.

Other comparable examples might be quoted, but the two foregoing (*mshw* for a noun whose final syllable was -*s'h*; *wššwšš* for two quadriliteral verb forms neither of which had any vowel between the second consonant (*š*) and the third (*w*)) will serve to illustrate my point. The Steindorff-Sethe system of syllabification seems to me to be the best established of all general facts regarding the pre-Coptic vocalization of Egyptian. This system of syllabification, and Albright's "syllabic" interpretation of group-writing, cannot both be true. One or the other is totally false, not merely in detail but in principle. This dilemma can only be avoided by the improbable assumption that standard Late Egyptian was an abortive dialect with a syllabification startlingly different from any which can be found represented in Coptic; on this assumption we should have to admit that we know substantially nothing about the

<sup>86</sup> Pap. Anast. I 26. 1.

<sup>87</sup> Pap. Anast. I 19. 9; Anast. III 5. 9; Anast. IV 9. 7; Anast. V 10. 7; Sall. I 3. 9. It is possible to maintain that these are examples of the infinitive absolute used passively, and not of the qualitative; however, the effect on the present discussion would be essentially the same.


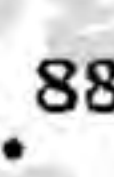
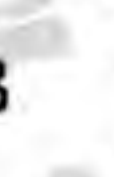


vocalization of standard Late Egyptian, and the whole field would be open to uncontrollable speculation. This proposition is not necessarily false, but I should be surprised to find Albright among its defenders.

### *Conclusions*

I. Albright's "syllabic" theory of Egyptian group-writing has certainly not been proved. The weight of evidence is clearly and strongly against it.

II. It would be incorrect to assert that the theory has been conclusively refuted; but my reasons for this conservative statement are not of a kind with which Albright can be expected to agree.

III. In view of the utterly unsystematic character of Egyptian spelling wherever we can control it, it is just possible that a few groups may have been used occasionally with syllabic intent, even though group-writing in general is almost certainly purely consonantal and not syllabic. I have in mind especially the groups  for *ku* and   for *rin*.<sup>88</sup> But even this small residuum of Albright's theory is, in my opinion, no more than a somewhat remote possibility. It is my considered opinion that no Egyptian scribe of the Nineteenth Dynasty or earlier ever consciously attempted to represent a vowel sound in hieroglyphic or hieratic writing by any device whatever.

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<sup>88</sup> The latter in two Nineteenth Dynasty hieratic examples of "Naharin," IX A 3.—Sethe expressed himself somewhat similarly, *Achtungstexte* 29.



## SIBILANTS AND EMPHATICS IN SOUTH ARABIC \*

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WITHIN SOUTH ARABIC<sup>1</sup> four main dialects can be distinguished, namely Sabaean, Minaean, Qatabanian and Hadramitic. For the first three of these the epigraphic sources are extensive<sup>2</sup> and possess in a certain degree linguistic and historical continuity. Hadramitic stands apart. While it is represented by a relatively small number of texts, it reveals in contrast to the other dialects an extraordinary range of linguistic variation. Until recently the scarcity of material precluded a chronological arrangement of the stages through which it developed. Within the last three years, however, the stock of Hadramitic inscriptions has received notable additions, specifically in the texts copied by Philby in his journey to Shabwa,<sup>3</sup> and in the collections made by the Wakefield Expedition to the Ḥaḍramawt, 1937-8.<sup>4</sup> The most important of these latter finds, some fifty texts discovered by Miss Caton-Thompson at Hureida, are as yet unpublished.<sup>5</sup> It seems, therefore, appropriate to postpone a consideration of Hadramitic until it can be evaluated with reference to this mass of new material. The present study will confine itself, accordingly, to Sabaean, Minaean, and Qatabanian. With this reservation, the material covered comprises the whole lexicon of South Arabic as it stands today.

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\* For list of abbreviations cf. pp. 542 f.

<sup>1</sup> More fully "Old South Arabic," as distinguished from "Modern South Arabic" which collectively designates Mehri, Šhauri, and Soqotri. South Arabic is also to be distinguished from "Old North Arabic," i. e., Lihyanic, Thamudic, and Safaitic.

<sup>2</sup> For an account of the principal epigraphic discoveries in South Arabia, see Tkatsch, art. "Saba" in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* IV 10-12.

<sup>3</sup> An account of these travels was published by Philby under the title *Sheba's Daughters*, London, 1939. Some of the inscriptions he gathered were edited by Ryckmans, *Muséon* 50 (1937) 245-251, others by A. F. L. Beeston, *Muséon* 51 (1938) 311-333, and still others by Beeston in the appendix to Philby's book.

<sup>4</sup> The graffiti collected by Freya Stark in the course of this expedition have been edited by Ryckmans, *Muséon* 52 (1939) 297-319.

<sup>5</sup> The find is mentioned by G. Caton-Thompson, *Geog. Jour.* 93 (1939) 33.



The problem of determining the phonetic values and etymological relations of the sibilants and emphatics must be approached through South Arabic orthography. The issue of transcription arises at once. Usage in this matter has never been stabilized, particularly as regards the sibilant signs 𐩦 and 𐩧. Hebrew is the alphabet traditionally used for this purpose, although it is ill-adapted to the representation of South Arabic phonology, and although it suffers from the peculiar disadvantage of committing its users, in appearance at least, to one of two views of the relationship between the sibilant sounds in South Arabic and Hebrew. That is, South Arabic 𐩦 and 𐩧 must be represented in Hebrew either by 𐤁 and 𐤅 respectively, or by 𐤅 and 𐤁. Recently a tendency has gained ground to generalize the first alternative, for practical reasons.<sup>6</sup> The Arabic alphabet, while less ambiguous, is inconvenient and seldom employed. Latin transcriptions reflect the confusion resulting from the use of Hebrew, and have equally failed of uniformity. Since, therefore, it is a desideratum of the present study to avoid *a priori* commitment to any one of the different opinions current with regard to sibilant connections, the practice introduced by Leslau<sup>7</sup> has been welcomed and adopted, namely, that of representing the sibilant signs 𐩦, 𐩧 and 𐩨 by  $s_1$ ,  $s_2$  and  $s_3$  respectively. The system of transcription used below is, then, as follows:

', b, g, d, ɗ, h, w, z, ʕ, ʁ, t, ʒ, y, k, l,  
m, n,  $s_1$ , ' , ġ, f, s, ɗ, q, r,  $s_2$ ,  $s_3$ , t, ṭ

It will be seen from this list that South Arabic possesses signs for the full complement of the Semitic consonants. There is no question that the South Arabic alphabet was an invention adapted expressly to the South Arabic phonetic system, and that each sign represented, to begin with, a separate phoneme.<sup>8</sup> In the course of

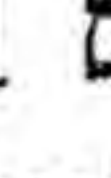
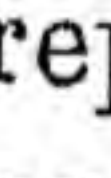
<sup>6</sup> Joüon, *Rev. des Études Sémit.*, 1938, 43 n. 1, has recommended a return to the system used in the *Corpus*. Ryckmans, *Muséon* 52 (1939) 51 n. 1, revises his transcription according to the same standard.

<sup>7</sup> *Lexique Soqotri*, Paris, 1938. This work makes accessible a large amount of data on the relations of the sibilants within Modern South Arabic, and between Modern and Old South Arabic.

<sup>8</sup> For the representation of ɗ, ʕ, ʒ, ġ, ɗ,  $s_3$ , ṭ, not provided for in the Phoen. alphabet, SAr. introduced new letters developed in almost every case from forms representing related phonemes. The enlargement of the alphabet by this means can only have been governed by the phonetic system of the language.



the history of the written language, however, there occur orthographic irregularities, and these are particularly in evidence among the sibilants and emphatics. The confusion may be the result of any of several causes: mechanical errors on the part of the original scribe, or on the part of the modern copyist; sound change within the language, leading to the falling together in pronunciation of two or more originally distinct phonemes, and making possible alternative spellings of the same word; or the incorporation of foreign words, whether from another branch of Semitic or from an unrelated language. The operation of these factors has done much to obscure the norm in South Arabic orthography. Whether all anomalies can be explained on the basis of one or other of them remains to be seen.

The problems raised by the confused orthography were not at once recognized, for knowledge of the language, even of the alphabet, came only slowly. In 1837 the first South Arabic alphabet was published by Ernst Rödiger<sup>9</sup> in the form of reproductions from two MSS. in the Berlin Museum which contained comparative alphabetic tables. The South Arabic characters in these are identifiable from their epigraphic originals, but they are too corrupted by scribal transmission to provide a good guide to the decipherment of texts. Rödiger's comparisons with the recently published Ḥiṣn Ġurāb<sup>10</sup> and Naqb al-Ḥajar<sup>11</sup> inscriptions were not very productive. In 1841 the South Arabic alphabet was the subject of an independent attempt at decipherment by Wilhelm Gesenius<sup>12</sup> on the basis of analogies observed between the South Arabic and Old Ethiopic scripts, and a second and more successful one on the part of Rödiger.<sup>13</sup> There had become accessible by this time the Cruttenden inscriptions,<sup>14</sup> and with the aid of the new material Rödiger correctly identified 23 letters of the 29, viz.: ' , b, g, d, ḏ, h, w, ḥ, ḫ, t, y, k, l, m, n, s<sub>1</sub>, ' , f, ḑ, q, r, t, ṭ. He did not recognize the difference between s<sub>1</sub> and ṣ and failed to find cases of z, ḡ, and s<sub>3</sub>; he also employed  and  to represent s<sub>2</sub> and s<sub>1</sub> respectively, but evidently without the intention of attri-

<sup>9</sup> *ZKM* 1 (1837) 332 ff. and Pl. I.

<sup>10</sup> *JASB* 3 (1834) 554-6 and plate.

<sup>11</sup> *JRGS* 7 (1837) 20-34 and plate.

<sup>12</sup> "Über die Himjaritische Sprache und Schrift," *ALZ* 221. 550-51.

<sup>13</sup> *Versuch über die Himjaritische Schriftmonumente*, 1841. For a comparison of their results see Mittwoch, *Or* 3 (1935) 344-52.

<sup>14</sup> *JRGS* 8 (1838) 267-89 and plate.



buting North Semitic values to the Hebrew transcriptions.<sup>15</sup> With regard to the sign for *z* he was in doubt, although he entertained a suspicion of its true value. Four years later a collection of new epigraphic finds, gathered from Ṣan'ā' and vicinity by T. J. Arnaud, was published by F. Fresnel<sup>16</sup> together with transcriptions according to an improved system of his own, which nevertheless contained some errors. The signs for *t* and *z* he regarded as variants with the common value *t*, supposing that ⌘ stood for *z*. On the other hand he assumed that the two forms taken by the sign for *ṣ* were distinct, representing *ṣ* and *ṣ̣*. The sign for *ṣ̣* he did not distinguish. The first of these errors was perpetuated in the work of Osiander, who observed that in the Hadramitic inscription from 'Obne an expected *t* was always replaced by ⌘,<sup>17</sup> and being unable to find a symbol for *z*, assigned this value to the obscure ⌘. Osiander also considered the signs for *ṣ* and *ṣ̣* as variants with the same value *ṣ*. The alphabet was then correctly determined with the exception of the three letters *z*, *ṣ̣* and ⌘, and seemed adequate in this form for the decipherment of the South Arabic texts which were now being brought to light in considerable numbers.

Halévy's extensive collection,<sup>18</sup> with transcriptions<sup>19</sup> which slightly modified the system then in use, was issued in 1872. Halévy assigned the letter *ṣ̣* its true value; the sign for *z* he transcribed by means of Ṣ;<sup>20</sup> and Ṣ̣ with Ḍ, contrary to the previous custom of Ṣ̣ introduced by Osiander. For ⌘ he retained the value *z*. There was no recognition at this time of a complicating third sibilant in the language. The old transcription had been devised on the basis of the correspondence with North Arabic, which retained the letter *sīn* but not *samech*. Halévy offers no grounds for the use of Ḍ to represent *s*<sub>1</sub> and the change is orthographical only. His table of Semitic sibilants<sup>21</sup> equates his South Arabic Ḍ (= *s*<sub>1</sub>) with Hebrew Ṣ̣ and Ṣ̣̣, not with Hebrew Ḍ. Practice now wavered in the transcription of *s*<sub>1</sub>. J. and H. Deren-

<sup>15</sup> "In dem Gebrauch der beiden S-Lauten, die ich durch Ḍ and Ṣ̣ ausdrücke, finde ich hier eben so wenig Consequenz als beiden äthiop. ṣ̣ und *s*" *Versuch* 21.

<sup>16</sup> *JA* 4e série 6 (1845) 169-237.

<sup>18</sup> *JA* 6e série 19 (1872) 129-266.

<sup>17</sup> *ZDMG* 10 (1856) 34-5.

<sup>19</sup> *Op. cit.* 489-547.

<sup>20</sup> Levy, *ZDMG* 19 (1865) 182 n. 1, and Prätorius, *ibid.* 26 (1872) 432, had expressed doubt as to whether this and the sign for *t* were formal variants only.

<sup>21</sup> *JA* 7e série 1 (1873) 467.



bourg,<sup>22</sup> D. H. Müller,<sup>23</sup> and F. Prätorius<sup>24</sup> adopted **Ḍ**; J. H. Mordtmann<sup>25</sup> preferred to keep **Ṣ**. The disagreement did not become significant until Prätorius in 1883 correctly identified *z*<sup>26</sup> and established the existence of a sibilant triad *s*<sub>1</sub>, *s*<sub>2</sub>, *s*<sub>3</sub> in South Arabic similar to the triad in Hebrew.<sup>27</sup> The newly discovered *s*<sub>3</sub> was at first taken by him to represent a South Semitic **Ṣ** corresponding to North Semitic **Ṣ**; *s*<sub>1</sub> therefore represented Hebrew **Ḍ**. At the same time Prätorius was aware of exceptional cases in which North Semitic **Ṣ** appeared in South Arabic as *s*<sub>1</sub>, not *s*<sub>3</sub>, notably in the causative prefix in Minaean and Qatabanian. Shortly afterwards, in a brief appendix,<sup>28</sup> he suggested, without strongly advocating, the alternative identification of *s*<sub>1</sub> with **Ṣ** < Hebrew **Ṣ** and *s*<sub>3</sub> with Hebrew **Ḍ**. The problem was left unsettled.

The question has formed the subject of several analyses since, and has become more complicated with the recognition of further anomalies in addition to such as caused Prätorius to hesitate. Investigators, too, have tended to treat the problem as part of a broader one, and to use South Arabic as a means of determining the history of sibilant relationships within Semitic in general. These will be discussed later in detail.

Halévy's identification of the sign for *z* led to much less controversy; but in view of the interchange of *ṣ* and *z* observed in a number of stems, opinion divided regarding the mutual relations of these sounds. The interchangeability of the two signs, and therefore of their phonetic values, has been maintained by Müller<sup>29</sup> and by Rhodokanakis.<sup>30</sup> The more cautious opinion, that *ṣ* and *z* represented different sounds, was expressed by Mordtmann,<sup>31</sup> Hartmann,<sup>32</sup> and Weber.<sup>33</sup> According to this view, words in which *ṣ* apparently interchanged with *z* involved two separate stems;

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *ibid.* 19 (1882) 361-94.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. *SD* 1883.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. "Himjarische Beiträge," *ZDMG* 26 (1872) 746-50; *Beiträge zur Erklärung der himjarischen Inschriften*, 1874.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. *ZDMG* 30 (1876) 21-39, 288-96.

<sup>26</sup> Müller, *ZDMG* 29 (1875) 618, had already favored this view of *z* but preferred to retain the old transcription **Ṣ**.

<sup>27</sup> *Lit.-Blatt f. Or. Phil.* 1 (1883) 27-32.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* 162-3.

<sup>29</sup> *ZDMG* 30 (1876) 705 f.; 37 (1883) 353; *SD* 88 f.

<sup>30</sup> *WZKM* 37 (1930) 296.

<sup>31</sup> *SD* 89 n. 1.

<sup>32</sup> *OLZ* 10 (1907) 242.

<sup>33</sup> "Studien" III, *MVAG* 1907. 2. 21.



where  $\varsigma$  took the place of an expected  $\zeta$  (notably in the Halévy texts) the accuracy of the copy was called in question. Glaser recognized the difficulty of distinguishing the two signs especially in late inscriptions.<sup>34</sup> Actually no principle is involved in this question of interchangeability, in contrast to the problem posed by the sibilants. For  $\zeta$  was certainly distinguished in pronunciation from  $\varsigma$  at the time of the adoption of the alphabet; equally certain is it that  $\zeta$  has become  $\varsigma$  in Ethiopic. It remains only to be seen whether the history of South Arabic does not embrace the period in which these two sounds approached and merged.

#### Phonetic Values of $\underline{d}$ and $\underline{z}$

SAr.  $\underline{d}$  in the majority of cases of its occurrence represents Sem.  $\underline{d}$ , corresponding regularly to Ar.  $\underline{d}$ , Heb. and Eth.  $\underline{z}$ , Aram.  $\underline{d}$ . Following are typical examples:

- $\underline{d}n$  vb. "to let (go), discharge,"<sup>35</sup> n. "command,"<sup>36</sup> "power, authority,"<sup>37</sup> pl.  $\underline{d}n$ ; <sup>38</sup> "mind, sense, self,"<sup>39</sup> pl.  $\underline{d}n$ .<sup>40</sup> Cf. Ar.  $\underline{ad}ina$  "to permit"; Ar.  $\underline{u}dn$ , Eth.  $\underline{ezen}$ , Heb.  $\underline{ozen}$ , Aram.  $\underline{ed}nā$  "ear."
- $\underline{h}d$  vb. "to seize, capture,"<sup>41</sup> IV "to begin,"<sup>42</sup> V "to be seized";<sup>43</sup> n. "seizure, confiscation,"<sup>44</sup> "captive";<sup>45</sup>  $m'\underline{h}d$  "dike, dam,"<sup>46</sup> pl.  $m'\underline{h}dt$ .<sup>47</sup> Cf. Ar.  $\underline{ah}ada$ , Eth.  $\underline{ah}aza$ , Heb.  $\underline{ah}az$  "to seize."
- $\underline{db}h$  vb. "to sacrifice";<sup>48</sup> n. "sacrifice,"<sup>49</sup> pl.  $\underline{db}h$ ,<sup>50</sup>  $\underline{dby}h$ ; <sup>51</sup>  $m\underline{d}bh$ ,<sup>52</sup>  $m\underline{d}bht$  <sup>53</sup> "altar." Cf. Ar.  $\underline{daba}ha$  "to slaughter"; Eth.  $\underline{zabe}ha$ , Heb.  $\underline{zab}ah$ , Aram.  $\underline{de}bah$  "to sacrifice, slaughter."

<sup>34</sup> "Altjemenische Studien" I, *MVAG* 1923. 2. 29.

<sup>35</sup> C 541. 74, 76. The citations of references illustrating normal phonetic correspondences are in most cases not exhaustive. They are based, however, on a complete concordance of the published material which I hope to present soon in a separate monograph.

<sup>36</sup> Gl 1606. 4, 6, 9.

<sup>37</sup> C 76. 9.

<sup>38</sup> C 573. 4.

<sup>39</sup> SE 94. 6.

<sup>40</sup> Hal 353. 7.

<sup>41</sup> C 350. 5.

<sup>42</sup> C 84. 3, 4.

<sup>43</sup> HI 55. 4-5, 56. 4.

<sup>44</sup> Gl 1602. 4.

<sup>45</sup> C 407. 26.

<sup>46</sup> Gl 418/9. 5, 6.

<sup>47</sup> C 506. 2.

<sup>48</sup> Hal 196. 8.

<sup>49</sup> Gl 282. 4.

<sup>50</sup> Hal 196. 10.

<sup>51</sup> C 541. 124.

<sup>52</sup> Delos 1 (= R 3570). 2, C 105. 2.

<sup>53</sup> JSa 19. 9.



'*d*r vb. "to help,"<sup>54</sup> X "to ask for help, mercy";<sup>55</sup> n. "one who helps,"<sup>56</sup> pl. "*d*r";<sup>57</sup> *m'dr* "rampart."<sup>58</sup> Cf. Ar. '*adara* "to excuse," Heb. '*āzar*, Aram. '*dar* "to help."

Departures from this correspondence series are rare; the probable cases may be grouped as below:

SAr. *d* : Sem. *d*

*gḍf* vb. "to blaspheme,"<sup>59</sup> C 546.6. Cf. Ar. *ḡaddafa* "to slander," Heb. *giddef* "to scorn, sneer at."<sup>60</sup>

SAr. *d* : Sem. *t*

*gḍwṭy* du. constr. "the two hills of . . ." (?) Gl 1000 B.5. Cf. Ar. *ḡatwah* "hill."<sup>61</sup>

*d* : Sem. *z*

'*DD* n. pr. m., Lyon 15.1, R 3519.1; '*DD<sup>m</sup>* Hulton-Smith 2 (= R 2639 B). Cf. the stem '*zz*, frequent in personal names;<sup>62</sup> also '*zz* IV "to glorify, exalt," Gl 1210.14.<sup>63</sup>

*DYD* n. pr. m., JSa 49; *DYD<sup>m</sup>* JIH 66,<sup>64</sup> SE 80.17, 20. Cf. the stem *zyd* in personal names of all dialects.<sup>65</sup>

'*L'GD* n. pr. m., C 459.1-2 (from Yeha). Cf. Ar. '*aḡaza* "to become old."

*hf̣ḍ* vb. "to bound, limit," Gl 288.1, Hal 357.1. Cf. Ar. *ḥafaz* "boundary."<sup>66</sup>

*wḍ'* vb. "to add, continue," MM 79.9. Cf. *wz'* C 78.7, 522.6 and frequently.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>54</sup> C 308.22.

<sup>55</sup> C 568.4.

<sup>56</sup> Gl 1693.14.

<sup>57</sup> C 609.5.

<sup>58</sup> Gl 1150.2.

<sup>59</sup> Prätorius, *Beiträge* III 19; Rhodokanakis, *Studien* I 57.

<sup>60</sup> Ar. *ḡadafa* has the sense "to cut off," which it shares with *ḡadafa*. For the alternation of *d* and *ḍ* in Sem. see Nöldeke, *ZDMG* 40 (1886) 729. A comparison of SAr. *gḍf* with Eth. *gazeḥa* "crassum, spissum esse," *gezūf* "crassus," also "obfirmatus," is also possible. A second but doubtful case of this alternation seems to occur in Gl 554.67 *d-r'z<sup>m</sup> hr'z-hmw*, where *d*-may stand for the relative *ḍ*.

<sup>61</sup> Rhodokanakis, *AST* I 99. Rhodokanakis compares the alternation of Ar. *ḡatā* and *ḡadā*.

<sup>62</sup> E. g., '*ZYN*, '*ZZLT*, '*ZZ<sup>m</sup>*, '*ZZ*, '*L'Z*.

<sup>63</sup> Rhodokanakis, *AST* II 206 and n. 12.

<sup>64</sup> Jaussen read *ZYD*, corrected to *DYD* by Ryckmans, *RB* 1927, 381.

<sup>65</sup> E. g. *ZYD<sup>m</sup>*, *YZD*, *ZYD'L*.

<sup>66</sup> Rhodokanakis, *Studien* II 89.

<sup>67</sup> MM p. 105 read [*w*]*r'*, corrected to [*w*]*ḍ'* by Höfner, *WZKM* 42 (1935) 106.



SAr. *z* regularly represents Sem. *z*. The following are examples:

*gzm* vb. I, IV, V, VIII "to decide, decree;"<sup>68</sup> n. "decision, decree,"<sup>69</sup> pl. *gzwm*.<sup>70</sup> Cf. Ar. *ġazama* "to cut off, to fulfill an oath"; Eth. *gazama*, Aram. *g<sup>e</sup>zam* "to cut," Syr. "to cut off, determine, decree."

*gzz* vb. "to decide, decree,"<sup>71</sup> scr. def. *gz*; <sup>72</sup> "to dedicate."<sup>73</sup> Cf. Ar. *ġazza*, Heb. *gāzaz* "to cut, shear," Aram. *g<sup>e</sup>zaz* "to cut, cross, pass." Cf. also the related stem *gzy*; <sup>74</sup> n. *gzyt* "decree."<sup>75</sup>

*'zz* vb. "to exert oneself,"<sup>76</sup> IV "to exalt"; <sup>77</sup> n. *'zt* "glory."<sup>78</sup> The stem *'zz* is common in proper names.<sup>79</sup> Cf. Ar. *'azza* "to be strong, to be esteemed," IV "to strengthen; honor"; Eth. *'azzaza*, Heb. *'āzaz*, Syr. *'az* "to be strong."

Certain cases can be adduced, however, in which this correspondence does not hold:

*z* : Sem. *ḏ*

*nz'* n. "destruction," in SE 3.10 *nz' w-s<sub>2</sub>zy s<sub>2</sub>n<sup>m</sup>* "the destruction and injury of an enemy." This formula is usually written *nḏ' w-s<sub>2</sub>sy s<sub>2</sub>n<sup>m</sup>*. *nḏ'* is cognate with SAr. *wḏ'* "to humble, destroy," Ar. *wāḏa'a* "to put down, place, humble."

*z* : Sem. *š*

*hzb* n. "number"<sup>80</sup> Gl 1144.4. Cf. Ar. *ḥasaba* "to count," related to *ḥazaba* "to form a party,"<sup>81</sup> Heb. *ḥāšeb* "to count."

<sup>68</sup> Simple stem Gl 1606. 5, 13; C 435. 1, 449. 3; Kr 2. 6; IV Gl 1606. 13; V C 308. 12; VIII Gl 1606. 6.

<sup>69</sup> C 435. 1.

<sup>70</sup> Gl 1606. 6, 13, 21.

<sup>71</sup> Gl 298. 3.

<sup>72</sup> C 323. 3, where it has the sense "to cross."

<sup>73</sup> R 3282. 2.

<sup>74</sup> A secondary form of *gzz* according to Rhodokanakis, *Studien* II 131 and n. 6. As a verb *gzy* appears in C 68. 2.

<sup>75</sup> Gl 284. 3; R 4131.

<sup>76</sup> SE 83. 2. Cf. Rhodokanakis, *KTB* II 21 and n. 5.

<sup>77</sup> Gl 1210. 14.

<sup>78</sup> C 326. 3.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. above, n. 62.

<sup>80</sup> Rhodokanakis, *Studien* II 30.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid. 38. This single case of the stem *hzb* in Min. is paralleled in Sab. by the frequent n. *hzb*, pl. *'hzb* "tribe," Ar. *ḥizb* "party of men."



*z* : Sem. *ḏ*

*z* sign of the genitive, in Ry 340.10 *wrh-hw z-Ṣrbn* "in the month *z-ṢRBN*." <sup>82</sup>

*ZBH* n. pr. m., JSa 50. Cf. the tribal names *DBHN*, Gl 1000 A. 4, 1693.1, etc.

It is evident that SAr. recognized and distinguished Sem. *ḏ* and *z*. It is also evident from certain uses of the signs for these sounds that the latter tended to merge. How far this process went appears from the orthography of Hadramitic and of the Old Ethiopic texts which employ SAr. script. The inscriptions of both languages employ *ḏ* and *z* indifferently and without regard to etymological considerations.<sup>83</sup> No orthographic tradition hampered the attempt in the Eth. texts to spell phonetically; it is certain, therefore, that the signs for *ḏ* and *z* had come to stand for the same sound in the script which was borrowed for them. That this sound was *z* is clear from Eth., which in adopting a script of its own found a sign for *ḏ* unnecessary.

With regard to the correspondence of SAr. *ḏ* to Sem. *ḏ* and *t*, attention must be called again to the same irregularities occurring elsewhere in Sem.<sup>84</sup>

As for the case of *nz* < *nḏ*, the explanation can hardly be that a shift of *ḏ* to *z* has taken place.<sup>85</sup> Such a shift occurs in Sem. under foreign influence,<sup>86</sup> but is nowhere a normal feature of phonetic change. On the other hand, it is entirely likely that a confusion of signs, not sounds, is responsible for the anomaly. In the late script the letters *ḏ*, *z*, *ḏ* and *t* are sometimes almost indistinguishable. The word in question is certainly to be read, or corrected to, *nḏ*.

<sup>82</sup> Possibly also in the name *ZBYMN* C 541.6, to be vocalized *Za-Baymān*? Cf. the Eth. names *Za-Yōhannes* Ak 85, *Za-'Angab* Ak 86. Hartmann, *Ar. Fr.* 509 n. 1 suggests for *ZBYMN* the translation "der in Jemen ist."

<sup>83</sup> In Eth. cf. *'hzb* "tribes" Ak 6. 4-5, 6, beside *ḥḏb* (sing.) *ibid.* 3; conversely *ḏ*, *ḏ<sup>m</sup>*, relative pronoun and sign of the genitive, Ak 6 and 8 *passim*, as often written *z*, *z<sup>m</sup>*. In Had. the stem *'zz* is written *'ḏḏ* with special frequency; cf. the names *Y'DD* Ph 50.4, *'Dḏ<sup>m</sup>* Obne (= R 2687). 5, Ph 34.1, Ry 162.5; *'L'D* Ry 162.4, but *'L'Z* Ry 164.2.

<sup>84</sup> See above, n. 60.

<sup>85</sup> Höfner, *WZKM* 40 (1933) 5.

<sup>86</sup> See Brockelmann, *Grundriss* I 131; the Arabic sounds *ḏ*, *ḏ* and *z* have become *z* in Persian pronunciation.



## The Emphatics

SAr. *t* regularly represents Sem. *t*; for example:

- hb̄t* vb. "to smite, raid";<sup>87</sup> n. "raid,"<sup>88</sup> "waste, scraps";<sup>89</sup> pl. *'hb̄t* "pasturages" (?).<sup>90</sup> Cf. Ar. *ḥabaṭa* "to strike, trample," Heb. *ḥāḇaṭ*, Aram. *ḥēḇaṭ* "to strike."  
*ḥt̄* vb. "to sin,"<sup>91</sup> IV caus.;<sup>92</sup> n. "sin,"<sup>93</sup> pl. *'ḥt̄t*,<sup>94</sup> *ḥty*.<sup>95</sup> Cf. Ar. *ḥaṭi'a*, Eth. *ḥaṭ'a*, Heb. *ḥāṭā'*, Aram. *ḥeṭā* "to sin."  
*tyb* n. a kind of incense.<sup>96</sup> Cf. Ar. *tīb* "sweet smell, perfume," *tāba* "to be good," Heb. *tōḇ*, Aram. *tāḇ* "good."

Rarely *t* exchanges with *d* in words in which *d* is original:

- nṭ̄* verb, V, in C 179.7 [*bk*]n *tnṭ̄t l-'lhh* - - "when she humbled herself before her god . . .;" n., in C 294.3 *s₂sy w-nṭ̄* "damage and destruction," C 351.10 *b']s₁tᵐ w-nṭ̄* "evil and destruction." In the first case the stem *nṭ̄* apparently replaces *nḏ̄*, which is found only in the noun *nḏ̄* "humiliation, destruction." In the other cases this equation of *nṭ̄* with *nḏ̄* is quite apparent.

*QBT̄* a divine name in Hal 381.2 (Sab.). Cf. the divine names *QBD*, Hal 419.5 (Min.), and *d-QBD*, C 516.22 (Sab.), as well as the epithet *d-QBD* applied to 'Athtar.

SAr. *d* corresponds regularly to Ar. and Eth. *d*, Heb. *ṣ*, Aram. *ṣ*. For example:

- 'rḏ* n. "land,"<sup>97</sup> pl. *'rḏt̄*.<sup>98</sup> Cf. Ar. *'arḏ*, Heb. *'ereṣ*, Aram. *'ar'ā* "earth, land."  
*wḏ̄* vb. "to go out, flow out,"<sup>99</sup> IV caus.,<sup>100</sup> VIII "to dedicate,"<sup>101</sup> X "to behave, act";<sup>102</sup> n. *twḏ̄* "going out,"<sup>103</sup>

<sup>87</sup> C 575. 7.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid. 6.

<sup>89</sup> C 562. 6.

<sup>90</sup> Hal 520. 15; "What has been trampled by cattle," Hommel, *Chrestomathie* 123.

<sup>91</sup> C 532. 7, 568. 6.

<sup>92</sup> C 532. 3-4, 612. 5.

<sup>93</sup> C 603b. 6-7.

<sup>94</sup> R 3272. 2, SE 83. 9.

<sup>95</sup> C 612. 5.

<sup>96</sup> Gl 1083. 4, 5, C 308. 4, 686.

<sup>102</sup> C 546. 8; cf. Rhodokanakis, *Studien* I 59.

<sup>103</sup> Gl 1606. 20.

<sup>97</sup> C 2. 15.

<sup>98</sup> Gl 1693. 5.

<sup>99</sup> C 548. 2, Gl 739. 2, 1606. 18.

<sup>100</sup> Gl 1210. 6.

<sup>101</sup> Hal 353. 7.



*mwḏ*,<sup>104</sup> *mwḏ't*<sup>105</sup> "tribute." Cf. Eth. *wad'a*, Heb. *yāšā'*,  
Aram. *yē'ā*<sup>106</sup> "to go out."

*ḏr* n. "enemy";<sup>107</sup> n. "war."<sup>108</sup> Cf. Ar. *ḏurr* "harm," Eth.  
*ḏar*, Heb. *šar*, Aram. *'ār* "enemy."

*ḏ* takes the place of *t* in:

*mwḏn* n. "habitation, homeland," MM 163.12. Cf. *mwṭn*, Ar.  
*mawṭin* "home, native country."

*ḏ* perhaps takes the place of *š* in:

*ḏbh* n. "tax," GI 1210.2 (Sab.). Cf. *šbḥt* with that meaning,  
SE 61.3 (Qat.); also Eth. *šabaḥt* "tax."

The history of the Eth. word is doubtful. Is *ḏ* rather than *š*  
original?

SAr. *ḏ* regularly corresponds to Ar. *ḏ*, Eth. and Heb. *š*, Aram. *t*.  
For example:

*ḏhr* vb. IV "to certify";<sup>109</sup> n. "back";<sup>110</sup> "witness, certifi-  
cation."<sup>111</sup> Cf. Ar. *ḏahara* "to appear, to be clear," *ḏahr*  
"back," *ḏuhr* "midday"; Aram. *ṭihārā* "midday."

*ḏll* vb. "to roof,"<sup>112</sup> IV "to erect, to erect covered pas-  
sages";<sup>113</sup> n. *ḏll* "building,"<sup>114</sup> *ḏlt* "grave,"<sup>115</sup> "roof."<sup>116</sup>  
Cf. Ar. *ḏalla*, Eth. *šalala*, Heb. *šālāl*, Aram. *ṭallēl* "to  
shade, roof."

*qyḏ* n. "summer."<sup>117</sup> Cf. Ar. *qayḏ*, Heb. *qayis*, "midsummer,"  
Aram. *qayṭā* "summer."

*ḏ* is subject to confusion with *š*; the cases in which *ḏ* replaces an  
original *š* are as follows:

*s₂ḏy* n. "injury," SE 3.10. Cf. the usual *s₂šy*,<sup>118</sup> and Ar. *šašw*  
"misfortune."

*ḏlm* n. "image," JIH 137.3-4; *ḏlmt*, Hole 2 (= R 461) 3. Cf.

<sup>104</sup> C 603b. 24.

<sup>105</sup> GI 297. 3.

<sup>106</sup> Cf. Numbers 17. 23.

<sup>107</sup> C 308. 27.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid. 12, 19, 21. 22.

<sup>109</sup> C 376. 12, 14.

<sup>110</sup> GI 1000 A. 16.

<sup>111</sup> C 376. 12, 15.

<sup>112</sup> GI 1150. 2.

<sup>113</sup> C 287. 1, 2-3, 11-12; 648. 4.

<sup>114</sup> C 663. 1.

<sup>115</sup> C 717. 1, MS 90.

<sup>116</sup> GI 283. 2.

<sup>117</sup> C 174. 3.

<sup>118</sup> C 343. 9.



*šlm*; <sup>119</sup> *šlmt*; <sup>120</sup> *šlym*; <sup>121</sup> pl. *’šlm*; <sup>122</sup> also Heb. *šlēm* “image,” Ar. *šanam* “idol.”

SAr. *š* corresponds regularly to Sem. *š*; for example:

- nšb* vb. “to erect”; <sup>123</sup> n. “stela.” <sup>124</sup> Cf. Ar. *našaba* “to set up,” Heb. *niššab* “to be set up,” Aram. *nešab* “to set up.”  
*šdq* vb. “to perform, fulfill, grant”; <sup>125</sup> VIII “to be certified, confirmed,” <sup>126</sup> “to be given, i. e., to receive, a certain right, a grant”; <sup>127</sup> n. “(a) right”; <sup>128</sup> n. “duty”; <sup>129</sup> adj. “good”; <sup>130</sup> *mšdq* “grant, gift.” <sup>131</sup> Cf. Ar. *šadaqa*, Eth. *šadeqa*, Heb. *šādaq* “to be upright, just.”  
*šwr* n. “image”; <sup>132</sup> *šwrt* “palm-garden” (?). <sup>133</sup> Cf. Ar. *šawwara* “to form,” *šūrah* “image,” Aram. *šayyer* “to form, shape.”

SAr. *š* may take the place of normal *ḏ*:

- wš* vb. V “to be humbled, destroyed,” C 365. 5. Cf. Sab. *wḏ* “to set down, humble, destroy.”  
*šbḥt* n. “tax” — see p. 517 under *ḏbḥ*.

SAr. *š* may take the place of normal *ṣ*. Instances in which this substitution occurs are:

- tšwr* n. coll., “pillars, piles,” <sup>134</sup> Hal 504. 6. Cf. *tžwr* with the same meaning, Hal 465/6. 1, Gl 1150. 1, 1162. 2, 1315. 2; Hal 203. 2; also Ar. *zi’r* “column.” <sup>135</sup>  
*ŠHRN* n. pr. l. in the divine name *ḏt-ŠHRN*, Ry 148, Gl 1600. 7. Cf. the form *ḏt-ŽHRN*, Gl 1119. 7, 1404. 2, etc.  
*ŠRBN* name of a tower, Hal 534. 4-5. Cf. the spelling *ŽRBN* Hal 535. 6. The name appears in Halévy’s copy of Hal 255. 3 as *YRBN*.

<sup>119</sup> C 572. 3.

<sup>120</sup> C 581. 5.

<sup>121</sup> MS 36. 4.

<sup>122</sup> C 544. 3.

<sup>123</sup> Delos 1 (= R 3570). 2, MM 76. 3.

<sup>124</sup> C 443. 1.

<sup>125</sup> C 315. 16.

<sup>126</sup> Gl 287. 3.

<sup>134</sup> “Pfeilerstützung,” Rhodokanakis, *Studien* II 55.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid. 60.

<sup>127</sup> SE 82. 4.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid. 3.

<sup>129</sup> Gl 1000 A. 1-2.

<sup>130</sup> MM 81. 8.

<sup>131</sup> C 376. 16-7; 599. 6.

<sup>132</sup> C 445. 1.

<sup>133</sup> C 308. 6, 7, 9.



Although the orthography of the emphatics in general distinguishes carefully between *t*, *ḏ*, *z*, and *ṣ*, enough confusion in usage can be detected to make it clear that certain phonetic developments were in progress. Evidently the difference between *ḏ* and *t* was sometimes lost, most probably through the voicing of *t*, a practice which can be paralleled in the modern dialects of Ṣan'ā',<sup>136</sup> and Soqatra.<sup>137</sup>

Interchange of *ḏ* and *ṣ* indicates that it is possible for both signs to represent the same sound. There is even more abundant evidence for the identity of *z* and *ṣ* in pronunciation, although interchange of *z* and *ṣ* has in several cases been called in question, the inconsistent orthography being laid to copyists' errors. Doubts have been raised as to *zlm*, JIH 137. 3-4,<sup>138</sup> and to *złmt*, R 461. 3;<sup>139</sup> also to *tṣwr*, Hal 504. 6.<sup>140</sup> The reading *ṢHRN*, Gl 1600. 7 has been supposed to be an error in transcription;<sup>141</sup> the same word, however, is certain in Ry 148. *ZRBN* is probably to be read in Hal 534. 4-5 and 255. 3.<sup>142</sup> The material, although reduced, still shows that *z* and *ṣ* were close in pronunciation. The same development was in process in Hadramitic.<sup>143</sup> That *ṣ*, not *z*, was preserved is clear from the similar fusion of the sounds *ḏ* and *ṣ*. No indication exists of a direct rapprochement between *z* and *ḏ*; on the other hand the absorption of both *ḏ* and *z* by *ṣ* is characteristic of the history of those sounds in Ethiopic.

#### Phonetic Values of *s*<sub>1</sub>, *s*<sub>3</sub>, *t*

There have been a number of theories put forward in the attempt to place the South Arabic sibilants within the Semitic phonetic system. The first of these was advanced by D. H. Müller,<sup>144</sup> who

<sup>136</sup> Ettore Rossi, *L'Arabo Parlato a Ṣan'ā'* 2, 6.

<sup>137</sup> Leslau, *Lexique Soqatri* 29 § 14b.

<sup>138</sup> Ryckmans reads *šlm*; cf. R 3902, commentary on JIH 137.

<sup>139</sup> Questioned by Glaser, "Altjemenische Studien" I, *MVAG* 1923. 2. 29.

<sup>140</sup> See Hartmann, *OLZ* 10 (1907) 242.

<sup>141</sup> So read by Nielsen, "Neue Katabanische Inschriften" *MVAG* 1906. 4. 3, 15; see Ryckmans, *Les noms propres sud-sémitiques* 362.

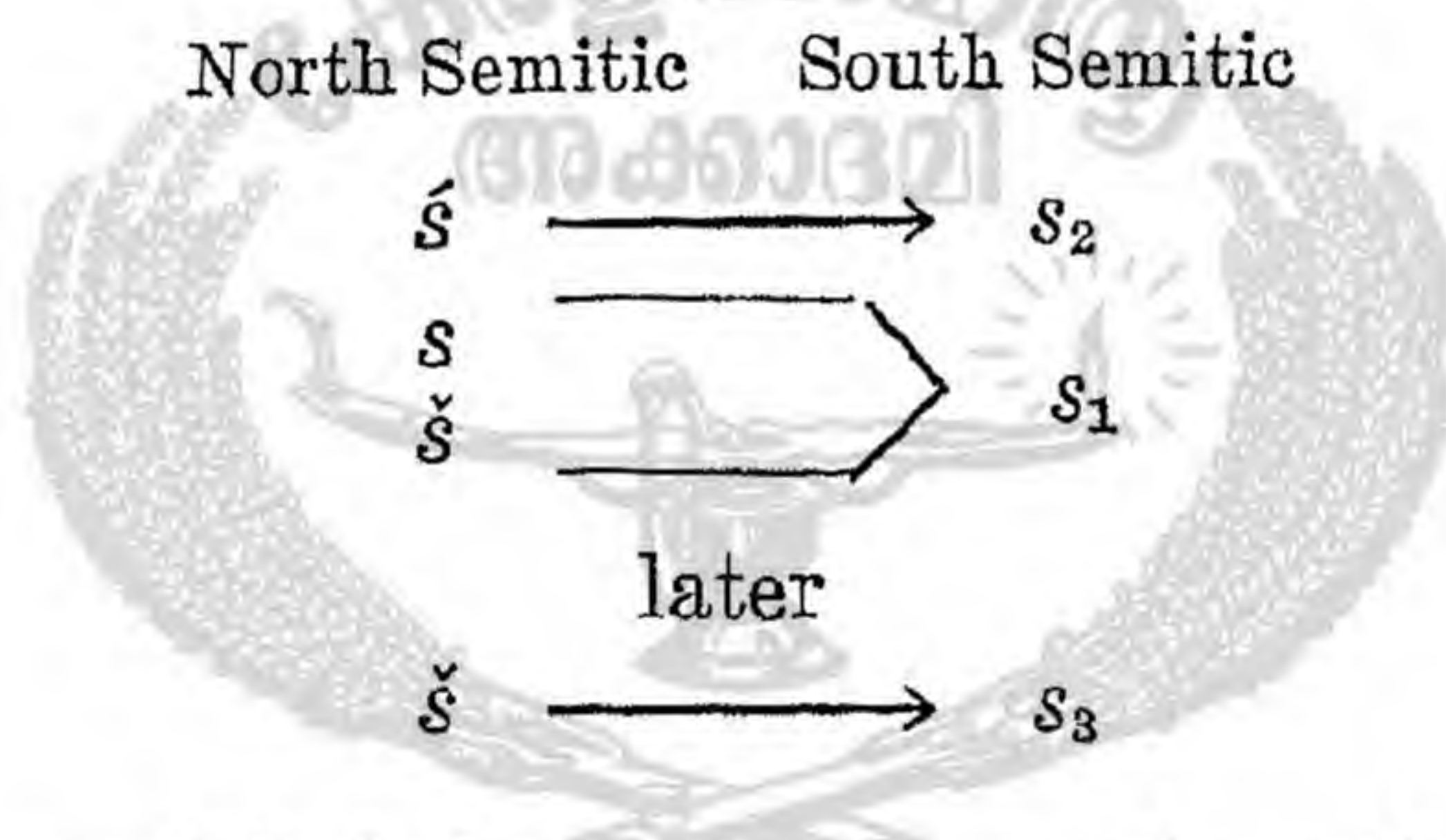
<sup>142</sup> Cf. Rhodokanakis, *Studien* II 119 and n. 7.

<sup>143</sup> Cf. *w-qṣ't* Os 29 (= R 2693). 3, beside *w-qṣ'-s*<sub>1</sub> SE 49 (unpublished), Ry 162. 6, and *w-qṣ'-s*<sub>1</sub>*m* Ry 162. 6. For the meaning of the verb *qṣ'* (*qṣ'*) see Rhodokanakis, *WZKM* 37 (1930) 297.

<sup>144</sup> "Zur Geschichte der Semitischen Zischlaute" *Verh. des VII. intern. Or. Congr.* (1888) 229-48.



based his study on the values assigned to the Phoenician letters when they were adapted for the South Semitic languages. His hypothesis deals with South Arabic as follows: There were three Proto-Semitic sibilants,  $\check{s}$ ,  $\acute{s}$  and  $s$ . Of these  $\acute{s}$  and  $s$  tended to merge in  $s$ . In South Semitic the values of  $\check{s}$  and  $\acute{s}$  became exchanged, but here too the tendency of  $\acute{s}$  ( $<$  P.-S.  $\check{s}$ ) and  $s$  is also to merge, except that in this case it is  $\acute{s}$  which combines the two values. For this reason, when the alphabet was borrowed, the Phoenician sign  $\check{s}in$  was used for the South Arabic sound  $\check{s}$  ( $<$  P.-S.  $\acute{s}$ ), but the Phoenician sign *samech* stood not only for P.-S.  $s$ , unchanged in South Arabic, but also for  $\acute{s} < \check{s}$ , for which there was no need for a separate symbol in South Arabic. The consciousness of a distinct sibilant  $\acute{s} <$  P.-S.  $\check{s}$  remained sufficiently vivid, it is true, to lead to the invention of a symbol  $\times$  for it, but this occurred at a relatively late date, after the Ethiopic alphabet had entered upon an independent existence. Müller's hypothesis may be reduced to the formula:



Müller's theory failed, however, to convince those who took the opposite view from his of the historical relations of  $s_1$  and  $s_3$  to Hebrew  $\check{s}$  and  $s$ . Hommel<sup>145</sup> stated the case for the identification of  $s_3$  with North Semitic  $s$ , on the basis of a comparison of  $s_3$ -containing words with their Semitic cognates. On further analysis he came to the conclusion that the phonetic values of the South Semitic sibilants were Proto-Semitic, comparing them with their Egyptian cognates.<sup>146</sup>

Still later Müller's hypothesis was examined and rejected by Brockelmann,<sup>147</sup> who proposed in its stead a theory of his own. While Müller regarded North Semitic  $\check{s}$  as becoming  $s_1$  in South

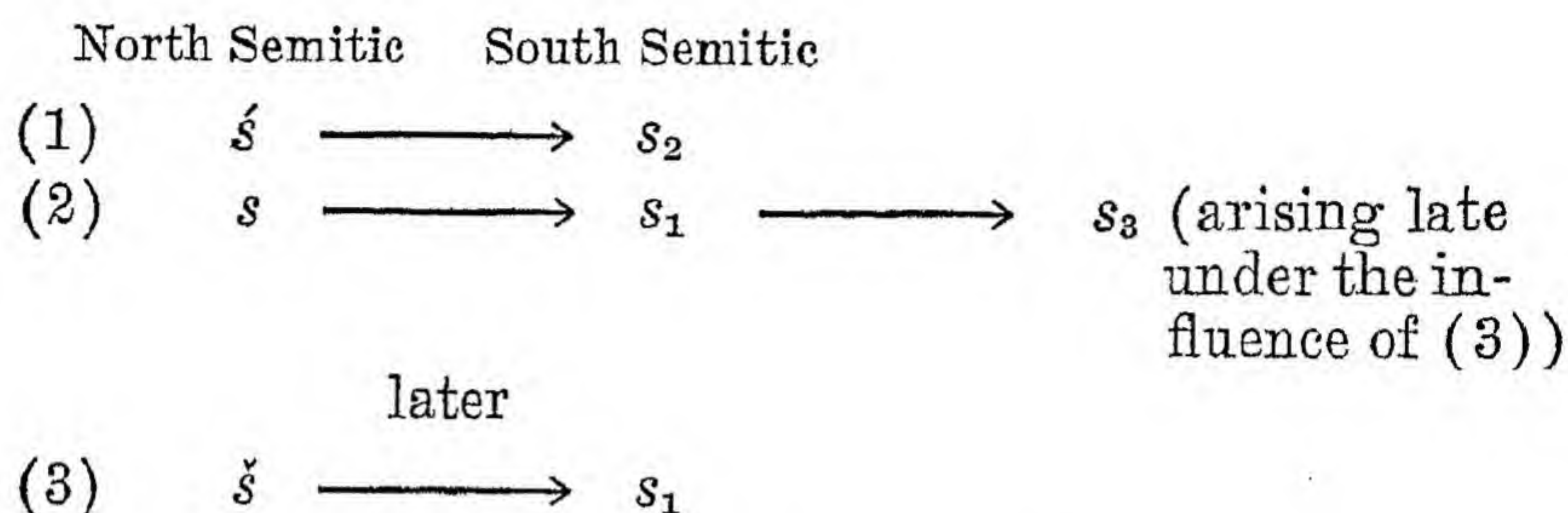
<sup>145</sup> *ZDMG* 46 (1892) 528-38.

<sup>146</sup> Hommel, *Südarabische Chrestomathie* (1893) 10. The affinity of SSem. with Egyptian in this respect has been most recently demonstrated by Calice, *WZKM Beiheft* 1 (1936) 47.233.

<sup>147</sup> *Grundriss* I 129-30.



Arabic at an early period, but  $s_3$  subsequently, Brockelmann saw the change of North Semitic  $\check{s}$  to South Arabic  $s_1$  as relatively late, the new  $s_1$  having a somewhat different pronunciation from the original  $s_1$  retained from Proto-Semitic, with the result that the latter was sporadically distinguished by a special sign  $s_3$ . His hypothesis may be formulated thus:



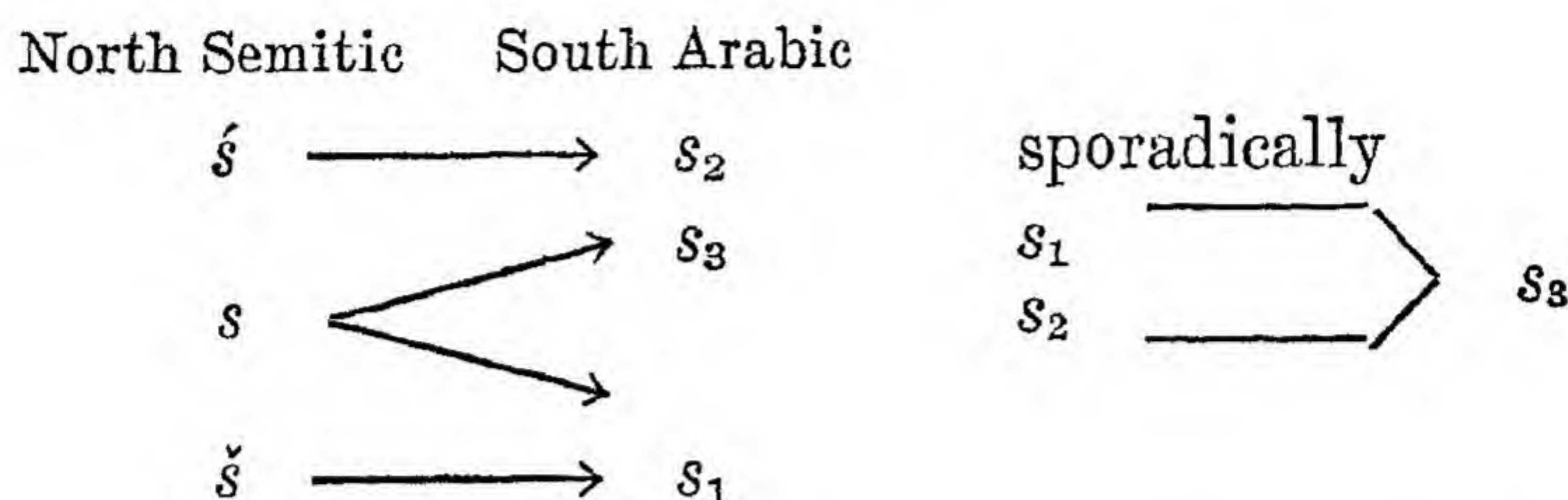
Thus while both agreed that North Semitic  $\check{s}$  shifted in South Semitic to  $s_1$ , Müller was of the opinion that the sign  $s_3$  represented South Semitic  $s_1$  ( $<$  North Semitic  $\check{s}$ ), Brockelmann that it stood for original  $s$ . Regardless of whether the observation that North Semitic  $\check{s}$  appears in South Arabic as  $s_1$  is interpreted to mean that a change of  $\check{s}in$  to *samech* or a change of  $\check{s}in$  to  $\acute{s}in$  took place, the conclusion at which Müller arrives is that  $s_3$  is cognate with North Semitic  $\check{s}$ ; Brockelmann's conclusion, on the contrary, being that it is cognate with North Semitic  $s$ .

The problem and Müller's solution to it was again subjected to scrutiny by Rhodokanakis.<sup>148</sup> In agreement with Brockelmann against Müller, he represented North Semitic  $\acute{s}$  as becoming  $s_2$  and North Semitic  $\check{s}$  as becoming  $s_1$  in South Arabic, and with him he derived the body of  $s_3$ -containing words from North Semitic  $s$ . These cases, however, he did not consider typical of the behavior of North Semitic  $s$ , which remained  $s_1$ . From the circumstance that  $s_3$  may on occasion take the place not only of an expected  $s_1 < \check{s}$  and  $s$ , but also of an expected  $s_2 < \acute{s}$ , Rhodokanakis concluded that both  $s_1$  and  $s_2$  tended to gravitate to  $s_3$ , intermediate between them and having a pronunciation possibly resembling Hebrew  $\acute{s}$ . To clarify the process by which  $s_3$  came to correspond to North Arabic  $\check{s}$ , Rhodokanakis compared the South Arabic sound to the lateral  $\check{s}$  of Mehri (transcribed  $\acute{s}$ ) and in especial to lateral  $s$  (transcribed  $\acute{s}$ ) and  $\acute{s}$  of Soqotri, which are very close and which

<sup>148</sup> *AST* II 222-6.



may both take the place of Ar. š. To account for the partial displacement of  $s_1$  by  $s_3$  he supposed that  $s_1$  passed through a stage of lateral  $s$  (š) to the similar sound, lateral š (ś). The hypothesis may be summarized in the formula:



In two of the treatments described, the position of the South Arabic sibilants within Semitic has led to the assumption of a time element, by which one series of correlations could be separated from another. At the base of the formulation by Rhodokanakis is a postulated sibilant intermediate between  $s_1$  and  $s_2$ , without a cognate in North Semitic, but approaching the values of the Modern South Arabic lateral sibilants, toward which both  $s_1$  and  $s_2$  tended. All three hypotheses assume the operation of a factor which is difficult to prove from direct evidence. Whether the direct evidence itself can be made to suffice for an evaluation of the phonetic and historical status of  $s_1$ ,  $s_2$  and  $s_3$  the following analysis will show.

SAr.  $s_1$  corresponds in the majority of cases to Ar. and Eth.  $s$ , Heb. and Aram. š. For example:

$hms_1$  n. "five,"<sup>149</sup>  $hms_1t$ ; <sup>150</sup>  $hms_1y$ ,<sup>151</sup>  $hms_1n$  <sup>152</sup> "fifty." Cf. Ar. *hams*, Eth. *hemes*, Heb. *hāmeš*, Syr. *hameš* "five."

$nfs_1$  n. "soul, self,"<sup>153</sup> pl.  $'nfs_1$ ,<sup>154</sup>  $'fs_1$ ; <sup>155</sup> n. "stela." <sup>156</sup> Cf. Ar. and Eth. *nafs*, Heb. *neṣṣeš* "self," Aram. *naṣṣā* "self, stela."

$s_1'l$  vb. "to ask, claim,"<sup>157</sup> IV,<sup>158</sup> V <sup>159</sup> "to claim," X "to be responsible"; <sup>160</sup> n. "question," <sup>161</sup> pl.  $s_1'wlt$ ; <sup>162</sup>  $ms_1'l$

<sup>149</sup> Hal 413. 1, C 541. 106.

<sup>150</sup> Gl 1000 A. 7.

<sup>151</sup> SE 87. 26, C 350. 4.

<sup>152</sup> C 350. 6.

<sup>153</sup> HI 57. 4.

<sup>154</sup> C 570. 7. Cf. Rhodokanakis, *Studien* II 84.

<sup>155</sup> C 80. 3.

<sup>156</sup> C 609. 4. Cf. Rhodokanakis, *Grundsatz* 26, 31.

<sup>157</sup> Gl 1606. 2.

<sup>158</sup> Hal 504. 3, C 355. 4.

<sup>159</sup> C 544. 5.

<sup>160</sup> C 699. 1, 720. 1.

<sup>161</sup> Gl 739. 4.

<sup>162</sup> C 601. 7-8.



“oracle.”<sup>163</sup> Cf. Ar., Eth. *sa'ala*, Heb. *šā'al*, Aram. *šē'al* “to ask.”

*s<sub>1</sub>b'* vb. “to do sevenfold” (?);<sup>164</sup> n. *s<sub>1</sub>b'*,<sup>165</sup> *s<sub>1</sub>b't*<sup>166</sup> “seven,” *s<sub>1</sub>b'y* “seventy.”<sup>167</sup> Cf. Ar. *sab'*, Eth. *sab'ū*, Heb. *šēba'*, Aram. *šēba'* “seven.”

*s<sub>1</sub>* sometimes replaces *s<sub>3</sub>* in words in which *s<sub>3</sub>* corresponds to NSem. *s*. The cases are:

*'ks<sub>1</sub>wt* “garments,” C 523. 5, 8. Cf. *ks<sub>3</sub>w* “garments,” Gizeh (= R 3427) 2;<sup>168</sup> also Ar. *kasā* “to put on (clothing),” Heb. *kāsāh*, Aram. *kēsā* “to cover,” Heb. *kēsōt* “clothing.” *ms<sub>1</sub>wd* n. “altar,” C 26. 6 (restored). Cf. *ms<sub>3</sub>wd* in this sense;<sup>169</sup> also Heb. *yāsād* “to establish, set up,” *yēsōd* “foundation (of a building, of an altar).”

*S<sub>1</sub>L'* in C 548. 14 (15) *wrh<sub>1</sub> d-S<sub>1</sub>L'<sup>m</sup>* “in the month *d-S<sub>1</sub>L'<sup>m</sup>*.” Cf. the verb *s<sub>3</sub>l'* “to dedicate”;<sup>170</sup> n. “votive offering”;<sup>171</sup> also Heb. *sālā* “to outweigh, counter-balance,” Aram. *sallē* “to throw away, reject.”

*s<sub>1</sub>* sometimes replaces *s<sub>3</sub>* in words in which *s<sub>3</sub>* is regular, but the relation of which to Sem. is not otherwise demonstrated. These are:

*s<sub>1</sub>n* prep. “toward”;<sup>172</sup> *s<sub>1</sub>wn* “toward”;<sup>173</sup> *s<sub>1</sub>nt* n. “law”;<sup>174</sup> *'s<sub>1</sub>n* prep. “between” (?).<sup>175</sup> Cf. *s<sub>3</sub>n* vb. “to be enjoined,” Ar. *sunna*; <sup>176</sup> IV “to legislate”; <sup>177</sup> *s<sub>3</sub>n* n. “direction,” <sup>178</sup> *s<sub>3</sub>nn* the same; <sup>179</sup> pl. *'s<sub>3</sub>nn* “boundaries, limits”; <sup>180</sup> n. *ts<sub>3</sub>nn* in the same sense; <sup>181</sup> cf. also Ar. *sunnah* “law,” Eth. *tasnān* “judgment.”<sup>182</sup>

<sup>163</sup> C 87. 4.

<sup>164</sup> Hal 353. 4.

<sup>165</sup> Gl 1150. 4.

<sup>166</sup> Gl 1693. 10.

<sup>167</sup> C 540. 91.

<sup>168</sup> See below, p. 524.

<sup>169</sup> Hal 365. 2.

<sup>170</sup> Gl 1150. 1.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid. 6.

<sup>172</sup> C 45. 4, 325. 2, 4, 540. 25.

<sup>173</sup> C 608. 8. See Rhodokanakis, *Festschrift Sachau* 295 f. Rhodokanakis revises his opinion, *AST* II 219, and compares Akk. *sūnu* “lap, hip-bone, thigh.”

<sup>174</sup> Hal 361. 1-2, 362. 3.

<sup>175</sup> Gl 1600. 3.

<sup>176</sup> “Dies ist geboten,” Rhodokanakis, op. cit. 214 ff.

<sup>177</sup> C 613. 4.

<sup>178</sup> Min.: Hal 256. 2 and elsewhere.

<sup>180</sup> Gl 1089. 3, 1150. 4.

<sup>179</sup> Gl 1150. 4, 1150. 4, 5.

<sup>181</sup> Hal 462. 4.

<sup>182</sup> Rhodokanakis, op. cit. 219. Here Rhodokanakis states that “*s<sub>3</sub>n sunnah* gehen auf *s*, *Ḍ*, zurück.”



*ms<sub>1</sub>nd* n. "inscribed votive tablet," Gl 437. Cf. *ms<sub>3</sub>nd* with that meaning;<sup>183</sup> also Ar. *musnad*, the term for South Arabic script; *sanada* "to be propped, to rely."

*s<sub>1</sub>* sometimes replaces a normal *t*. This has happened in [*ʿ*]*S<sub>1</sub>TR* (?) n. pr. d., C 459 (Sab.) from Yeha in Abyssinia.<sup>184</sup>

SAr. *s<sub>3</sub>*, in words of which the Sem. etymology is clear, corresponds most frequently to Sem. *s*. The following list comprises the definite cases which belong in this category.

*ʿs<sub>3</sub>r* vb. "to bind";<sup>185</sup> n. "that which is reserved, impounded," pl. *ʿs<sub>3</sub>wr*.<sup>186</sup> Cf. Ar. and Eth. *ʿasara*, Heb. *ʿasar* "to bind."  
*ws<sub>3</sub>f* vb. "to enlarge, increase, add."<sup>187</sup> Cf. Heb. *yāsaf* "to add, continue."

*h<sub>3</sub>s<sub>3</sub>r* vb. "to dedicate (a hierodule)."<sup>188</sup> Cf. Eth. *ʾahsara* "to debase, defile, violate (a woman)," Heb. *hāsar* "to lack," *hēhsir* "to deprive." For the semantic development cf. Aram. *sallē* "to reject," SAr. *s<sub>3</sub>lʿ* "to dedicate."

*ks<sub>3</sub>w* n. "clothing."<sup>189</sup> Cf. *ʿks<sub>1</sub>wt*, above, p. 523.

*ks<sub>3</sub>h* vb. IV "to despoil."<sup>190</sup> Cf. Heb. *kāsaḥ* "to cut off."

*ns<sub>3</sub>k* n. "rations."<sup>191</sup> Cf. Heb. *nāsak* "to pour (a libation)," Aram. *nēsak* "to pour, expend."

*mfrs<sub>3</sub>t* n. "dam."<sup>192</sup> Cf. Heb. *pāras* "to break," Akk. *parāsu* "to cut off (the road), to check, bar, hold back."<sup>193</sup>

*qs<sub>3</sub>m* n. "share."<sup>194</sup> Cf. Ar. *qasama* "to divide," Eth. *ʾasta-qāsama* "to practice divination," Heb. *qāsam* "to prophesy," Aram. *qesam* "to cut, to divine."

<sup>183</sup> C 82. 2.

<sup>184</sup> The inscription is damaged and obscure. Although paleographically it seems early, the replacement of *t* by *s<sub>1</sub>* is unparalleled in SAr. and first reappears in the Eth. inscriptions from Aksum: cf. *ʿS<sub>1</sub>TR* Ak 6. 20. In Had., original *t* is sometimes replaced by *s<sub>3</sub>* but never by *s<sub>1</sub>*. Conti Rossini, *JA* 11e série 18 (1921) 9, observes that the SAr. texts in Abyssinia preserve the archaic script long after its abandonment in Arabia proper.

<sup>185</sup> C 372. 2, 3, reading *ʿs<sub>3</sub>r* for *ʿs<sub>1</sub>r* according to Ryckmans, *Muséon* 40 (1927) 190; C 603b. 28.

<sup>186</sup> Gl 1210. 13.

<sup>187</sup> MM 84. 11, Gl 1000 B. 4, 6, and elsewhere.

<sup>188</sup> Gl 1238.

<sup>191</sup> C 540. 84.

<sup>189</sup> Gizeh (= R 3427). 2.

<sup>192</sup> Gl 1000 B. 7.

<sup>190</sup> Gl 1000 A. 5, 14.

<sup>193</sup> Cf. Rhodokanakis, *AST* I 101.

<sup>194</sup> Gl 1210. 13. Cf. also *mqs<sub>3</sub>m* JSa 19. 2, [*m*]*s<sub>1</sub>tqs<sub>3</sub>m* ibid. 5 (obscure).



$s_3d$  n. "dam."<sup>195</sup> Cf. Ar. *sadd* "dam," Heb. *sad*, Aram. *saddā* "block."<sup>196</sup>

$ms_3wd$  n. "council,"<sup>197</sup> also scr. def.  $ms_3d$ ; <sup>198</sup> pl.  $'s_3wd$  "members (of the council)."<sup>199</sup> Cf. Ar. *sāda* "to speak privately to some one," Heb. *sōd* "confidential conversation, secret," Syr. *sewādā* "conversation."

$ms_3wd$  n. "altar."<sup>200</sup> Cf. Heb. *yāsād* "to establish, set up," *yēsōd* "foundation (of a building, an altar)."

$s_3wk$  vb. "to invest, besiege."<sup>201</sup> Cf. Heb. *hēsīk* "to hedge about."<sup>202</sup>

$s_3l'$  vb. "to dedicate";<sup>203</sup> n. "votive offering."<sup>204</sup> Cf. Heb. *sālā* "to outweigh, counter-balance," Aram. *sallē* "to throw away, reject."<sup>205</sup>

$s_3$  may replace  $s_1$  in words in which the latter is cognate with NSem.  $\check{s}$ . These words are:

$ms_3wr$  n. "water channel" (pl.?), SE 62.4, Gl 620.1. Cf.  $ms_1rt$  "watercourse," Gl 1150.4, 5; C 645.6, Gl 686.1; also Ar. *sāra* "to go, travel," *masīrah* "road, course"; Akk. *šāru* "to go forth." For the semantic development cf. SAr. *fnwt* "canal": Eth. *fanōt* "road."<sup>206</sup>

$ms_3r$  vb. "to remove," Hal 474.6, etc.; n. "removal," Gl 1000 A.6. Cf. the spelling  $ms_1r$  in the Min. text BME 7.4 from el-'Ula.

$s_3fl$  n. "lowland," SE 89.22-3. Cf.  $s_1fl$  "lowland," Gl 1606.17; "base, foundation," Gl 1619.5 etc.; also Ar. *safala*, Heb. *šāfal*, Aram. *šefal* "to be low," Heb. *šefēlāh* "lowland."

<sup>195</sup> Gl 1210.4. Cf.  $s_3d$  in the Had. text Obne 4.

<sup>196</sup> Rhodokanakis, *Studien* II 53.

<sup>199</sup> Gl 1145.2.

<sup>197</sup> Gl 1062.2.

<sup>200</sup> Hal 365.2.

<sup>198</sup> Gl 1302.3.

<sup>201</sup> Gl 1000 A.14.

<sup>202</sup> Cf. Rhodokanakis, *AST* I 17, II 224.

<sup>203</sup> Gl 1150.1.

<sup>204</sup> Ibid. 6.

<sup>205</sup> To this list might be added the noun  $s_3hr$  "amulet" C 695.1, "priest" Gl 1410.4, SE 60.2; cf. also Gl 1606.8 *'M r'yn w-s\_3hrm* "der zunehmender und kreisender Mond," Höfner and Rhodokanakis, *WZKM* 43 (1936) 218. Cf. Ar. *saḥara* "to bewitch," *sihr* "magic"; Heb. *sāhar*, Akk. *saḥāru* "to turn, go around." These stems have been regarded as having a common etymology, op. cit. 215-6; if so, the disparity between Akk. *h*, SSem. *ḥ* is noteworthy.

<sup>206</sup> Cf. Rhodokanakis, *Studien* II 70.



*hs<sub>3</sub>s<sub>3</sub>* n. "one who injures," SE 48.6. Cf. *hs<sub>1</sub>*, vb. "to injure," Gl 418/9:1; also Ar. *ḥassa* "to be vile, to diminish, harm," Soq. *heš* "to be wanting, not to be."<sup>207</sup>

*s<sub>1</sub>* and *s<sub>3</sub>* sometimes interchange in stems which are unknown in North Semitic, making it uncertain which is original.

This is the case with the alternate forms *ws<sub>1</sub>'* and *ws<sub>3</sub>'*, cognate with Ar. *wasī'a* "to be wide," II "to expand, enrich." As a verb, *ws<sub>1</sub>'* occurs only once, and in the II conjugation:

SE 47.1 *'brn HTN d-yws<sub>1</sub>'n 's<sub>1</sub>rrn* "the canal *HTN*, which abundantly supplies the valleys."<sup>208</sup>

*ws<sub>1</sub>'* also appears as the name of one of the seasons in C 174.1 - - -*w-dt' w-'ws<sub>1</sub>'<sup>m</sup> w-mly<sup>m</sup>* . . .; cf. *ibid.*: 3 *b-qyz w-dt' w-(s)rb w-mly<sup>m</sup>* "in summer and spring and autumn and winter(?)." <sup>209</sup>

In personal names *ws<sub>1</sub>'* occurs only in Sab.:

C 420.2 *nfs<sub>1</sub> MHMD bn dt WS<sub>1</sub>'T* "tomb of Muḥammad b. *dt WS<sub>1</sub>'T*."

MS 45 *WS<sub>1</sub>'<sup>m</sup>* (over a human relief).

The form *ws<sub>3</sub>'* occurs twice, in each case as a verb:

MS 9.1 . . . *hh]r w-rys<sub>3</sub>n w-ws<sub>3</sub>' mr[' hmw* . . . "[their] lord has decreed and commanded(?) and made public - - -." <sup>210</sup>

SE 58.2 - - -*btlh w-ws<sub>3</sub>'[s<sub>1</sub>* ". . . and he gave [him]." <sup>211</sup>

To these forms of what in NAr. becomes *wasī'a*, a possible third variant *ys<sub>1</sub>'* occurs in the IV stem:

Gl 399 . . . *hys<sub>1</sub>'(w) [w-]grbw mqbrt<sup>m</sup>* ". . . they enlarged(?) (their) graves and surrounded (them) with a stone wall." <sup>212</sup>

Similar confusion in the use of *s<sub>1</sub>* and *s<sub>3</sub>* is evidenced in the following cases:

*s<sub>3</sub>lb* vb. I "to carry off, abduct" C 504.4, beside *s<sub>1</sub>lb* vb. IV "to refuse" <sup>213</sup> SE 83.8. Cf. Ar. *salaba* "to carry off, plunder, deprive of"; *salb* "theft; negation."

<sup>207</sup> Soq. *ḥas*, which appears to indicate *hs<sub>3</sub>s<sub>3</sub>* as the primitive form of this stem, is an Ar. loan, as the preservation of *ḥ* shows.

<sup>208</sup> Höfner, *WZKM* 42 (1935) 63 and n. 2.

<sup>209</sup> The Qat. personal name *'WS<sub>1</sub>'M* SE 90.9, is to be analyzed *'WS<sub>1</sub> + 'M*.

<sup>210</sup> Rhodokanakis, *Anzeiger* (1937) 3 n. 1.

<sup>211</sup> Höfner, *op. cit.* 32 and n. 1.

<sup>212</sup> Rhodokanakis, *Studien* II 43 and n. 5.

<sup>213</sup> Rhodokanakis, *KTB* II 28.



*HYS<sub>1</sub>N* n. pr. l. R 4273 .1; n. pr. m. Gl 1480, 1513, but cf.  
*HYS<sub>3</sub>* - - - n. pr. l. C 37. 8.

SAr. *ṭ* corresponds with almost perfect regularity to Sem. *ṭ*, viz. to Ar. *ṭ*, Eth. *s*, Heb. *š*, Aram. *t*. For example:

*ʾnṭ* vb. II "to give in marriage,"<sup>214</sup> V "to obtain as wife";<sup>215</sup> n. *ʾtṭ* "woman, wife,"<sup>216</sup> pl. "wives,"<sup>217</sup> *ʾnṭ* with the same meaning, sg.,<sup>218</sup> pl.,<sup>219</sup> *ʾntḥṭ* "women";<sup>220</sup> adj. *ʾntỵ* "female,"<sup>221</sup> pl. *ʾnṭṭ*.<sup>222</sup> Cf. Ar. *ʾuntā* "female," Eth. *ʾanset* Heb. *ʾiššāh*, Aram. *ʾittēṭā* "woman."

*ḥdṭ* vb. IV "to repair, restore";<sup>223</sup> n. "restoration."<sup>224</sup> Cf. Ar. *ḥadata* "to happen," IV "to create, cause," *ḥadīṭ* "new"; Eth. *ḥaddasa*, Heb. *ḥiddeš* "to renew."

*twḅ* vb. I "to return" (intrans.),<sup>225</sup> IV "to impose, ordain,"<sup>226</sup> "to give back, restore";<sup>227</sup> n. *ʾtwbṭ* "payment";<sup>228</sup> *ṃtḅ* "offering";<sup>229</sup> *ṃtḅṭ* "decree."<sup>230</sup> Cf. Ar. *tāba*, Heb. *šaḅ*, Aram. *taḅ* "to return."

*tnỵ* vb. IV "to double";<sup>231</sup> n. *tnỵ* "two,"<sup>232</sup> fem. *tṇtỵ*,<sup>233</sup> *tṭỵ*.<sup>234</sup> Cf. Ar. *ʾitnāni*, fem. *ʾitnatāni* "two"; Eth. *sānỵ* "the day after," Heb. *šenayim*, Aram. *terēn* "two."

SAr. *ṭ* may be assimilated to *t* under the influence of a preceding or following dental:

*s<sub>1</sub>tỵ* n. "sixty," Ry 340. 11 (Sab.). Cf. Ar. *sittūn* "sixty." The stem is *s<sub>1</sub>ḍṭ*,<sup>235</sup> du. constr. *\*s<sub>1</sub>ḍṭỵ* > *\*s<sub>1</sub>tṭỵ*, written *s<sub>1</sub>tỵ*. Cf. also *s<sub>1</sub>tỵ*, n. "sixty,"<sup>236</sup> from the same stem, du. constr. *\*s<sub>1</sub>ḍṭỵ* > *\*s<sub>1</sub>tṭỵ*, written *s<sub>1</sub>tỵ*.

<sup>214</sup> Gl 282. 6.

<sup>215</sup> Ibid.

<sup>216</sup> C 544. 1.

<sup>217</sup> SE 3. 5.

<sup>218</sup> Gl 282. 3.

<sup>219</sup> C 69. 3.

<sup>220</sup> Min.: Gl 282. 1, 3, 5; 297. 5.

<sup>221</sup> C 392. 9.

<sup>222</sup> Gl 1210. 7.

<sup>223</sup> Hal 257. 1-2.

<sup>224</sup> Hal 485. 4, Gl 1599. 6.

<sup>235</sup> Cf. *s<sub>1</sub>ḍtṭ* 's<sub>1</sub>r 'nhlm "sixteen palm plantations" Gl 1693. 11; *s<sub>1</sub>ḍtṃ* d-FQHW "the sixth of (the month) d-FQHW" SE 83. 3; also Ar. *sādīṭ* "sixth."

<sup>236</sup> C 325. 5; 540. 41, 53, 61, 88, 99; MM 78. 4.

<sup>225</sup> Gl 621. 3.

<sup>226</sup> Hal 237. 1.

<sup>227</sup> Gl 1000 A. 2.

<sup>228</sup> C 601. 15.

<sup>229</sup> SE 96. 3.

<sup>230</sup> Gl 1571. 5.

<sup>231</sup> Gl 1000 A. 3.

<sup>232</sup> C 350. 5.

<sup>233</sup> Gl 1302. 2.

<sup>234</sup> Gl 1000 A. 19.



'*TR* n. pr. d., Gl 1619. 7, SE 92. 5 (Sab.); elsewhere '*TTR*,  
 "Athtar."

-*t*, combining form of '*TTR* in personal names: *B'L'T*, SE 65;  
*LHY'T* SE 106. 1, Ry 116. 1, Lyon 12. 1 (Qat.); SE 92.  
 6, Cant V. 1, MS 35. 1, Hiṣn Ġurāb I. 1 (Sab.);<sup>237</sup>  
*S<sub>2</sub>RḤ'T* JIH 1: 1 (Qat.), etc.<sup>238</sup> Assimilation of *t* > *t̄*  
 takes place in this stem in *HF'T*, R 3772 (Min.), *HHY'T*  
 C 436. 1.<sup>239</sup>

*s<sub>3</sub>* may take the place of original *t̄*. This orthography occurs in  
 the following:

*ĠWS<sub>3</sub>'L* n. pr. m. JIH 92. Cf. *ĠWT'L* Gl 1412. 6 and else-  
 where.

'*S<sub>3</sub>TR* n. pr. d. C 316.<sup>240</sup>

*t̄* perhaps replaces *s<sub>1</sub>* in the n. pr. m. '*TDḤRM* Gl 637. 1.

From the manner in which the signs *s<sub>1</sub>*, *s<sub>3</sub>* have been shown to  
 be employed, it is clear (a) that the orthography maintained in  
 general a distinction between the two, (b) that this distinction  
 reflects a different origin for each, *s<sub>1</sub>* corresponding historically to  
 NSem. *š*, *s<sub>3</sub>* to NSem. *s*, and (c) that this distinction is ignored  
 in a small but significant number of cases.

As regards the sign *t̄*, no instance occurs of its use in a word of  
 native origin to represent a sound normally represented by a dif-  
 ferent sign. To anticipate a later section, however, *t̄* is significantly  
 used to transliterate Greek sigma in two Minaean texts. The re-  
 placement of normal *t̄* by a different sign is evidenced once, but  
 under doubtful circumstances.<sup>241</sup>

Neither the loss of the distinction between *s<sub>1</sub>* and *s<sub>3</sub>*, nor the  
 barely detectable inclination of *t̄* toward *s<sub>1</sub>*, contains any element  
 of surprise, in view of two parallel developments in SSem. which  
 are approximately contemporary with this one, and for which there  
 is ample evidence in the epigraphic remains of Hadramitic and Old

<sup>237</sup> Cf. *LHY'TT* SE 80. 16, 101. 5; C 2. 2 and frequently.

<sup>238</sup> JIH 137. 2-3, 159 bis. 2; R 454. 3; Ry 116. 2; R 461. 2, 4102. 2, 4277,  
 1-2; Margoliouth 2. 2. Cf. *S<sub>2</sub>RḤ'TT* Gl 1119. 1; HI 35. 1, 3, 5.

<sup>239</sup> Cf. *d* > *t̄* above, p. 527.

<sup>240</sup> *s<sub>3</sub>* for original *t̄* has been detected in Sab. in the n. pr. l. *WS<sub>3</sub>Q*, Gl  
 737. 6; cf. Rhodokanakis and Höfner, *WZKM* 43 (1936) 213 n. 4, who  
 compare Ar. *watūqa* "to be firm," var. *wasuqa*.

<sup>241</sup> '*S<sub>1</sub>TR* for '*TTR*; see above, p. 524.



Ethiopic. The phonetic systems of both these languages have become considerably simplified as compared with P.-S. In particular, Had. in its most advanced stage writes  $s_2$  for original  $t$ ,<sup>242</sup> and  $t$  for both original  $s_1$ <sup>242a</sup> and  $s_3$ ,<sup>243</sup> making it plain that  $s_1$ ,  $s_3$  and  $t$  have united in pronunciation. Similar inconsistency is apparent in the Old Eth. inscriptions, Ak 6 using  $s_1$  and  $t$  indifferently for  $s$ ,<sup>244</sup> Ak 8 interchanging  $s_1$  and  $s_3$ .<sup>245</sup> There can be no doubt that SAR. partook of this tendency to reduce the number of sibilant phonemes. The Ethiopic texts show that  $s_1$ ,  $s_3$  and  $t$  were pronounced alike by the fourth century A. D.<sup>246</sup>

### Phonetic Value of $s_2$

SAR.  $s_2$  normally corresponds to Ar. and Eth. š. Heb. ś, Aram. s; for example:

$ns_2$  vb. "to rise,"<sup>247</sup> "to undertake,"<sup>248</sup> II "to raise,"<sup>249</sup> "to conduct (water)," of a canal,<sup>250</sup> V "to undertake,"<sup>251</sup> VIII "to rise, revolt";<sup>252</sup> n.  $mns_2$  "levy, requisition."<sup>253</sup> Cf. Ar. *naša'a* "to rise," Eth. *naše'a*, Heb. *nāšā'*, Aram. *n'esā'* "to raise."

$'s_2r$  vb. "to collect (a tithe)";<sup>254</sup> n. "ten,"<sup>255</sup> "tithe,"<sup>256</sup> pl.

<sup>242</sup> Cf. the personal names 'BYS<sub>3</sub>' HYS<sub>3</sub>' L Obne (= R 2687) 1, 3; also *s<sub>2</sub>nyhn* "the second (year)," *ibid.* 5; further *hds<sub>3</sub>* IV "to renew, repair," R 4213, and 'S<sub>3</sub>TR<sup>m</sup> "Athtar" R 4065.

<sup>242a</sup> Cf. n. pr. m. *T'DLT* R 3250. 1, Ph 32. 1, 3; 55. 2; also - $t$  for the nominal suffix - $s_1$  in the Naqb al-Ḥajar inscription.

<sup>243</sup> Cf.  $tl'$  for  $s_3l'$  "to dedicate" SE 49, Ry 169. 3;  $kt'$  for  $ks_3$  "to command" Os 29 (= R 2693). 4.

<sup>244</sup>  $'ns_1s_1hm$  "their animals" Ak 6. 6; cf. Eth. *'ensesā* "animal," but  $'ns_1tm$  *ibid.* 8; also  $'KS_1WM^m$  "Aksum" Ak 6. 1, 8. 1-2, but  $'KTWM^m$  Ak 6. 12.

<sup>245</sup>  $KS_3^m$  "the Kasu" Ak 8. 4, but  $KS_1^m$  Ak 6. 2. This difference in the orthography of Ak 6 and 8 was pointed out by Littmann, *Aksum Expedition* p. 21.

<sup>246</sup> Littmann, *op. cit.* 32, dates the Christian inscription Ak 10 at about A. D. 350. Its author 'Ēzānā was also responsible for the earlier pagan texts Ak 6 and 8.

<sup>247</sup> Gl 1000 A. 2.

<sup>248</sup> Gl 299. 8, 1210. 7.

<sup>249</sup> Gl 1619. 2.

<sup>250</sup> Gl 739. 3.

<sup>251</sup> Gl 1693. 3.

<sup>252</sup> C 308. 13.

<sup>253</sup> Gl 1410. 8.

<sup>254</sup> Hal 224. 2, C 342. 6.

<sup>255</sup> Gl 1150. 4, 1693. 10.

<sup>256</sup> Gl 1083. 3.



*s<sub>2</sub>wrt*,<sup>257</sup> *s<sub>2</sub>rt* "ten,"<sup>258</sup> *s<sub>2</sub>ry* "twenty."<sup>259</sup> Cf. Ar. *ašr*, Eth. *ašarū*, Heb. *ʿśer*, Aram. *ʿsar* "ten."

*s<sub>2</sub>m* vb. "to buy,"<sup>260</sup> IV "to sell,"<sup>261</sup> VIII "to buy";<sup>262</sup> n. "payment";<sup>263</sup> *s<sub>2</sub>mt* "purchase."<sup>264</sup> Cf. Akk. *šāmu* "to buy," Meh. *šēm*, Soq. *śiom* "to sell."

*s<sub>2</sub>ym* vb., scr. def. *s<sub>2</sub>m*, "to place, set up,"<sup>265</sup> V *ts<sub>2</sub>m* "to be raised";<sup>266</sup> n. *s<sub>2</sub>ym* "patron,"<sup>267</sup> epithet of the deity Anbay;<sup>268</sup> *ms<sub>2</sub>m* "territory,"<sup>269</sup> pl. *ms<sub>2</sub>ymt*, scr. def. *ms<sub>2</sub>mt*.<sup>270</sup> Cf. Ar. *šayām* "plain," Eth. *šēma*, Heb. *šām*, Aram. *sam* "to place."

*s<sub>2</sub>* sometimes replaces *t* in the stem *tl̥t*:

*s<sub>2</sub>lt̥* n. "three,"<sup>271</sup> "one-third";<sup>272</sup> *s<sub>2</sub>lty* "thirty,"<sup>273</sup> *s<sub>2</sub>ltt̥* "three,"<sup>274</sup> n. *s<sub>2</sub>lwt̥*.<sup>275</sup> Initial *t̥* is restored in Sab. texts of the later period.<sup>276</sup> Cf. Ar. *talāt̥*, Eth. *šalās*, Heb. *šālōš*, Aram. *telat̥* "three."

The alternation of *s<sub>2</sub>* and *t̥* here is not due to orthographic confusion; *s<sub>2</sub>* < *t̥* is the result of dissimilation under the influence of the second *t̥*.<sup>277</sup> The same dissimilation can be seen in the Had. form *s<sub>2</sub>ls<sub>3</sub>* (< *s<sub>2</sub>lt̥*) and Eth. *šalās*. *s<sub>2</sub>* is secondary in the case of two other stems which are cited here for completeness, although the orthography is constant and offers no alternative forms for comparison.

*s<sub>2</sub>ms<sub>1</sub>* n. "sun,"<sup>278</sup> pl. *s<sub>2</sub>ms<sub>1</sub>*.<sup>279</sup> The term is used more often of members of a class of tutelary deities.<sup>280</sup> Cf. Ar. *šams*, Heb. *šemeš*, Aram. *šemšā* "sun."

<sup>257</sup> Hal 571. 1.

<sup>258</sup> Gl 1210. 12.

<sup>262</sup> SE 89. 5.

<sup>259</sup> Gizeh (= R 3427). 3; C 353. 13.

<sup>263</sup> BME 7. 1.

<sup>260</sup> Gl 1693. 5, SE 93. 1.

<sup>264</sup> C 601. 15.

<sup>261</sup> Gl 1000 B. 8.

<sup>265</sup> C 382. 1.

<sup>266</sup> Gl 1209. 6; cf. Rhodokanakis, *WZKM* 39 (1932) 185.

<sup>267</sup> Gl 1150. 3.

<sup>268</sup> SE 61. 2.

<sup>272</sup> MM 24. 2.

<sup>269</sup> C 352. 12.

<sup>273</sup> Gl 418/9. 2.

<sup>270</sup> C 298. 6, 350. 17-8.

<sup>274</sup> Gl 1693. 8.

<sup>271</sup> Gl 299. 4, C 413. 1.

<sup>275</sup> Gl 1150. 2, Hal 200.

<sup>276</sup> *tl̥t* "three" MM 150. 6; "one-third" Gl 1210. 13, C 315. 2; *tl̥tt̥* "three" C 407. 25; *tl̥ty* "thirty" C 540. 46, 541. 108; *tl̥tnhn* C 308. 3, 693. 4.

<sup>277</sup> See Brockelmann, *Grundriss* I 236.

<sup>278</sup> SE 48. 4, C 587. 2.

<sup>279</sup> SE 95. 6, C 40. 5.

<sup>280</sup> See Ryckmans, *Les noms propres sud-sémitiques* 33.

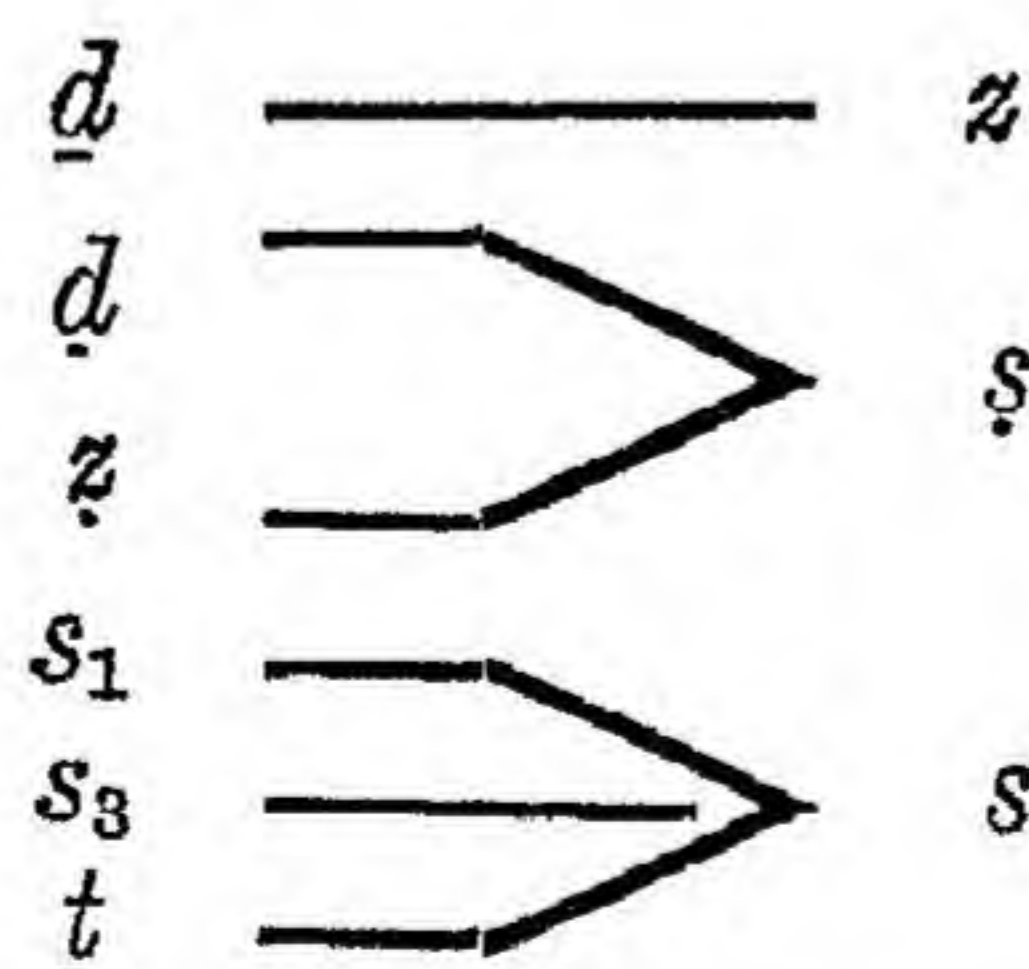


$s_2rs_1$  vb. IV "to raze"; <sup>281</sup> n. "base, foundation," <sup>282</sup> pl. ' $s_2rs_1$ .' <sup>283</sup>  
 Cf. Heb. *šoreš*, Aram. *širšā* "root." <sup>284</sup>

With the exception of  $tl̥t̥ : s_2l̥t̥$ ,  $s_2$  does not alternate with any other sign in the spelling of the same word. It may be inferred, therefore, that  $s_2$  represents a sound which has maintained its individuality throughout the history of the written language, and which was the phonetic equivalent of Ar. and Eth. *š*.

In order to clarify the results to which the foregoing analysis of orthography, normal and irregular, has finally led, the historical relations of the sibilants and emphatics may be provisionally summarized here, with the reservation that further evidence for the behavior of the SAr. signs remains to be examined.

SAr. originally distinguished as many sibilant and emphatic sounds as were known to P.-S., and retained most of them in the same relative positions which they held in P.-S. This is clear from what has been termed the "normal" correspondence of the signs, i e., the predominating use of each to represent one particular P.-S. phoneme. These norms show that the relative pronunciation of  $\underline{d}$ ,  $z$ ,  $\underline{t}$ ,  $\underline{d}$ ,  $z$ ,  $\underline{s}$ ,  $\underline{t}$  has remained unchanged in SAr. On the other hand, they show that  $s_1$  and  $s_2$  are the SAr. counterparts of P.-S. *š* and *ś* respectively, and that the characteristic SSem. exchange of these sibilants has already taken place in SAr. The third member of the triad,  $s_3$ , represents P.-S. *s*. Orthographic practice makes it plain that these sounds were felt to be phonemically distinct, and that this distinction persisted long enough to allow of the growth of an orthographic tradition. At the same time there are sufficient inconsistencies of spelling to prove that some sounds tended to fall together. The process of simplification which the phonetic system of SAr. was undergoing took the following course:



<sup>281</sup> Gl 1000 A. 15-6.

<sup>282</sup> SE 95. 3, Gl 700, 1119. 3-4, HI 9. 2.

<sup>283</sup> Gl 1155. 1.

<sup>284</sup> Brockelmann, op. cit. 234.



### Departures from the Norm in the Relations of Semitic and South Arabic Sibilants

The conclusions stated in the preceding section are subject to certain qualifications. Inasmuch as they are based on the evidence of comparative orthography only, they do not necessarily present a complete picture of the phonology of South Arabic. On the contrary, they will be seen to disregard an accumulation of lexical material which fails to harmonize with the relationship of Semitic to South Arabic as outlined above. In order to deal with this material it will be necessary to analyze individually the stems in question from the point of view of history and etymology.

SAr.  $s_1$  corresponds to NSem.  $s$  in some words which are never written with  $s_3$ . This is the case with the stem  $s_1'd$ , occurring in SAr. exclusively in personal names,<sup>285</sup> except in Sab. texts of the later (Hamdanid) period, when it is introduced as a verb with the sense "to bless, aid."<sup>286</sup> Elsewhere in Semitic the stem is found in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic. In West Aramaic it appears only in personal names, where it has the form  $\text{ܣܕ}$ ; the use of  $\text{ܣ}$  for  $\text{ܕ}$  points to its origin as a loan from Arabic.<sup>287</sup> In Old NAr. the stem  $s'd$  is well known, both in names and as a noun and verb.<sup>288</sup> Old NAr., like the classical language, has merged  $s < \text{NSem. } s$  with  $s < \text{NSem. } \dot{s}$ ; consequently the same sign is used to represent sounds of either origin. For this reason the primitive phonetic value of  $s$  in  $s'd$  is obscure. In view of  $\text{ܕ}$  in Hebrew  $\text{ܣܕ}$ , an original  $s = s_3$  is likely, but in SAr. the orthography consistently shows  $s_1$ . The probable explanation is that in SAr., as in Nabataean, we are dealing with a North Arabic loan, which entered the language as an element in the composition of personal names.<sup>289</sup>

<sup>285</sup> E. g.  $S_1'D(m)$ ,  $S_1'D'L$  in all dialects,  $S_1'DWD$  (Min.),  $S_1'D'M$  (Qat.),  $S_1'D'TTR$ ,  $S_1'DS_2MS_1^m$ ,  $MS_1'D^m$ ,  $'S_1'D$  (Sab.).

<sup>286</sup> C 315. 18, 334. 23, 24, and frequently. A noun  $s_1'd$  "blessing" occurs in C 535. 8.

<sup>287</sup> See D. H. Müller, "Zur Geschichte der Semitischen Zischlaute" 240.

<sup>288</sup> E. g.  $s'd$  vb. "to bless, aid" DM 274, SI 3, 33, 52 (Saf.), Eu 226, 530 (Tham.), JSa 61, 63 (Lih.); n.  $s'dt$  "prosperity" Eu 246, 493 (Tham.); also the personal name  $S'D$  (in all NAr. dialects).

<sup>289</sup> It is true that the epigraphic evidence from NAr. is not early. The earliest date proposed for the Lihyanite kingdom is that of Winnett, who places it in the 5th-4th centuries B. C.; see *BASOR* 73. 6 f. It is noteworthy that  $s_1'd$  is found as an element in personal names in Min. and Qat. from the beginning, but rarely or never in Sab. of the earliest period. Evidently it was transmitted from the north through Min.



In this case the NAr. pronunciation was adopted, and represented by the sign  $s_1$ .<sup>290</sup> When, at a later period,  $s_1'd$  makes its appearance as a verb, its reintroduction is to be ascribed to the source which introduced the stems  $ws_2'$  and  $s_2'w$ <sup>291</sup> into the language, i. e., to northern, probably Hebrew influences. These will be discussed later on.

In three other cases SAR.  $s_1$  corresponds to NSem.  $s$ . These are:

$s_1hr$  n., confined to the phrase ' $d s_1hr$ , Gl 1606. 10, 16. Rhodokanakis compares Akk. *saḥāru*, Heb. *sāḥar* "to turn," and *siḥirti* "altogether," and renders the SAR. phrase "insgesamt."<sup>292</sup> Such an identification assumes the correspondence of Akk. *ḥ* to SAR. *h*, which is irregular;<sup>293</sup> the form  $s_1hr$  more closely resembles an infinitive of the IV conjugation of *ḥwr*, the causative of which is frequently employed in Sab. and Qat. in the meaning "to decree," in the text in question, for instance, in lines 1, 5, 9, 15, 16.

$hrs_1$  vb. "to fight, serve (in the army)," Gl 1571. 4 (boustrophedon); n. "battle," C 375. 2. Cf. Ar. *harasa* "to bruise, crush," Heb. *hāras* "to tear down, destroy."

$s_1tr$  vb. IV "to protect," C 126. 5. Cf. Ar. *satara* "to cover," Eth. *satara*, Heb. *sātar*, Aram. *sētar* "to protect."

In considering these cases, it is important to remember that so far only two classes of words containing  $s_1$  have been dealt with, viz., those in which  $s_1$  is normal and constant, corresponding to NSem.  $\dot{s}$ , and those in which  $s_1$  alternates with  $s_3$ , raising the question as to which is original. In theory a third class of  $s_1$ -containing words exists beside these two, comprising only cases of unhistorical spelling, for which no parallel has come to light in the correct orthography. In view of the rare occurrence of the words under discussion, it seems likely that we have here at least two examples of phonetic spelling in which the sibilant has been mistakenly written with  $s_1$  instead of  $s_3$ . The case of  $s_1hr$  belongs perhaps in a different category; if so, and if the initial consonant

<sup>290</sup> Loans from NSem. containing original *samech* are regularly spelled with  $s_1$  in SAR.

<sup>291</sup> See below, pp. 537 f.

<sup>292</sup> *Grundsatz* 46.

<sup>293</sup> SAR. *h* = Ar. *ḥ* in the noun *hyl*, Eth. *bayl* but Ar. *ḥayl* "might." Rhodokanakis, *Studien* III 10, equates SAR. *hyl* with Ar. *bayl* "horsemen." See also above, n. 205.



is considered the formative of the causative stem, the use of  $s_1$  is entirely normal and expected.

SAr.  $s_1$  may correspond to NSem.  $\acute{s}$ . This relationship is established only for the stem ' $s_1y$ ' and derivatives, the verb having the sense "to make, to acquire"; cf. Heb.  $\acute{a}\acute{s}\acute{a}h$ . The stem appears to take more than one form, although it is possible that the four which are discussed below have different origins.

' $s_1y$ ' vb. "to make, build," e.g. ' $s_1y$   $w$ - $bny$   $w$ - $frr$ '  $byt$ - $s_1m$  <sup>294</sup> "he made and built and erected their house"; "to acquire," e.g.  $\acute{d}n$  ' $byt$   $w$ - $r\acute{d}t^m$   $qny$   $w$ - $s_1y$   $w$ - $s_2^m$   $Y\acute{D}MRMLK$  <sup>295</sup> "these (are) the houses and lands which  $Y\acute{D}MRMLK$  obtained and acquired and bought"; IV caus. in the phrase ' $s_1y$   $w$ - $h$ ' $s_1yn$  <sup>296</sup> "he made and caused to be made." A noun  $m$ ' $s_1m$  is perhaps an  $m$ -preformative from this stem, with apocopation of the final radical. <sup>297</sup>

' $s_1$ ' occurs like ' $s_1y$ ' with  $bny$ , in the sentence ' $s_1$ '  $w$ - $bny$   $hrt$ - $hw$  <sup>298</sup> "he made(?) and built his canal," also with other verbs meaning "to construct"; <sup>299</sup> a IV stem is also found. <sup>300</sup> Mordtmann and Mittwoch observed that the term is used of irrigation works, and translated it "graben, aushöhlen," <sup>301</sup> considering it unrelated to ' $s_1y$ '. The noun  $m$ ' $s_1$ ' <sup>302</sup> would then refer to some part of an irrigation system. The distinction is likewise made by M. Höfner, <sup>303</sup> who regards ' $s_1$ ' as referring to work in stone, <sup>304</sup> and  $m$ ' $s_1$ ' as the

<sup>294</sup> G1 1083. 5.

<sup>295</sup> G1 1693. 5; the quotation is a part of the Sab. portion of this text.

<sup>296</sup> C 318. 2.

<sup>297</sup> C 640. 4; the context is broken but the text records the erection of some structure. Ry suggests for  $m$ ' $s_1m$  the meaning "oeuvre" from ' $s_1y$ '; cf. R 3112 commentary. An apocopated form ' $s_1$ ' appears in JSa 5. 6 - - -  $\acute{g}zt^m$  ' $s_1$   $ms_1b$ ' - - - .

<sup>298</sup> MM 165. 1.

<sup>299</sup> ' $s_1$ ' $w$   $w$ - $hwtr$   $w$ - $s_2qr$  "they made and founded and covered" Ry 5. 1; ' $s_1$ ' $w$   $w$ - $nqz$   $mqr$ - $hm$  "they made and dug(?) their tomb" C 20. 2.

<sup>300</sup> MM 1. 1. The cases in which the stem ' $s_1$ ' occurs have been collected by Mordtmann and Mittwoch, *Sabäische Inschriften* 18-20, and by Maria Höfner, *WZKM* 43 (1936) 77-90.

<sup>301</sup> Op. cit. 19.

<sup>302</sup> C 665, 672, 680, Ry 12.

<sup>303</sup> Op. cit. 88-9.

<sup>304</sup> Cf. the verb ' $s_1$ ' in the inscription JSa 31, on the rock wall of a quarry, to which the inscription refers: ' $s_1$ '  $\acute{d}br$   $gw$ '  $WQH'L$  " $WQH'L$  performed the work of quarrying"; Höfner renders "Steine gebrochen hat, ins Innere vorgedrungen ist, in die Tiefe (des Steinbruches) eingedrungen ist  $WQH'L$ ."



corresponding noun with the meaning "Umfassungsmauer."<sup>305</sup> For etymology Höfner refers to Ar. 'a'sā' = 'arzān.<sup>306</sup>

's<sub>1</sub>n similarly occurs with *bny*: ---'s<sub>1</sub>n w-bny ḥṭb---; <sup>307</sup> the noun 's<sub>1</sub>n is a synonym of *s<sub>2</sub>rs<sub>1</sub>*, *mwtr*.<sup>308</sup> *m's<sub>1</sub>n* has the meaning "reservoir."<sup>309</sup>

's<sub>1</sub>y vb., of obscure origin, usually translated "to send"; <sup>310</sup> in the Ḥiṣn Ġurāb inscription, however, Mlaker suggests that 's<sub>1</sub>yw stands for 's<sub>1</sub>yw, with a change of ' to ' such as took place in Hadramitic.<sup>311</sup>

Instances of the replacement of final *y* by ' are not unknown in SAr.<sup>312</sup> A possible case of *n* for a final radical *y* occurs in the form *y'tnn* <sup>313</sup> "he shall give" (?). In view of the similarity of the uses of 's<sub>1</sub>y, 's<sub>1</sub>' and 's<sub>1</sub>n, it does not seem impossible that these verbs are related etymologically as well. To restrict discussion to the one which has been generally connected with Heb. 'āsāḥ, it is obvious that the equation of Heb. ś with SAr. s<sub>1</sub> violates the norm. Hartmann rejected the comparison and connected 's<sub>1</sub>y with Ar. 'asā, a sister of *kāna*, having the meaning "it may be, perhaps."<sup>314</sup> More recently M. Höfner examined the problem and concluded that the SAr. and Heb. stems must be separated.<sup>315</sup> A positive solution to the difficulty remains to be found. It is in any case true that Heb. 'āsāḥ has no established cognates, unless in SAr. The suspicion arises that the word is not a part of the original lexicon of one language or the other.

<sup>305</sup> According to Höfner, loc. cit., originally applied to some part of an irrigation system built of stone, i. e., cistern or canal; thence transferred to a hollow structure not intended for water.

<sup>306</sup> "Hollows or cavities, such as are termed *nuqr* in stone or rugged ground, that retain the water of the rain" (Lane).

<sup>307</sup> SE 2. 2. 's<sub>1</sub>n as a verb occurs also in Gl 1209. 12 's<sub>1</sub>n w-ḡrk brktn; ibid. 13 's<sub>1</sub>n kwr T'LB.

<sup>308</sup> Cf. C 337. 8, Gl 698; 's<sub>1</sub>n in Gl 1000 B. 6 is rendered "Wasserreservoir" by Rhodokanakis: cf. *Studien* II 75 and n. 2, 114, for a comparison with Akk. *esēnu* "vault."

<sup>309</sup> Gl 1000 B. 6; cf. Rhodokanakis, *AST* I 100.

<sup>310</sup> SE 66. 4; Ḥiṣn Ġurāb 1. 8; C 541. 18-9, 97; SE 10. 8 has a form 's<sub>1</sub>w.

<sup>311</sup> *WZKM* 34 (1927) 74-5.

<sup>312</sup> With 's<sub>1</sub>y : 's<sub>1</sub>' cf. *s<sub>1</sub>gy* "to water" beside *s<sub>1</sub>q'* C 554. 1; *wfy* "to protect" beside *wf'* Gl 283. 8, JSa 6. 3.

<sup>313</sup> Gl 1210. 1 *lkḍ 'l y'tnn S<sub>1</sub>M' b-ḡ-BHY bn hḡḡrn 'LMQH* "in regard to what (the tribe) ḡ-S<sub>1</sub>M' shall give from the presentation to Ilmaqah in (the month) ḡ-BHY"; cf. Rhodokanakis, *AST* II 200 n. 1.

<sup>314</sup> *ZA* 21 (1907) 7 n. 1.

<sup>315</sup> *WZKM* 43 (1936) 89-90.



The case for an historical relationship between SAr.  $s_3$  and Ar.  $\dot{s}$  (< NSem.  $\acute{s}$ ) rests on the evidence of three SAr. stems:  $'rs_3$ ,  $'s_3b$  and  $h's_3r$ . A fourth stem  $s_3wk$  "to enclose" has been discussed in this connection,<sup>316</sup> but the Heb. cognate  $s\ddot{o}k$  testifies to the normal use of  $s_3$ .<sup>317</sup> That the three stems mentioned have cognates in Sem. showing  $\dot{s}$  in Ar.,  $\acute{s}$  in Heb., is the view supported by Rhodokanakis.<sup>318</sup> His etymologies have been revised in several respects by A. F. L. Beeston,<sup>319</sup> who is inclined to doubt the validity of such a correspondence series.

The stem  $'rs_3$  occurs twice:

Hal 196.6 . . .  $s_3l'$   $'TT[R]$   $\underline{d-QBD}^m$   $\text{'}l$   $R\dot{S}F$   $'rs_3t$   $ywm$  - - - "he dedicated  $'rs_3t$  to  $'Athtar$   $\underline{d-QBD}^m$ , god of  $R\dot{S}F$ , when - - -."

C 308.6  $'mdn$   $w-$   $'rs_3n$ . Rhodokanakis renders the second word "Gerüste," comparing Ar.  $'araša$  "ein Holzgerüst oder Gebälk für einen Brunnen errichten";  $'arš$  "throne," Heb.  $'erēš$ , Aram.  $'arsā$  "bed, litter."<sup>320</sup> The reference in this passage is, however, to products of agriculture, not to architecture,<sup>321</sup> as Beeston has seen; his comparison of  $'rs_3$  with Ar.  $\dot{g}ars$  "plant"<sup>322</sup> suggests a possible etymology for the term. The meaning of  $'rs_3t$  in Hal 196 is not indicated from the context; in the absence of a parallel, except for C 308, the comparison with Ar.  $'arš$ , Heb.  $'erēš$  receives no support.

As a verb,  $'s_3b$  has the sense "to hire";<sup>323</sup> cf. Ar.  $'asaba$  "to hire (a stallion)," Eth.  $'assaba$  "to hire." From the use of the corresponding noun in Ry 3.5, it is clear that its sense in this text = Ar.  $'asb$  "hire";<sup>324</sup> the same is true in R 4273.2. For the remaining occurrences of this stem in nouns,<sup>325</sup> translations based upon Ar.  $'ušb$ , Heb.  $'ēšēb$  have been proposed,<sup>326</sup> as well as others

<sup>316</sup> Rhodokanakis, *AST* II 224.

<sup>317</sup> Beeston, *JRAS* 1937, 77. The relation of Heb.  $s\ddot{o}k$  "to hedge about, enclose" to its synonym  $s\ddot{o}k$  and to Ar.  $\dot{s}awk$  "thorn" is not clear.

<sup>318</sup> Op. cit. 224-6.

<sup>319</sup> Op. cit. 76-8.

<sup>320</sup> Rhodokanakis, op. cit. 224; also *Studien* II 132.

<sup>321</sup> For the meaning of  $'md$  cf. C 610.3, 611.6, and Mordtmann and Mittwoch, *Himjarische Inschriften* 9; also Rhodokanakis, *Studien* II 132, III 8.

<sup>322</sup> Op. cit. 77.

<sup>323</sup> Hal 344.5. Cf. Rhodokanakis, *KTB* I 110 n. 1, *AST* II 223.

<sup>324</sup> Rhodokanakis, *WZKM* 38 (1931) 176.

<sup>325</sup>  $'s_3b$  C 320.2;  $'s_3bt$  C 544.10, MM 150a.2, SE 92.4.

<sup>326</sup> Höfner, *WZKM* 40 (1933) 21-2.



based upon Ar. *ʿasb*.<sup>327</sup> Since the contexts yield no certain clue to the meaning of the stem, the choice of an etymology is hazardous.

The Sabaean stem *ḥs<sub>3</sub>r* occurs in two passages:

Gl 1571.1 . . . *ʿhrw FY S<sub>2</sub>N w-ʿRBʿN w-ḥs<sub>3</sub>rw MR- - -* “die Grossen von Faiṣān und ʿRBʿN und die Steuereinnehmer von M- - -.”<sup>328</sup>

C 733 = R 2678 *YS<sub>2</sub>HRMLK lbr ḥs<sub>3</sub>rn frʿ w-NS<sub>2</sub>ʿKRB* “Yašhar-malik, chef des percepteurs des impôts de prémices, et Našaʿ karib.”<sup>329</sup> Rhodokanakis compares Ar. *ḥašara* “to collect,” *ḥuṣṣār* “collectors of the tithes and poll-tax” (Lane).<sup>330</sup> With regard to this translation of *ḥs<sub>3</sub>rw* (*ḥs<sub>3</sub>rn*) it must be borne in mind that it supplies an acceptable meaning but rests wholly on the technical sense of the Ar. *ḥāšir* “tax-gatherer,” properly a participle of the verb “to assemble.” Despite the aptness of the meaning of the Arabic term in these passages, it is still desirable to await further examples of the use of the stem *ḥs<sub>3</sub>r* before a translation based on the Ar. *ḥuṣṣār* is accepted for these texts. This is especially true in view of the historical kinship which Rhodokanakis’ interpretation appears to indicate for SAr. *s<sub>3</sub>* and Ar. *š*. In each of the other cases which have seemed to demonstrate such kinship, the evidence has not been unambiguous. It remains for an unimpeachable case to be found where the equation of SAr. *s<sub>3</sub>* with NSem. *ś*, Ar. *š*, holds good.

SAr. *s<sub>2</sub>* is cognate in the following cases with NSem. *š*:

*ws<sub>2</sub>ʿ* vb. IV “to help, favor”;<sup>331</sup> n. *ws<sub>2</sub>ʿn* “favor”;<sup>332</sup> n. *ts<sub>2</sub>ʿt* “help.”<sup>333</sup> Cf. Heb. *hōšīʿ* “to help,” *tēšūʿāh* “help”; also SAr. *yṭʿ*- in personal names.<sup>334</sup>

*s<sub>2</sub>ʿw* vb. V “to look after”(?), C 308.8 . . . *w-kl ṣwrtn d-QYHRN [d] ts<sub>2</sub>ʿww ʿdy s<sub>2</sub>ʿmt* “. . . and all the palms of QYHRN [which] they were looking after(?) in the north.” Cf. Heb. *šāʾāh*, Akk. *šeʾū* “to look, regard.”

In the case of *ws<sub>2</sub>ʿ* the probability is that we are dealing with a loan from NSem. The Heb. cognate is *hōšīʿ*, but *hōšīʿ* is also the Heb. form of the Semitic stem *yṭʿ*, which is well known throughout

<sup>327</sup> *Sabäische Inschriften* 184-5; Beeston, op. cit. 77-8.

<sup>328</sup> *AST* I 104.

<sup>331</sup> C 334. 2, 21, 315. 4.

<sup>329</sup> Ryckmans’ translation.

<sup>332</sup> C 315. 11-2, 339. 4.

<sup>330</sup> *Studien* II 150 and n. 7.

<sup>333</sup> C 308. 17.

<sup>334</sup> Halévy, *JA* 6e série 19 (1872) 534, connected SAr. *yṭʿ* with Heb. *hōšīʿ*.



SAr. from the earliest times<sup>335</sup> from its use in personal names.<sup>336</sup> A verb *yt'* is never found in SAr. and its use in theophores is less frequent in the later texts. The form *ws<sub>2</sub>'*, on the contrary, does not make its appearance before the Hamdanid period, is restricted to the Sabaeon dialect, and is all but exclusively employed as a verb of the IV conjugation. A borrowing from NSem. is indicated.

The origin of *s<sub>2</sub>'w* is not clear, nor is its meaning beyond doubt. A connection with Heb. *šā'āh* appears probable, in which case it is to be regarded as a loan entering the language under the same circumstances as *ws<sub>2</sub>'*. Without doubt the reintroduction of the stem *s<sub>1</sub>'d* into the language belongs to the same phase of SAr. linguistic history.

The amount of lexical material which offers exceptions to the historical relationships established for the majority of the sibilants is strikingly limited, yet widely varied, including as it does instances of the correspondence of (a) *s<sub>1</sub>* with NSem. *s*, (b) *s<sub>1</sub>* with NSem. *ś*, (c) *s<sub>3</sub>* with Ar. *š*, NSem. *ś*, and (d) *s<sub>2</sub>* with NSem. *š*. None of these four equations can be accepted without reserve; in the event that any one of them appeared incontestable, the small amount of data available would render its validity doubtful, in view of the extensive evidence contradicting it. Likewise the miscellaneous character of the material argues against its usefulness in establishing phonetic laws, since it fails to present any coördinated picture of sound change between Sem. and SAr. The conclusion is justified, therefore, that this group of "departures" is composed of isolated anomalies, the history of some of them still obscure, but all subject to individual explanations.

There is still another group of words in the SAr. lexicon which can be made to yield information relative to the phonetic values of the sibilants and emphatics. These words are listed in the following section.

### Foreign Words

The South Arabic lexicon contains loan-words from several Semitic languages, as well as transliterations of proper names of both Semitic and non-Semitic origin. The orthography of such of

<sup>335</sup> A queen *Ya-ti-'i-e* is mentioned by Sennacherib in the record of his first campaign, Hommel, *Handbuch* I 65 n. 1.

<sup>336</sup> *YT'* and *'T'* are forms of a divine name in Saf.; see Dussaud and MacIer, *Mission* 64. In personal names the stem *yt'* (also causative *hyt'*) is found in all NAr. dialects; cf. Ryckmans, *Les noms propres* 6-7, 112.



these words as contain sibilants and emphatics is of interest on account of the independent evidence which it furnishes for the pronunciation of the South Arabic signs and their relative phonetic values.

The sign *d* occurs in the name *MDY*, Gl 1155.3 (Min.), by which is most probably meant Media or the Medes.<sup>337</sup> Cf. Heb. and Aram. *Mādai*, Old Persian *Māda*.

An emphatic of foreign origin is found in the noun *tf*, C 529.4, var. *df*, C 70, with the meaning "(votive) tablet." Cf. Akk. *tuppu*, *duppu* "tablet."

SAr. *s*<sub>1</sub> represents NSem. *s* in the Hadramitic divine name *S<sub>1</sub>YN*,<sup>338</sup> the counterpart of Akk. *Sin*. A possible parallel is the noun *s<sub>1</sub>frt* "limit, boundary," C 570.5-6, ultimately derived from Akk. *šipru*, Assy. *sipru*, whence Heb. *sēfer* "writing," Old NAr. *sfr* "inscription."<sup>339</sup> It is likely, however, that the SAr. is more directly connected with Eth. *safara* "metiri, dimetiri," *sefrat* "mensio, dimensio, mensura." For the evidence that *s<sub>1</sub>'d* is a loan in which *s<sub>1</sub>* corresponds to NSem. *s*, see above, pp. 532 f.

*s*<sub>1</sub> represents NSem. *š* in the nisbe *KS<sub>1</sub>DYN*, R 4109.2 (Sab.), provided the name is to be translated "the Chaldaean";<sup>340</sup> cf. Heb. *Kaśdīm* "the Chaldaeans." The relation of SAr. *'s<sub>1</sub>y* to Heb. *'āśāh* is uncertain.<sup>341</sup>

*s*<sub>1</sub> represents Eth. *s* in the noun *ms<sub>1</sub>h* "messiah," C 541.2-3; cf. Eth. *masih*.<sup>342</sup> *s*<sub>1</sub> is also found in the place name *FRS<sub>1</sub>*, ibid. 90. Cf. Eth. *Fārs* "Persia," also Ar. *Fāris*, Heb. *Pāras*, Persian *Pārs*, *Fārs*.

*s*<sub>3</sub> represents NSem. *š* in the ethicon *YS<sub>3</sub>R'L*, C 534.1; cf. Heb. *Yiśrā'ēl*.

*s*<sub>3</sub> represents Eth. *s* in the n. pr. d. *KRS<sub>3</sub>TS<sub>3</sub>*, OM 281.16;<sup>343</sup> cf. Eth. *Krestōs* "Christ." *s*<sub>3</sub> represents Ar. and Eth. *s*, NSem. *š*

<sup>337</sup> For a review of the different interpretations of this name see Höfner, Rhodokanakis and Mlaker, "Chronologisches," *WZKM* 41 (1934) 94 ff.

<sup>338</sup> E. g., Os 29 (= R 2693) 2, 5; Gl 1000 A. 12, 1619. 6.

<sup>339</sup> Of frequent occurrence in Saf., e. g. SI 113, 124, 127.

<sup>340</sup> Mordtmann and Mittwoch, *Or* 1 (1932) 260.

<sup>341</sup> See above, pp. 534 f.

<sup>342</sup> A shift of NSem. *š* to SAr. *s*<sub>1</sub> is only apparent, since Heb. *māšīah* does not come in question. The word is part of the Christian vocabulary of Eth., from which it was borrowed directly.

<sup>343</sup> Unpublished; see the extracts collected in R 3904.



in  $s_3t$  "hour,"<sup>344</sup> Ry 3.5; cf. Ar. *sā'ah*, Eth. *sa'āt*, Aram. *šā'atā* with this meaning. The suspicion that the word is a loan in SSem.<sup>345</sup> is strengthened by the spelling with  $s_3$  instead of etymological  $s_1$ .

In two Minaean texts  $t$  is used to represent a foreign sibilant (Greek sigma, Egyptian  $\dot{s}$ ). This is the case in the personal name *TLMYT*, Gizeh (= R 3427) 1, 3, a transcription of Greek *Ptolemaios*; also in the place name *DLT*, Delos 1 (= R 3570) 3, a transcription of Greek *Dēlos*. In the first mentioned text, l. 3, we have the divine name *'TRHF*, a SAR. rendering of Eg. *wśr-ḥp* Serapis.

$s_2$  represents NSem.  $\dot{s}$  in the place name "*S<sub>2</sub>R*, Gl 1083.3-4, 1155.1; cf. Heb. *'Aššūr*.<sup>346</sup> The probability that *ws<sub>2</sub>'* is a loan from Heb. *hōšīa'* is discussed in connection with *yt'* above, p. 537 f.

The SAR. orthography is phonetic to a much greater extent in foreign than in native words, there being no tradition of correct spelling applicable to transliterations. Despite the heterogeneous sources of our information, therefore, we can deduce the pronunciation of some of the sibilant signs from the uses to which they have been put. The hesitation between  $t$  and  $d$  in the SAR. versions of Akk. *tuppu* reflects the same alternation in native words containing these sounds; see pp. 516 f. As regards the sibilants,  $s_2$  may represent both NSem.  $\dot{s}$  and Eth.  $s$ , while  $s_1$  may stand for either of these and for NSem.  $s$  as well. This bears out the interchangeability of  $s_1$  and  $s_3$  indicated p. 531.  $s_2$  may represent NSem.  $\dot{s}$ , confirming the pronunciation of the SAR. sign.  $t$  may stand for the unvoiced dental sibilant sigma. These observations, added to the evidence of the usages of  $s_1$  and  $s_3$ , reveal the familiar tendency to reduce  $s_1$ ,  $s_3$  and  $t$  to a single pronunciation. Nor are the NSem. sibilants  $s$  and  $\dot{s}$  distinguished in loan-words in SAR. This may point again indirectly to a reduction in the number of SAR. sibilants.<sup>347</sup> Thus in an essential respect the foreign words corroborate the history of sound change in SAR. as it appears from other sources.

<sup>344</sup> Cf. Rhodokanakis, *WZKM* 38 (1931) 176.

<sup>345</sup> See Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge* 44.

<sup>346</sup> I. e., "Assyria," Conti Rossini, *Chrestomathia* p. 99; Höfner, Rhodokanakis and Mlaker, op. cit. 103, compare *'Aššūr*, Num. 24.22, 24 and *šūr* I Sam. 15.7, etc., and identify "*S<sub>2</sub>R* with Edom.

<sup>347</sup> The explanation may be different in the case of *S<sub>1</sub>YN*, which consistently shows  $s_1$ . Did the name enter SAR. indirectly through NAr., like *s<sub>1</sub>'d*? No certain instance of this divine name is found in Old NAr.



## Conclusions

It remains to make a final appraisal of the sibilants relative to their Semitic connections. Let us reconsider briefly the hypotheses by which Müller, Brockelmann, and Rhodokanakis explained their position in Semitic phonology.

Müller understood the correlation between NSem. *ś* and SAr. *s*<sub>2</sub> (Heb. *ʿaśar*: *ʿs<sub>2</sub>r*) and between NSem. *š* and SAr. *s*<sub>1</sub> (Heb. *šēḇaʿ*: *s<sub>1</sub>bʿ*). In connecting NSem. *š* also with *s*<sub>3</sub> but assuming a late date for this correspondence, Müller was not altogether mistaken; where this equation is valid (as in Heb. *šēfēlāḥ*: *s<sub>3</sub>fl*) the spelling with *s*<sub>3</sub> is unhistorical, but also cannot be earlier than the merging of *s*<sub>1</sub> and *s*<sub>3</sub>. Müller also connected NSem. *s* with SAr. *s*<sub>1</sub> (Heb. *sāʿad*: *s<sub>1</sub>ʿd*); such a correspondence is not historical.

Brockelmann, too, connected NSem. *ś* and *š* with *s*<sub>2</sub> and *s*<sub>1</sub> respectively; the latter correspondence he regarded as developing late, although it is now clear that there is no reason for assuming an interval of time between them. He, like Müller, was deceived by the apparent affinity of NSem. *s* and SAr. *s*<sub>1</sub>. *s*<sub>3</sub> he rightly considered cognate with NSem. *s*, not *ś*, but supposed the sound to have entered the phonetic system late, as Müller had done.

Rhodokanakis alone regarded *s*<sub>3</sub> as one of the original sounds in the SAr. phonetic system. Unfortunately he repeated the error of his predecessors in equating NSem. *s* with *s*<sub>1</sub>, as well as with *s*<sub>3</sub>. He also assumed that both NSem. *ś* (> *s*<sub>2</sub>) and *š* (> *s*<sub>1</sub>) were represented in *s*<sub>3</sub>, on the ground that this SAr. sign stood for a sound intermediate between *s*<sub>1</sub> and *s*<sub>2</sub>, toward which the other two gravitated. The evidence for a connection between NSem. *ś* and *s*<sub>3</sub> is highly doubtful; that between *š* (> *s*<sub>1</sub>) and *s*<sub>3</sub> is clear, but the explanation is certainly that *s*<sub>1</sub> and *s*<sub>3</sub> fell together in pronunciation.

Each of these hypotheses attempts to account for the separation of a single P.-S. phoneme into two distinct SAr. phonemes, i. e., Müller resolves P.-S. *š* into *s*<sub>1</sub> and *s*<sub>3</sub>, while Brockelmann and Rhodokanakis derive both of these from P.-S. *s*. In order to explain this dichotomy, a hypothetical factor has had to be introduced, either of time, as proposed by the two earlier investigators, or of a tendency to sound change only partially realized (*s*<sub>1</sub> (< *s*) > *s*<sub>3</sub>) as proposed by Rhodokanakis. Such a dichotomy is in itself not probable, in view of the pre-existence of an adequate phonetic system, upon which a more complicated one would have to be super-



imposed. Not only that, but the results of the preceding analysis show that the evidence which this dichotomy would account for has a simpler explanation, and that it is unnecessary to assume that the scattered and disparate classes of words whose behavior contradicts the norm are covered by a phonetic law or laws. The opposite point of view, which sees an oscillation in the sibilants, and a fluidity not regulated by any norm of pronunciation and of sound change,<sup>348</sup> is equally unacceptable. We have found no reason to doubt the force of phonetic law in maintaining these norms; where such a law appears to be abrogated, evidence favors the inference that the anomaly in question is outside its jurisdiction.

The ultimate object of the present study has been to assign the members of the South Arabic sibilant triad to their Proto-Semitic cognates, thereby removing the need for the clumsy notation  $s_1$ ,  $s_2$ ,  $s_3$ . The tentative conclusions set forth on p. 531 have demonstrated their stability. It may therefore be definitely stated that, except for loan-words,

- $s_1$  is cognate with North Semitic š,  
and should be represented by š.
- $s_2$  is cognate with North Semitic ś,  
and should be represented by ś.
- $s_3$  is cognate with North Semitic s,  
and should be represented by s.

#### Abbreviations

*AJA* = American Journal of Archaeology; *Ak* = Texts published by Littmann, *Deutsche Aksum Expedition IV*; *ALZ* = Allgemeine Literaturzeitung; *Anzeiger* = Anzeiger der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Phil.-Hist. Kl.; *Ar. Fr.* = Hartmann, *Die Arabische Frage*; *AST* = Rhodokanakis, "Altsüdarabische Texte" I, *SBAW* 206 (1927) 2, II, *WZKM* 39 (1932) 173-226; *ÄZ* = Ägyptische Zeitschrift; *BASOR* = Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research; *BME* = Mordtmann, *Beiträge zur minäischen Epigraphik*; *Bombay* = Mayer Lambert, *Les inscriptions yéménites du Musée de Bombay*, *RAAO* 20 (1923) 73-8; *C* = Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum, Pars IV; *Cant* = Cantineau, "Nouvelles inscriptions sud-arabiques du Musée Borély à Marseille," *RAAO* 24 (1927) 135-46; *DM* = Dussaud and Macler, *Mission dans les régions désertiques de la Syrie moyenne*; *Eu* = texts collected by J. Euting, published by Littmann, "Zur Entzifferung der Thamudenischen Inschriften," *MVÄG* 1904. 1; *G1* = Glaser;

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<sup>348</sup> Höfner, *WZKM* 43 (1936) 89.



*Grundsatz* = Rhodokanakis, "Der Grundsatz der Öffentlichkeit in den süd-arabischen Urkunden," *SBAW* 177 (1915) 2; Had. = Hadramitic; Handbuch = Nielsen, *Handbuch der altarabischen Altertumskunde* I; Hal = Halévy; HI = Mordtmann and Mittwoch, "Himjarische Inschriften" *MVAG* 1932. 1; JA = Journal asiatique; JASB = Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; JIH = Jaussen, "Inscriptions himyarites" *RB* 1926. 548-82; JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society; JRGS = Journal of the Royal Geographical Society; JSa = Jaussen and Savignac, *Mission archéologique en Arabie*; KTB = Rhodokanakis, "Katabanische Texte zur Bodenvirtschaft" I, *SBAW* 194 (1919) 2, II *ibid.* 198 (1922) 2; Lih. = Lihyanic; Lyon = texts published by Ryckmans, *RB* 1939. 549-53; Margoliouth = Margoliouth, "Two South Arabian Inscriptions" *Proceedings of the British Academy* 1924-5. 177-85; Meh. = Mehri; Min. = Minaean; MM = Mordtmann and Mittwoch, *Sabäische Inschriften*; MMA = Mordtmann and Mittwoch, "Altsüdarabische Inschriften" *Or* 1 (1932) 24-33, 116-28, 257-73, *ibid.* 2 (1933) 50-60; MS = Mittwoch and Schlobies, "Altsüdarabische Inschriften" *Or* 5 (1936) 1-34, 278-93, 349-52, *ibid.* 6 (1937) 83-100, 222-33, 305-16, *ibid.* 7 (1938) 95-9, 233-38, 243-54; *MVAG* = Mitteilungen der vorderasiatisch-ägyptischen Gesellschaft; NAr. = North Arabic; NSem. = North Semitic; *OLZ* = Orientalistische Literaturzeitung; *Or* = Orientalia; *Ph* = texts collected by Philby, published by Ryckmans, *Muséon* 50 (1937) 245-51, and by Beeston, *ibid.* 51 (1938) 311-33; P.-S. = Proto-Semitic; Qat. = Qatabanian; R = Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique; *RAAO* = Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale; *RB* = Revue biblique; *RES* = R; *Ry* = texts published by Ryckmans, *Muséon* 40 (1927) 161-200, *ibid.* 45 (1932) 286-313, *ibid.* 48 (1935) 163-87, *ibid.* 50 (1937) 239-68, *ibid.* 52 (1939) 51-112, 297-319; Sab. = Sabaeen; Saf. = Safaitic; SAr. = South Arabic; *SBAW* = Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Phil.-Hist. Kl.; *SD* = Mordtmann and Müller, *Sabäische Denkmäler*; SE = Südarabische Expedition; SI = Littmann, *Semitic Inscriptions*; Soq. = Soqotri; SSem. = South Semitic; *Studien* = Rhodokanakis, "Studien zur Lexicographie und Grammatik des Altsüdarabischen," I *SBAW* 178 (1915) 4, II, *ibid.* 185 (1917) 3, III, *ibid.* 213 (1931) 3; Tham. = Thamudic; *WZKM* = Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes; *ZA* = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie; *ZDMG* = Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft; *ZKM* = Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes; *ZS* = Zeitschrift für Semistik und verwandte Gebiete.



## THE SANDON MONUMENT OF TARSUS \*

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THE EXCAVATIONS carried on at Tarsus in the spring and summer of 1936 uncovered fragments of terracotta plaques (fig. 1) none of which were complete, but all of which depicted the same monument in similar manner, although, as they were not made in the same mould, with variations in size and in minor details. The level at which they were found, all in close proximity, and the accompanying archaeological material place them in about the middle of the second century B. C. The plaques are therefore roughly contemporary with the first appearance of a coin depicting a similar divine image which has been plausibly interpreted as Sandon, the chief god of the Cilician pantheon at least from the beginning of the second millennium B. C. on. Coins of this general type continued to be struck until the reign of the emperor Gallienus (260-268 A. D.; cf. fig. 5).<sup>1</sup> The terracottas were published in a report on the Tarsus excavations<sup>2</sup> with a very brief commentary. They were interpreted as cheap offerings at the shrine of the god. In view of the fact that the hope of finding at least the substructure of the monument corresponding to the one depicted on the reliefs was not realized before the excavations closed, and opportunity for resuming work may not come for a long time, it has seemed to the writer of some interest to attempt a synthesis of the various pieces and an interpretation of the iconography and symbolism of the monument as a whole. For it is reasonable to suppose that the plaques represent a real and not an imaginary monument, and that it was located somewhere at or near Tarsus itself. We know that the ancient god of this region was equated by the Greeks and subsequently by the Romans with Herakles,<sup>3</sup> and, indeed, on quite a different part of

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<sup>1</sup> Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum* (abbr. *BMC*), *Lycaonia, Isauria and Cilicia*, Pls. XXXII ff.

<sup>2</sup> *AJA* 41 (1937) 274-276 fig. 26.

<sup>3</sup> Dindorf, *Hist. Gr. Min.* 2; *Agathios Hist.* II 24 (p. 221 of Teubner edition, Leipzig, 1871).



the hill from the find-spot of the relief plaques and directly above the emplacement of the 14th-13th century temple of Hittite type, a great mass of terracotta figurines were found among which representations of Herakles were the most numerous.<sup>4</sup> These were of the conventional late Hellenistic type and included, in addition to the youthful figure with club, lion skin, and cup (fig. 2), the bearded "Farnese" Herakles and the reclining hero with wine cup. Among literally hundreds of fragments from this area not a single oriental Sandon was found. Marble architectural fragments and broken bits of inscriptions indicated that a temple of late Roman date was nearby. Unfortunately the top of the hill had been levelled off to make way for a concrete gun emplacement during the first World War so that nothing was left of the actual foundations of the building. One may, therefore, conclude that the god worshipped in the temple was indeed the Hellenized hero-god and that the Sandon of our monument represented more truly the ancient local god who had survived side by side with the newcomer Herakles and was identified with the latter only by certain elements in the population who were of foreign origin. For whom, then, was the festival of the Pyra celebrated? In his Tarsus orations Dio Chrysostom speaks of the Pyre made for Herakles. These are his words:<sup>5</sup> "What say you? If, as seems likely and men declare, heroes or gods often visit the states they have founded at sacrifices and certain festivals, though none can see them; if then, your own founder Herakles were to come here, say during the Pyre which you make for him so handsomely," etc. Evidently this pyre is something specifically raised for the festival and presumably annually consumed. Some scholars have conjectured that at this festival, as at that of the Phoenician Melcarth, the god was burned in effigy, and they think that the temporary structure is depicted on the coins.<sup>6</sup> This may be so but there is certainly no definite warrant for the assumption in the words of Dio. Whatever the interpretation of the coins the plaque has all the appearance of a solid and permanent structure; and the pyre may well have been raised either in front of the temple, in front of the monument, or indeed, as it was apparently a popular festival, it may have taken place at a third spot unconnected with either.

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<sup>4</sup> *AJA* 44 (1940) 72 fig. 22, and 39 (1935) 529 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Tarsica* I (Oratio XXXIII) 408 M.

<sup>6</sup> Hill, *BMC loc. cit.* p. lxxxvi. Ramsay, *The Cities of St. Paul* 148.



Let us then divorce our minds for the moment from the thought of the pyre of Herakles and look at the monument as it has been reconstructed on the drawing (fig. 3).<sup>7</sup> The reconstruction is based on the evidence of the plaques and of numerous coins and, as far as the façade itself is concerned, only some minor details such as the exact nature of the mouldings remains doubtful. For the third dimension, however, there is no evidence. We see a substructure of two steps surmounted by a wall adorned with an engaged Ionic column between pilasters. On this, and arranged so as to appear between column and pilaster on either side, hang a short sword or dagger and a shield. Above the wall is a moulded architrave. The details here are not clear and I should like to propose either the conventional three bands of the Ionic order or, more probably, on account of the curving profile, the Egyptian moulding so popular throughout Phoenicia and other Near Eastern countries. This is immediately surmounted by a triangle with slightly concave sides which takes the place of a pediment but rises at an angle much steeper than that of any known building of classical Greek or Roman type. The angle varies on our fragments from about 55° to 60°, and the one used for the reconstruction is the least steep. Centered in the triangle is a representation of the god, clearly indicated by the heavy boundary lines as a relief of a type well known from monuments. One may recall the stele of Amrit from Phoenicia or the one shown on the cylinder seal from the Palace of Sennacherib (fig. 4).<sup>8</sup> It is on the analogy of these representations that the top of the stele is rounded in the reconstruction although this detail is not preserved on the terracotta. I know of at least one stele of this shape among Hittite sculpture: the Fassiler relief.<sup>9</sup> Sardon is shown standing to right, probably cloaked (another uncertain detail; on the coins he is sometimes said to be nude), the right hand raised in the same gesture as characterizes the gods on the cylinder seal. The left holds a double axe and stylized wreath. On his back are a quiver and two other weapons, usually called bow and sword, although the bow is not very clear in this case. He stands upon a horned lion with folded wings. This animal usually has

<sup>7</sup> Professor Richard Stillwell of Princeton University very kindly drew the reconstruction from coins and the photographs of the fragments.

<sup>8</sup> Perrot and Chipiez II 204 fig. 69; cylinder seal in the British Museum.

<sup>9</sup> Swoboda, Keil, Knoll, *Denkmäler aus Lykaonien, Pamphylien und Isaurien* 14 fig. 9.



paws in front and vulture talons on the hind legs.<sup>10</sup> It is a probable but not certain detail on our relief and has been omitted in the reconstruction. To either side of the relief are two cylindrical objects sometimes compared to the pileus,<sup>11</sup> sometimes to altars.<sup>12</sup> I believe them to be small altars, for the pileus as a symbolic object cannot be understood in connection with a god. On the upper left hand plaque there are even indications that the coroplast intended to represent flames rising from the altars. At the top, the sides of the triangle seem to be tied together with rope or metal rings and the whole is surmounted by an eagle. The details of the treatment of the apex and of the eagle are taken from coin types and there can be little doubt that the plaque, which otherwise follows the same design as the coins, ended approximately in the same way.

Although there is, as I have said, practical identity between the triangular superstructure of the relief and the coin types, the base of the monument differs. On the coins (fig. 5)<sup>13</sup> this is proportionately lower and resembles closely a rectangular altar tied with garlands and fillets and should, I think, be interpreted as such. On coins of Marcus Aurelius and of later date, the monument sometimes appears under a canopy supported on the head and one hand of youths wearing Phrygian caps. They stand upon the base. In the free hand they hold palms. Ramsay's suggestion that the coins represent a portable shrine, carried in procession, over which noble youths held a canopy seems plausible and receives a certain confirmation in a terracotta found at Myrina. It represents with elaborate detail a cave of Pan on an ornate base or altar and similarly canopied, though here the canopy is identical with the arched entrance of the cave.<sup>13a</sup> The altar tied with garlands represents, however, a type that had entered into the *κοινή* of Greek and Roman art and is more classical than the high structure of the plaque on which the triangle containing the image of the god rests. Disregarding the Greek character of the surface adornment, the origin

<sup>10</sup> Heuzey, *Les Origines orientales de l'art* 239; Maltaya rock carving.

<sup>11</sup> Gardner, *BMC The Seleucid Kings of Syria* 72, 78, 89, 112.

<sup>12</sup> Hill, *BMC Lycaonia, Isauria and Cilicia* 180-181.

<sup>13</sup> E. T. Newell, *Royal Greek Portrait Coins* pl. VII 26. A very small fragment of a terracotta plaque with a base similar to that of the coins was found in an unstratified area. Most of the terracottas found with it were of the second century A.D. and it resembles them in technique and finish.

<sup>13a</sup> Pottier-Reinach, *La Necropole de Myrina* 545 pl. xix.



of this is specifically Near Eastern. The temple, the altar, the grave, and the statue raised high above the ground are found in the Near East, beginning with the *ziggurat* of Mesopotamia, continuing through rock cut buildings (such as the Urartian ones around Lake Van) and the partially rock-cut, partially built grave of many regions of Anatolia. The elevated monument takes its place in Greek art through the Ionians, the Carians, and other Anatolian coastal people of mixed population, with such works as the Nereid Monument of Xanthos and the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus. The façade with only three supporting members, though not the most common type, can be paralleled in Paphlagonian rock-cut tombs<sup>14</sup> and in a tomb from Termessos.<sup>15</sup> These monuments are all of the portico type.

Leaving for the moment the discussion of the arms which hang upon the wall, let us consider the superstructure which has the form of a very steep pediment. Such pediments are not unknown either in Greece of the late 8th century B. C. or in Anatolia itself. To choose one of many possible parallels there is the façade of a Phrygian rock-cut tomb (fig. 6)<sup>16</sup> where the sides of the pediment are little less precipitous than those of our monument and where the apex too suggests poles or boards, in this case crossed and with ornamental ends. Greece offers the models of early buildings found in Argos<sup>17</sup> at the shrine of Hera and one from Perachora<sup>18</sup> opposite Corinth, where the same goddess was worshipped. The type of the two models is substantially the same as far as the steep gable is concerned except that one is entirely open on the front and the other has a wide door. One thinks of the hay-loft of our barns or the store rooms of gabled Dutch houses along the canals of Holland. There is also the pediment of the Urartian temple of Muşasir as depicted on Assyrian reliefs of Khorsabad which tell the story of the eighth campaign of Sargon (fig. 7).<sup>19</sup> This building too is of

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<sup>14</sup> Perrot and Chipiez V 201, 204, figs. 136, 139.

<sup>15</sup> Lanckoronski and others, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens* II fig. 76 p. 110.

<sup>16</sup> F. von Reber, *Die phrygischen Felsdenkmäler* (Abhandlungen der hist. Classe der K. Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1898) 594 fig. 16 left.

<sup>17</sup> *Ath. Mitt.*, 48 (1923) pl. VI.

<sup>18</sup> *Arch. Anzeiger* 1934 153-154, figs. 11, 12.

<sup>19</sup> E. Herzfeld, *Archaeological History of Iran* 16 fig. 5. The reliefs, from the palace of Sargon, are now in the Louvre.



the eighth century B. C. There is, therefore, nothing to prevent our interpreting the superstructure simply as a pediment of a peculiarly early type, but there are other points of view which I should like to present. One is that it may be thought of as perpetuating a primitive structure, an open tent or shelter under which the statue stood, and that the heavily marked sides of the triangle represent the poles tied together with rope or held together by metal rings. There may have been statues that stood in the open and were thus protected before the days of temples. The representation of the god under a primitive shelter was preserved in conventional Egyptian art<sup>20</sup> and something similar may be postulated for Anatolia. On the other hand, the architectural form of the background may be thought of as representing the pyramid; at once the mountain on which Anatolian gods so often stood and the aniconic form in which they appeared. To illustrate this I show a cylinder seal from Byblos (fig. 8)<sup>21</sup> on which the deity mounted on an animal faces a pyramid also mounted on an animal and poised above an altar: a divinity facing either his own aniconic image or that of another god. The god upon the mountain is too well known in Hittite art to need illustration here. Even in Greece Zeus was sometimes worshipped under the form of a pyramid for Pausanias tells us of the rude statues of Zeus and Artemis at Sikyon; Zeus resembles a pyramid, he says, and Artemis a column.<sup>22</sup> The pyramidal form may well have come from Anatolia and one may cite in support of this derivation the Cilician coins with grape clusters around a triangular object<sup>23</sup> and the form of the Zeus Dolichenos reliefs, found in various parts of Europe. He is represented against a steep triangular background. These reliefs indeed offer the closest parallel to the superstructure of our plaque and the strongest argument for interpreting the triangle background as part of the religious symbolism connected with the god rather than merely as a structural feature. Zeus Dolichenos too is a descendant of Hittite gods, the thunder god upon the bull, and he wandered over the Roman world in the camp baggage of her cosmopolitan army. I illustrate one of these bronze plaques which in at least two instances were found in pairs as if they had formed the

<sup>20</sup> Cf., for example, Capart, *L'Art Égyptien* 2 plate 171; relief from the funerary Temple of Seti I.

<sup>21</sup> Contenau, *La Civilisation phénicienne* fig. 18.

<sup>22</sup> Pausanias II 9. 6.

<sup>23</sup> Hill, *BMC loc. cit.* pl. XV 12.



back and front of a single object (fig. 9).<sup>24</sup> It has been supposed by some that a third relief now missing must be postulated and that all three formed the bronze revetment of a single pyramidal cult object. But we need not enter into the realm of supposition. The two dimensional triangle, as an abbreviated form of the pyramid, may quite as well stand for the mountain on which the god appears. Some of the reliefs, such as the one illustrated, seem to be shaped at the apex like an arrow or possibly a spear head; another has been likened to the thunder bolt of the god. No matter what the specific interpretation, these Dolichenos reliefs bring the evidence we need to show that the background of the relief is in many instances part of the religious symbolism.

While we have every reason to believe that Sandon himself is an important religious figure, at least as early as the second millennium B. C., the fantastic animal upon which he stands cannot be traced back further than the first millennium, at least not in precisely this form. It represents, however, the final stylization of many very ancient elements. These are the winged lion and the griffin or bird lion. The horns, judged by their shape, may be those of the goat which enters into the conception of the hybrid chimaera, or they may have their origin in the horns of the lion-bird of Ningišzida.<sup>25</sup> The Hittite gods of Anatolia, on the other hand, stand on naturalistically represented lions and bulls. The type as it appears on our relief is fairly common in Assyrian art<sup>26</sup> of the first centuries of the millenium, in Persian art,<sup>27</sup> and a variant, with hooped forelegs, existed in the Armenian region of Van where a partially preserved bronze statue of a god standing upon a couchant winged lion was found.<sup>28</sup>

I now wish to discuss briefly the sword and dagger on the rear

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<sup>24</sup> Bronze plaque from Hedderheim; Rostovtzeff, *History of the Ancient World*, Rome, Pl. XCI 4.

<sup>25</sup> Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* 119 fig. 33. Van Buren, *Iraq* I 60. "... a monster which has flat head and forked tongue of a serpent, but is horned and has the horned cap and spiral side-locks betokening a deity." Early seals with hybrids are also well illustrated in Frankfort's interesting discussion of the origin of the Cretan griffin, *BSA* 38 (1936-37) 106 ff.

<sup>26</sup> See above, n. 10.

<sup>27</sup> Swindler, *Ancient Painting* fig. 129; winged gryphon from the Palace of Darius and Artaxerxes, Susa.

<sup>28</sup> Heuzey, *op. cit.* Pl. IX.



wall of the base. Again one may look upon them merely as dedications, trophies or decorative objects, or one may believe them to be part of the religious symbolism. Let us look at the Temple of Muṣaṣir (fig. 7). Here we see a great spear appearing above the gable of the roof and on the walls the great shields of gold dedicated by kings as they are described in the annals of Sargon. The spear is taken to be the emblem of the god Kaldi just as a spear was the emblem of Marduk. On the rock sculpture of Yasili Kaya we have the Hittite god half sword, half man (fig. 10)<sup>29</sup> and on the building blocks of Hattusas the spear behind the altars.<sup>30</sup> Therefore, in view of these analogies, cannot the weapons hanging on the Sandon base be interpreted not necessarily as aniconic forms of the god, but as symbols in which his power dwells: the sword of his offensive strength and the shield of his protective power? The shield plays an important role in the symbolism of Crete, whose religious roots are certainly in Anatolia or northern Syria. This can be illustrated by many objects from which I have chosen, as of particular importance, some sealings found in Knossos and Zakro. On one we have the shield and the sacred pillar (fig. 11),<sup>31</sup> on another the walls of a city placed under the protection of the god through the emblem of his shield (fig. 12 a). On a third, the shield accompanies what appears to be a shrine (fig. 12 b).<sup>32</sup> The shield is apotropaic: it turns away evil from the city. The clangor of the Ancilia warns Rome of danger.<sup>33</sup> The pillar at times has a similar function. The pillars, or baetyls outside the tower of Troy VI, 1, stand guard over the most vulnerable part of the fortification: the gate.<sup>34</sup> The custom of putting the apotropaic symbols on the walls of a town is not lost in the course of time, although one cannot tell how much of the original meaning has been retained. At Isauria the shield and sword in combination, much as on our plaque, as well as other pieces of armor, are sculptured in low relief on one of the towers of the acropolis built probably in the first

<sup>29</sup> Garstang, *The Hittite Empire* Pl. XXV.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.* fig. 5 p. 92.

<sup>31</sup> Evans, *Palace of Minos* III fig. 208 p. 317.

<sup>32</sup> S. Hogarth, *JHS* 22 (1902), "The Zakro Sealings," figs. 29 and 30 p. 88. "There two types show obvious use of the shield as a symbol, probably of divine protection extended to the buildings associated with them."

<sup>33</sup> Livy, *Epit.* LXVIII; Servius on Aeneid, VIII, 3.

<sup>34</sup> C. W. Blegen, *AJA* 38 (1934) 241 and fig. 18.



century B. C.<sup>35</sup> Sword and shield appear so frequently on graves of this region (fig. 13)<sup>36</sup> that Keil and his colleagues were astonished and attributed it to the presence of many armorers among so warlike a people. I believe, however, that as in the case of our Tarsus Sandon monument the explanation lies elsewhere and in a less practical sphere.

A distinction should be made between apotropaic emblems and aniconic forms which are closer to fetishes. Mystic thought is perhaps least subject to change in the course of time. The cross in the Christian religion is not an embodiment of Christ but the instrument by which his act of sacrifice and atonement was accomplished—and, as such, one to which his power is attracted and before which prayers are spoken. In a similar way the sword and the shield may be conceived of, not as divinities, but as symbols embodying or attracting divine power. I suggest it as an interpretation in consonance with early religious concepts and the known symbolism of Anatolia and the eastern Mediterranean. The Sandon of Tarsus, then, takes its place among those late Hellenistic and Roman monuments which demonstrate in iconography and symbolism the persistence of ancient forms and religious ideas. As Perdrizet has noted,<sup>37</sup> it was just at the time to which our Sandon monument may be attributed that there was a recrudescence of oriental ideas and forms.

I should like to return once more to a brief discussion of the architecture of our relief. It is related to three types which are themselves interrelated: (1) the rock-cut chamber tomb; (2) the rock relief sculpture; and (3) the isolated monument with a solid core. Of the three, we know least about the latter type which appears both in Syria and Palestine. If we make our choice among them it is clear that only the rock sculpture is possible for our monument. Only so could the relief of Sandon appear on a vertical surface.

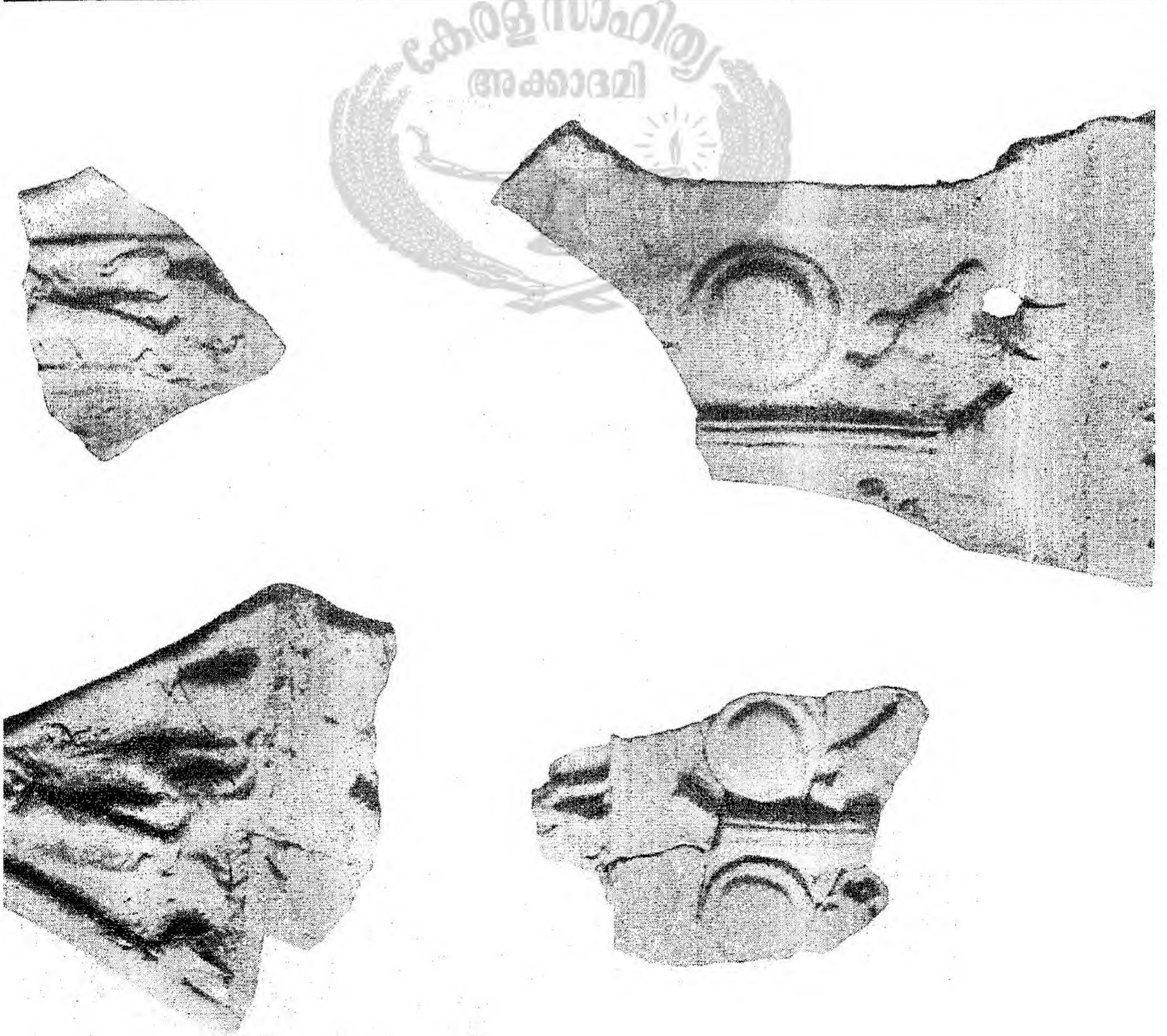
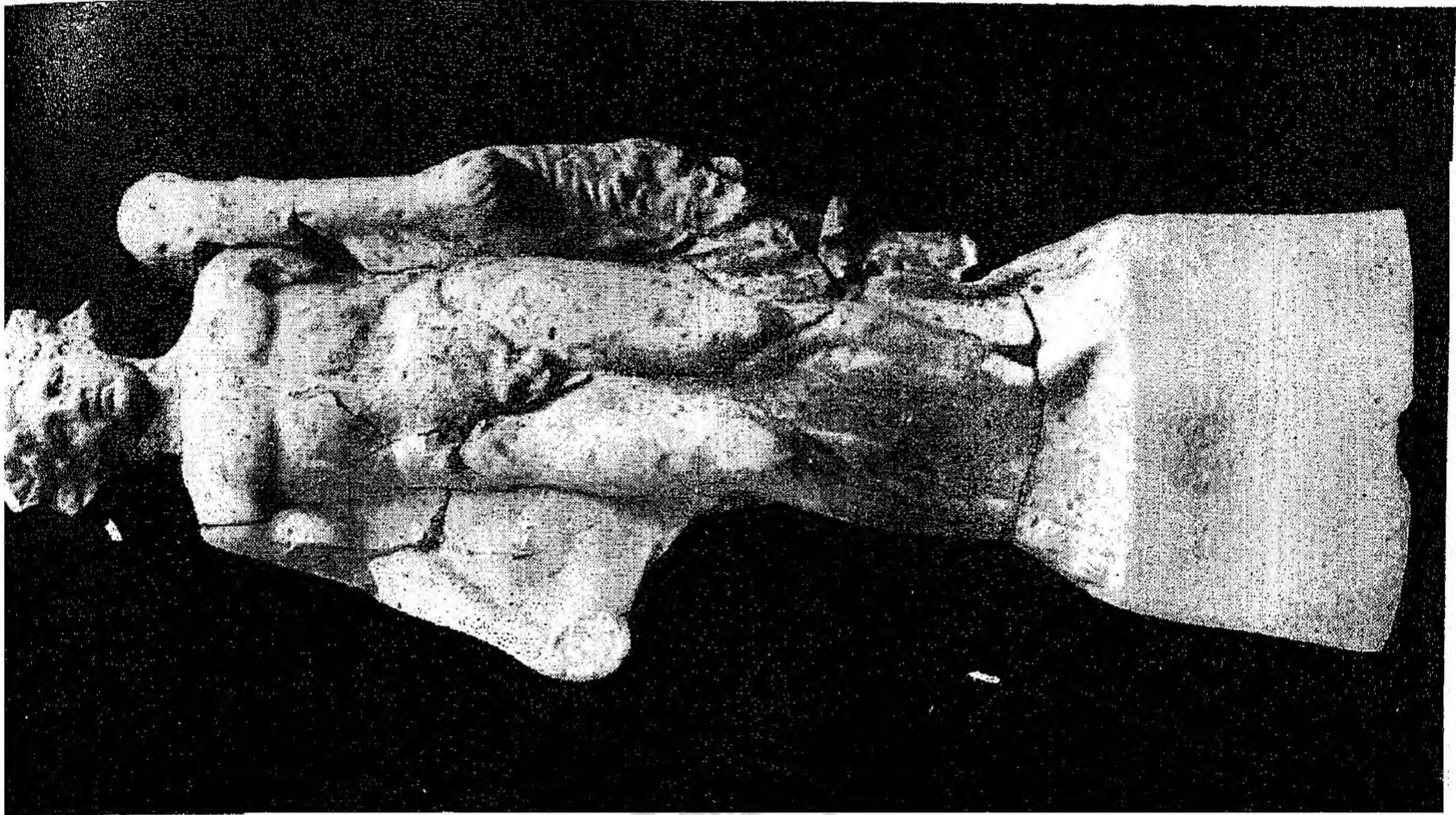
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<sup>35</sup> Swoboda, Keil, Knoll, *op. cit.* 125 fig. 41; construction attributed to the Galatian king Amyntas.

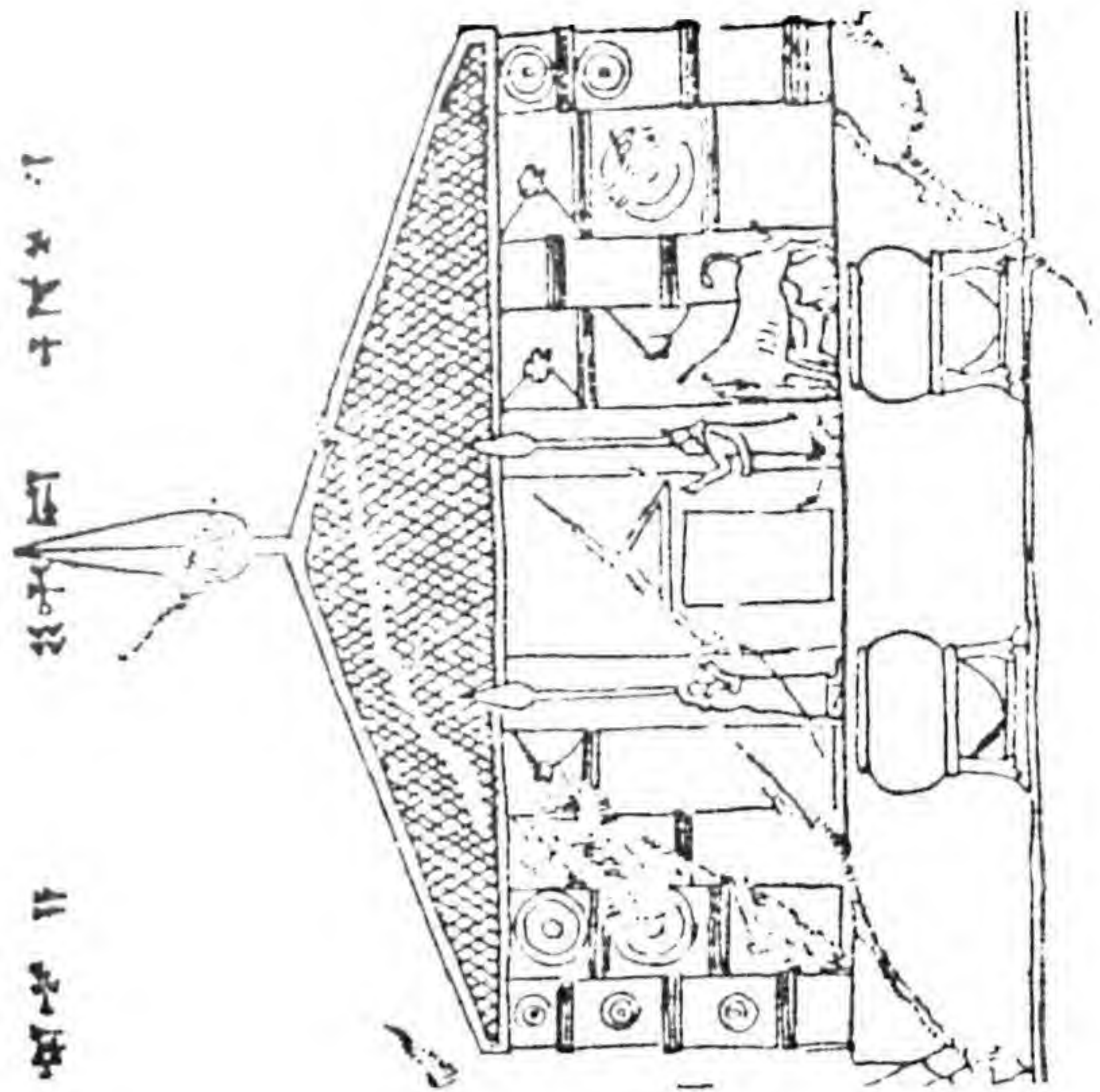
<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.* 49. Six such grave monuments are listed.

<sup>37</sup> Perdrizet, "Le Monument de Hermel," *Syria* 19 (1938) 66. At the time of the dissolution of the Seleucid empire there was a local art which shows the permanent artistic instincts of the race more strongly than under imperial Roman rule. "Ainsi le monument de Hermel qui, au premier coup d'oeil, pourrait paraître grec, apparaît, quand on y regarde plus près, comme un monument oriental plaqué d'hellénisme" (p. 67).









1. 2. 3. 4.

1. 2. 3. 4.

Fig. 3

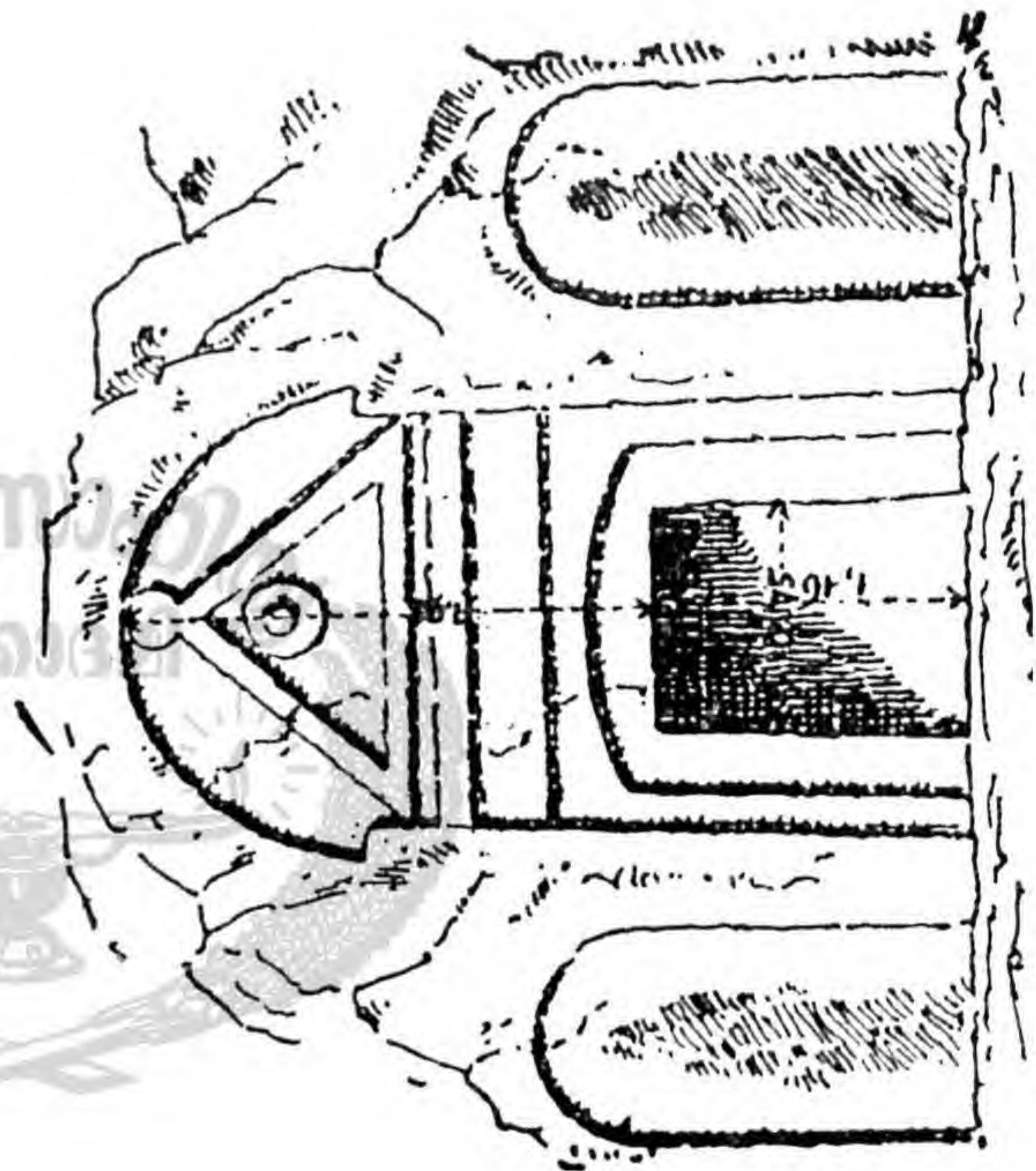
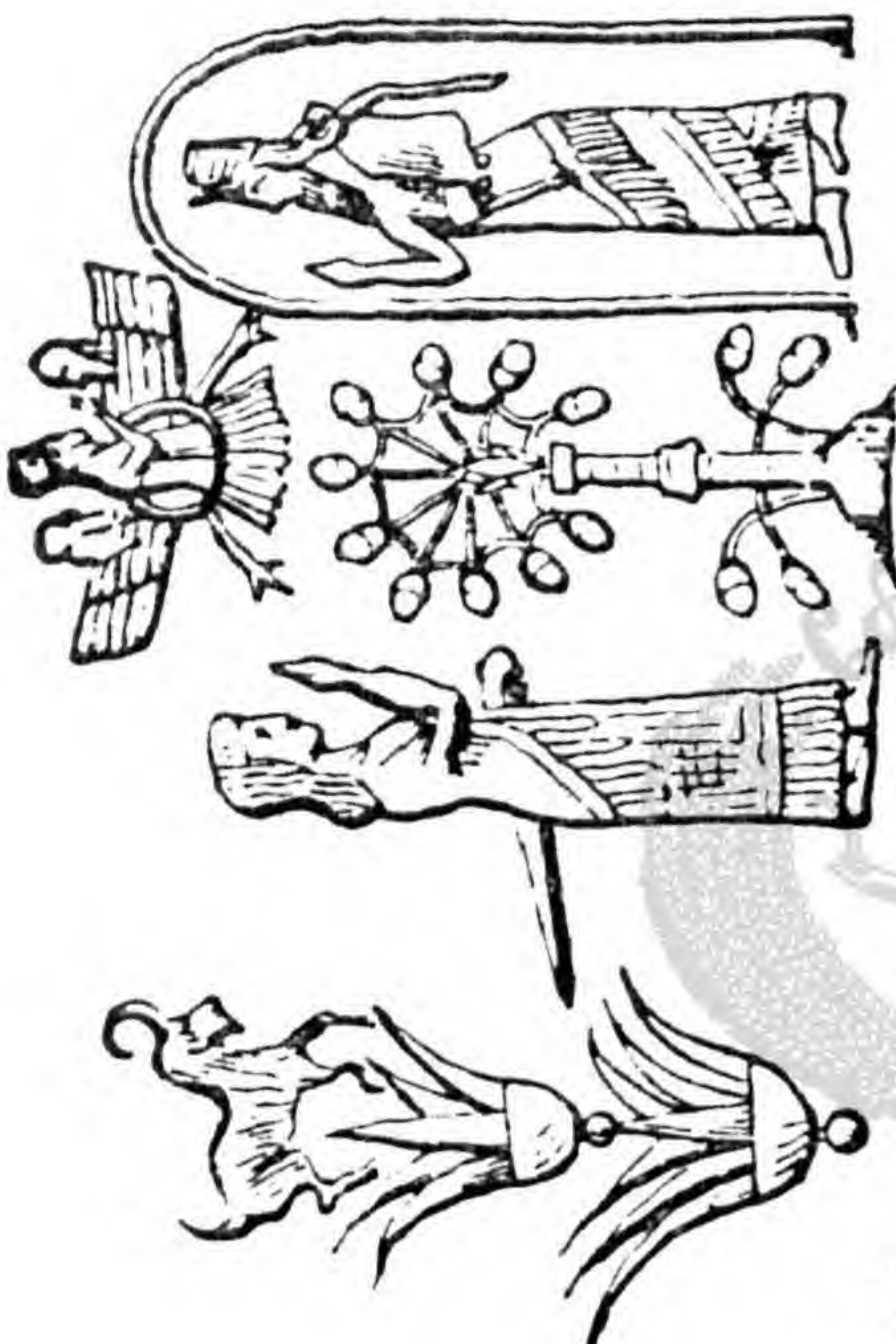
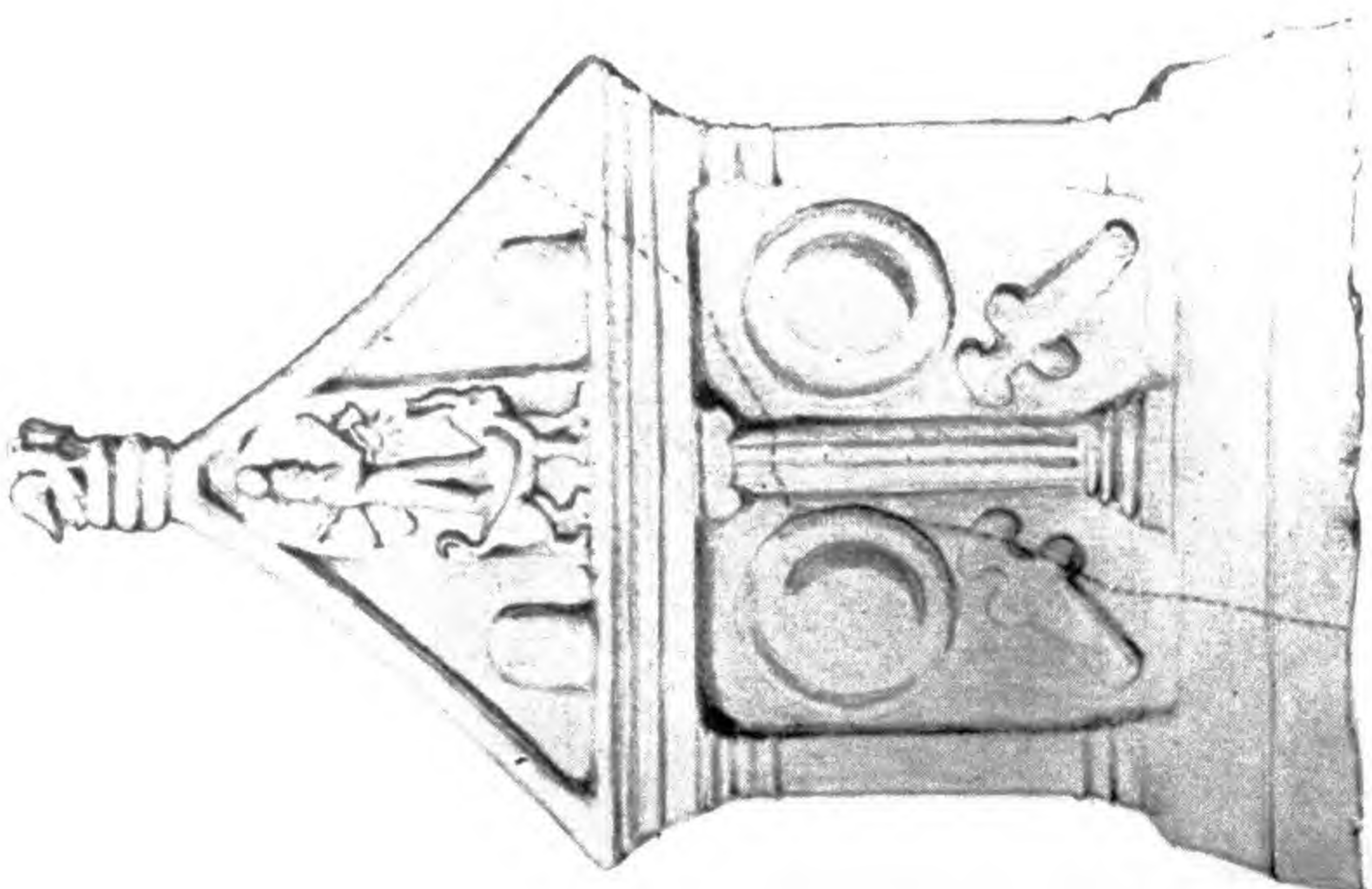


Fig. 4



61-





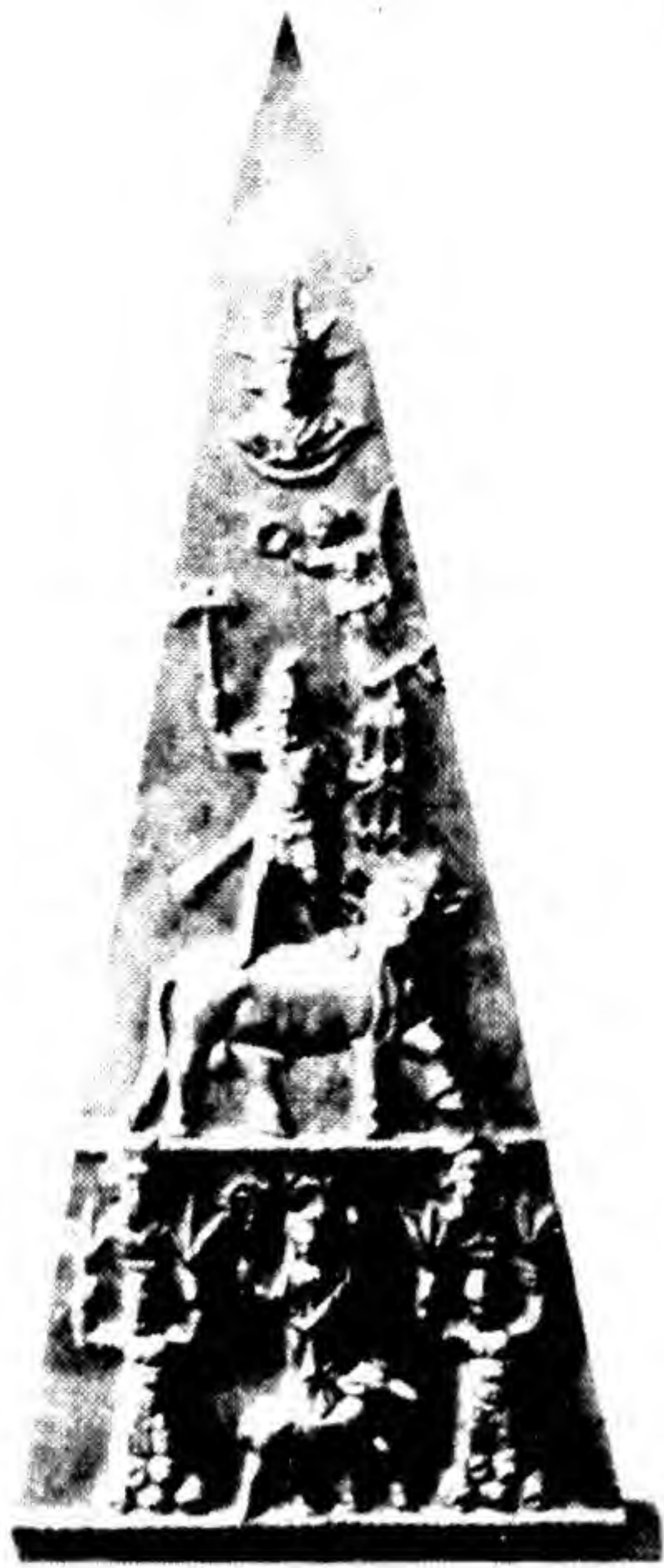


FIG. 9



FIG. 8



FIG. 11



FIG. 10



FIG. 14

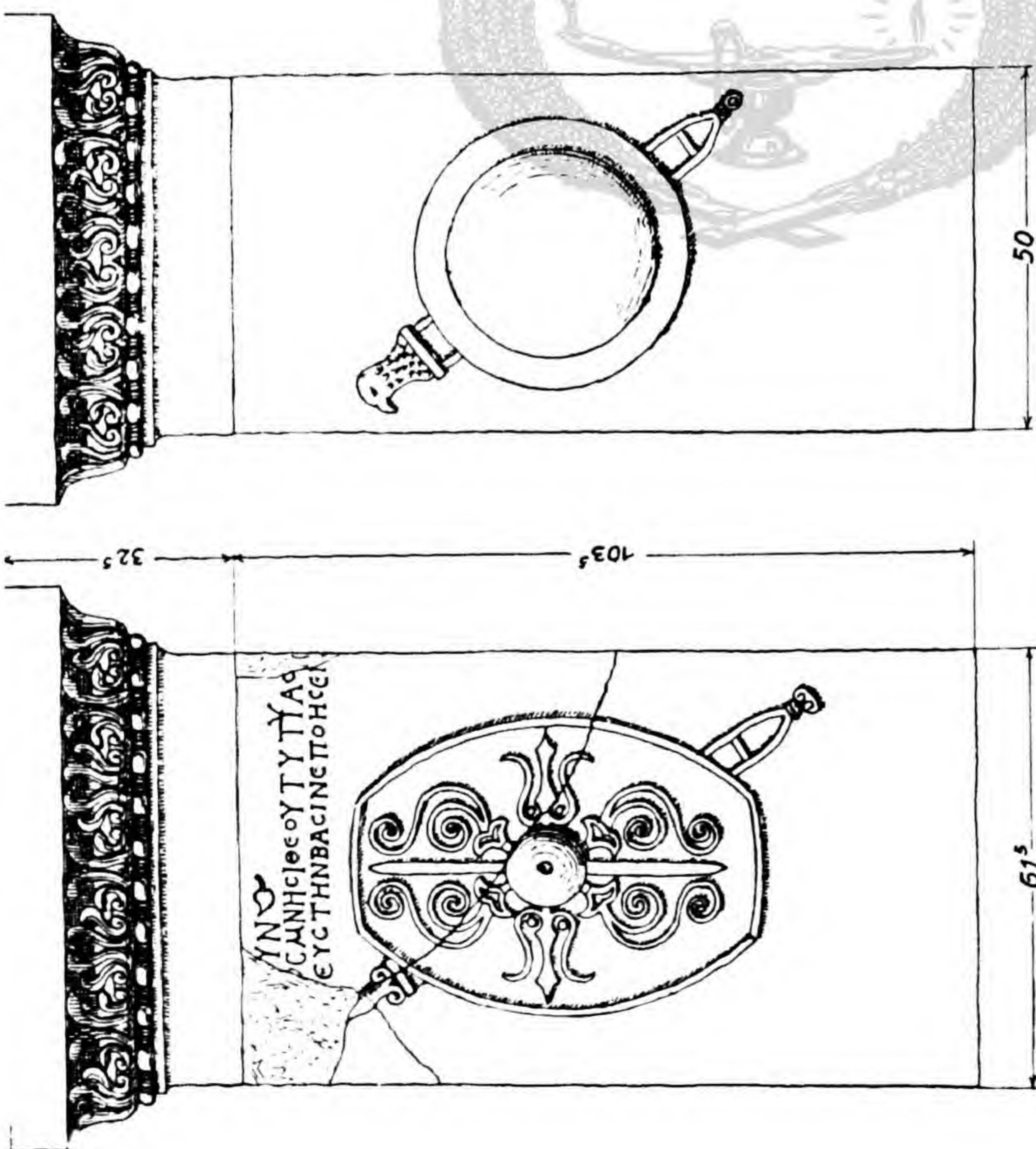
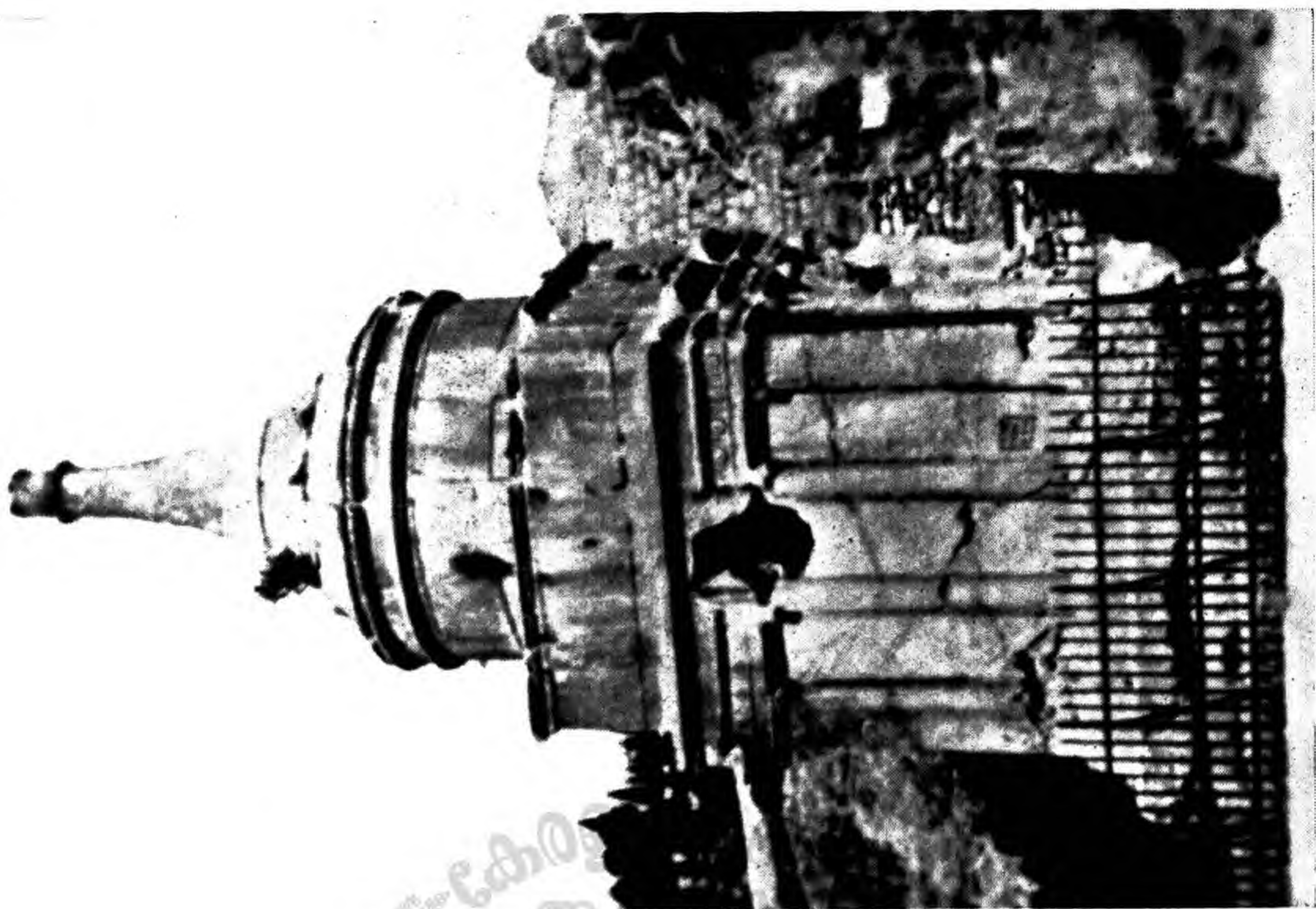
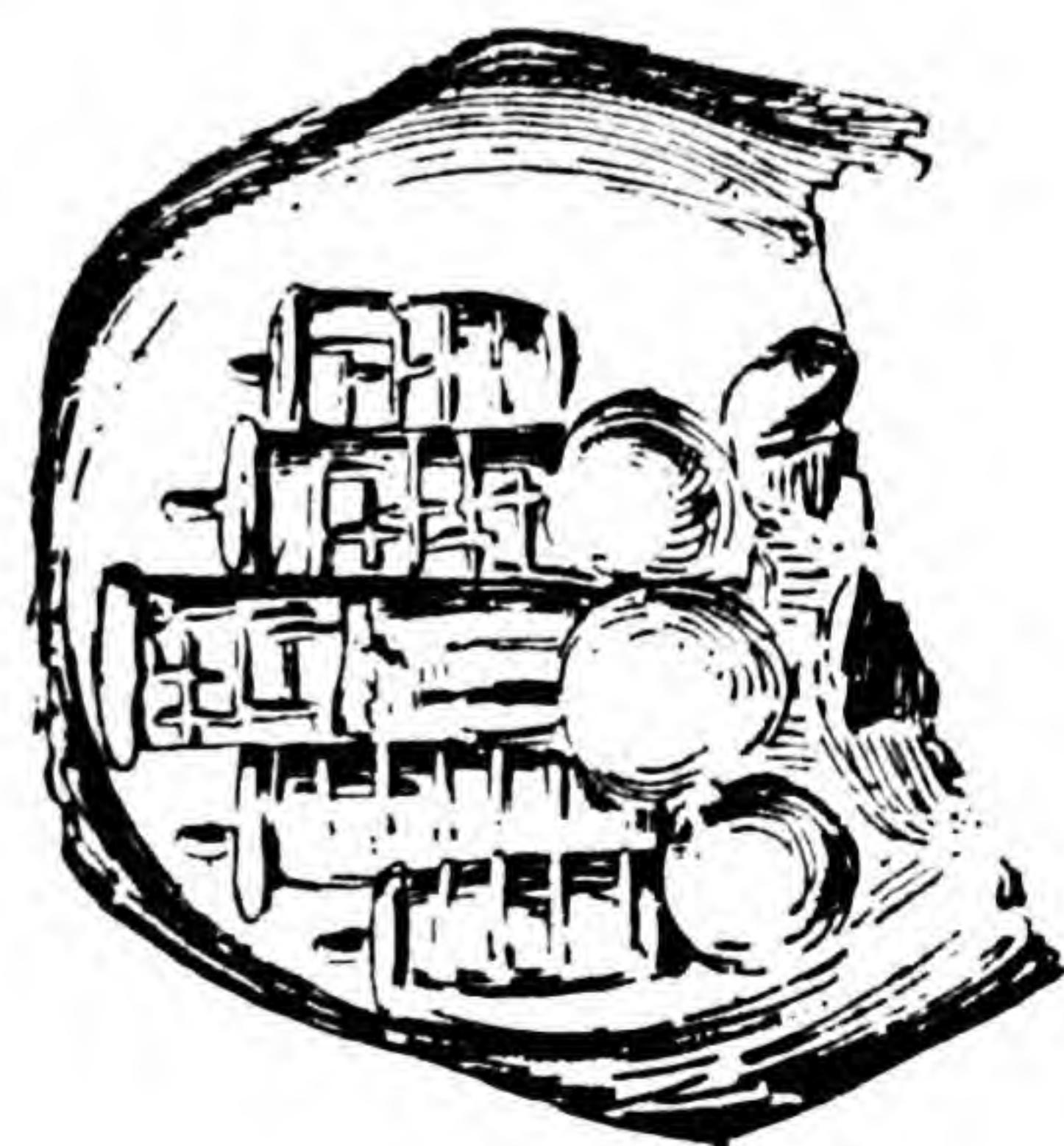
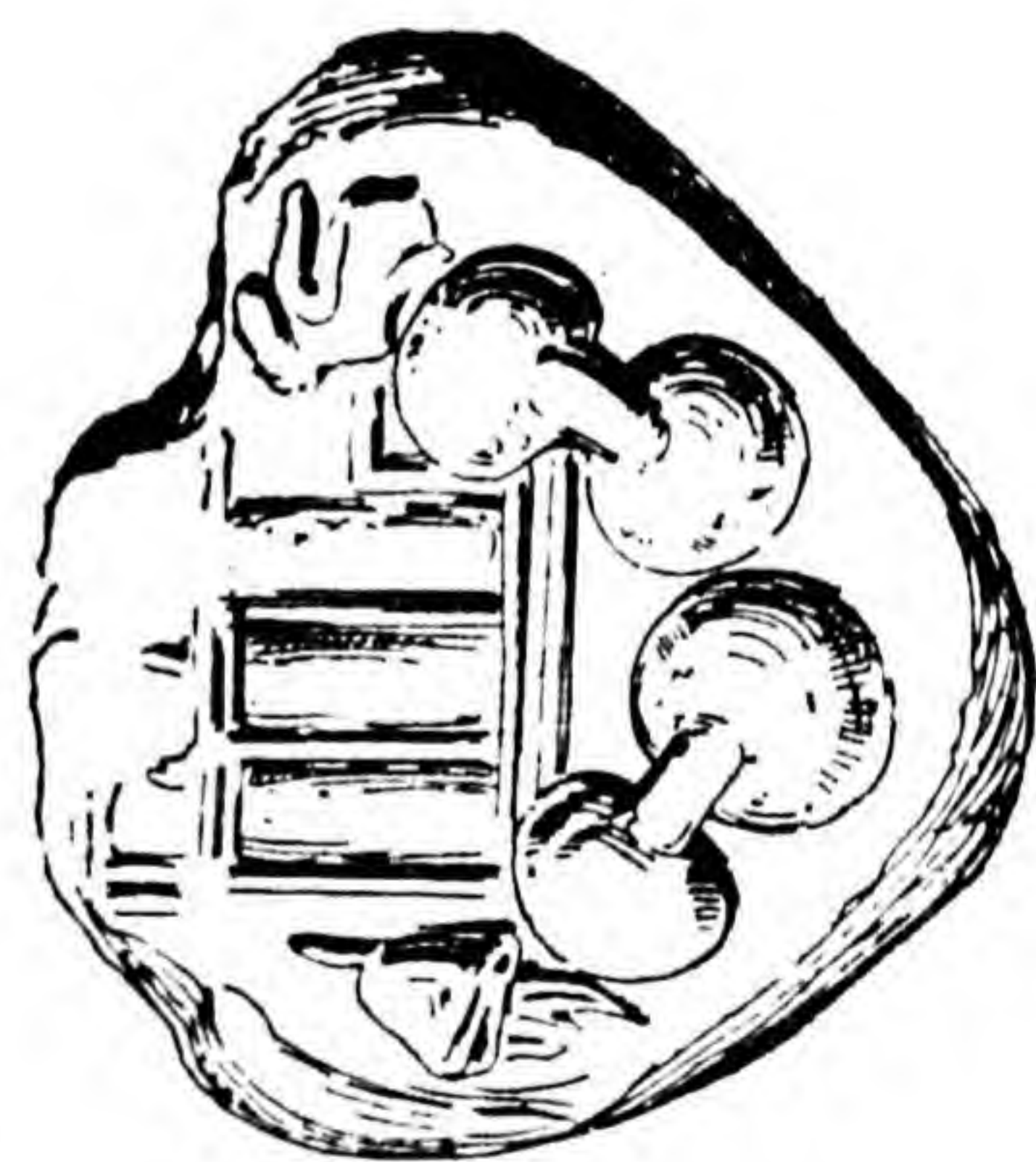


FIG. 13





There is absolutely no parallel, as far as I know, for a free-standing building of the Hellenistic period with a pediment as steep as that of the plaque. Rock reliefs are characteristically Hittite, and Anatolian, too, is the heavy squatness of the Sandon monument. The rock-cut tomb is eliminated as the unbroken façade of the terracotta shows that there was no chamber or open portico. Our monument, however, has certain features in common with the type with solid core. Among the more interesting examples of this is the so-called "Tomb of Absalom" near Jerusalem (fig. 14).<sup>38</sup> One can see that, translated into relief, the tepee-like roof would look very much like the concave-sided triangle of the plaque. The same is true of the pyramidal crowning member of such monuments as that of Hermel in Syria which Perdrizet believes was raised to commemorate a local king.<sup>39</sup> Monuments with solid core and rock reliefs have in common with the monument of the Tarsus terracotta the wall adorned with engaged architectural members; and in all three the significance lies not in what the monument contains—as in the tomb—but in what it commemorates and presents.



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<sup>38</sup> Fyfe, *Hellenistic Architecture* Pl. VI A.

<sup>39</sup> Perdrizet, *loc. cit.*



EMU TANGGÔ ORIN SAKDA-I GISUN SARKIYAN,  
AN UNEDITED MANCHU MANUSCRIPT<sup>1</sup>

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BEFORE describing this interesting unpublished manuscript, it may be well, since Manchu studies are not so popular in sinological circles as they once were, to survey the work done during the last thirty years in this neglected field. Although for some time Manchu has been considered by most scholars to be a moribund language, there are still some signs of life in Manchu studies. New interest was recently aroused in this field by the discovery in Peking of forgotten stores of official documents—written only in Manchu—which bear on the early history of the Ch'ing dynasty, but it is not to be expected that Manchu studies will again thrive as they did in the days of Amiot, Langlès, Gabelentz, Zakharov, Grube, Harlez, and others. Some time ago I started to compile a descriptive bibliography of western works and articles which might be utilized by students of the Manchu language.<sup>2</sup> On looking over the entries in this bibliography, one is struck by the fact that the dates of a fairly large number of them fall within this century. Although scholars of other nationalities have also contributed, the Germans, Japanese, and Russians have been most active in this field in recent years.

Beginning with 1908, I would like to review briefly a limited number of the most important works pertaining to Manchu language and literature. I start with that year because, in my opinion, it marked the first outstanding contribution to Manchu studies in the twentieth century: the late Berthold Laufer's "Skizze der Manjurischen Literatur."<sup>3</sup> This is a valuable bibliographical work supplanting Möllendorff's "Essay on Manchu Literature"<sup>4</sup> done some twenty years earlier. In this work Laufer gives the history

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<sup>1</sup> A preliminary draft of this paper was read before the American Oriental Society in New York, March 27, 1940.

<sup>2</sup> This compilation is as yet unfinished, but it already contains over 200 western entries which deal with some phase of Manchu language or literature—many more than the compiler expected to find.

<sup>3</sup> *Keleti Szemle (Revue Orientale)* 9 (1908). 1-53.

<sup>4</sup> JNCBRAS 24 (1889). 1-45.



of Manchu writing and language, the problems of the field, and a review of the literature in that language. Continuing along the lines of bibliography and literature, there appeared in 1909 an article by Grebenshchikov on Manchu literature,<sup>5</sup> and in 1914 von Zach made additions and corrections to Möllendorff's "Essay."<sup>6</sup> Some time later Pelliot<sup>7</sup> and Jaegher<sup>8</sup> proved conclusively that the author of the first Manchu grammar, *Elementa linguae tartaricae*,<sup>9</sup> was Verbiest, and not Gerbillon, as had been popularly believed. In 1928 W. Kotwicz, in his article "Sur le besoin d'une bibliographie complète de la littérature mandchoue,"<sup>10</sup> listed and briefly described fifteen important collections of Manchu literature and expressed the hope that a union bibliography of all Manchu literature in these and other collections would be formed through international cooperation. In 1932 K. Watanabe revised and enlarged his catalogue of Manchu works.<sup>11</sup> Walter Fuchs of Mukden and Peking, the most active present-day scholar in this field, has contributed greatly to our knowledge of Manchu literature. His important articles on Manchu versions of the Kanjur, and on early Ch'ing official documents in Manchu hitherto unknown to western scholars<sup>12</sup> were followed in 1936 by what is undoubtedly the most important work in this particular branch of Manchu studies, namely, his *Beiträge zur Mandjurischen Bibliographie und Literatur*.<sup>13</sup> In

<sup>5</sup> "Kratkii ocherk obraztsov man'chzhurskoï literatury," *Izvestiia Vostochnogo Instituta* 32, No. 2 (1909), 62 pp. (N. B. Russian transliterations are according to Library of Congress rules.)

<sup>6</sup> "Notizen zur Mandschurischen Bibliographie," TP, ser. 2, 15 (1914). 273-77.

<sup>7</sup> "Le véritable auteur des *Elementa linguae tartaricae*," TP, ser. 2, 21 (1922). 367-86. "Encore à propos des *Elementa linguae tartaricae*," *ibid.*, 24 (1925/26). 64-66.

<sup>8</sup> "Le Père Verbiest, auteur de la première grammaire mandchoue," TP 22 (1923). 189-92.

<sup>9</sup> Reprinted in Thévenot's *Relations de divers Voyages Curieux, qui n'ont point esté publiées* . . . (Paris, 1696), vol. II, pt. 4, 34 pp.

<sup>10</sup> *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, 6 (1928). 61-75.

<sup>11</sup> *Zôtei manshugô tosho mokuroku* 増訂滿州語圖書目錄, 2, 5, 64 p. (No. 3 of the *Research Review of the Osaka Asiatic Society*).

<sup>12</sup> "Zum Mandjurischen Kandjur," AM (*Asia Major*) 6 (1930). 388-402. "Nachtrag zum Artikel Zum Mandjurischen Kandjur," *ibid.*, 7 (1932). 484-85. "Neues Material zur mandjurischen Literatur aus Pekinger Bibliotheken," *ibid.*, 7 (1932). 469-82.

<sup>13</sup> Published as supplementary volume 14 of the *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens*, Tokyo, 1936, 146 pp.



it there are sections dealing with Manchu works and translators prior to 1661, Manchu seal writing, recently discovered Manchu documents, and the *shih lu* 實錄—important sources for early Ch'ing history; there are lists of about 400 pure Manchu manuscript biographies stored in Peking and Tokyo, and a section which supplements the Chinese catalogue compiled by Li Tê-ch'í 李德啓 of the Manchu works in the National Library of Peking and the library of the Palace Museum.<sup>14</sup> In the same year, 1936, Fuchs, writing an English article<sup>15</sup> on source materials for the end of the Ming and the early part of the Ch'ing dynasties, defends the study of Manchu on the grounds that many of the important Chinese sources for this period are based upon imperfect translations of the primary Manchu sources while much of the original Manchu literature still exists.

Manchu lexicography has also made important advances in recent years. Two reproductions and translations from a pentaglot manuscript dictionary in the British Museum using three and five languages, including Manchu, appeared in 1909 and 1934 respectively. The first one, a long list of bird names, was treated in Manchu, Chinese, and Turki by E. Denison Ross;<sup>16</sup> the second, by Erich Haenisch,<sup>17</sup> gives hunting terms in Manchu, Chinese, Mongol, Tibetan, and Turki. In 1928 F. Weller published a polyglot list of the thousand Buddha names in Manchu, Chinese, Sanscrit, Tibetan, and Mongol.<sup>18</sup> Von Zach has published three articles<sup>19</sup> which give additions and corrections to the Manchu-Russian dictionary of Zacharov.<sup>20</sup> During 1931-32, P. Schmidt

<sup>14</sup> *Man wên shu chi lien hō mu lu* 滿文書籍聯合目錄, Peking, 1933.

<sup>15</sup> "The Personal Chronicle of the First Manchu Emperor," *Pacific Affairs*, 9 (1926), 78-85.

<sup>16</sup> "A Polyglot List of Birds in Turki, Manchu, and Chinese," *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 2 (No. 9, 1909), 253-340, 14.

<sup>17</sup> "Die Abteilung 'Jagd' im fünfsprachigen Wörterspiegel," *AM* 10 (pt. 1, 1934), 59-93.

<sup>18</sup> *Tausend Buddhanamen des Bhadrakalpa nach einer fünfsprachigen Polyglotte*, Leipzig, 1928, XXV, 268 pp.

<sup>19</sup> "Einige Ergänzungen zu Sacharow's Mandzursko-Russki Slowarj," *MDGNVO* 14 (pt. 1, 1911), 1-25. "Weitere Ergänzungen zu Sacharow's Mandzursko-Russki Slowarj," *ibid.*, 14 (pt. 3, 1913), 255-67. "Weitere Ergänzungen zu Sacharow's Mandzursko-Russki Slowarj," *AM* 5 (1930), 498-513.

<sup>20</sup> *Polnyi man'chzhursko-russkii slovar'*, St. Petersburg, 1875. A facsimile reprint of this work, limited to 150 copies, was published in Peking in 1939.



published his "Chinesische Elemente im Mandschu";<sup>21</sup> this is actually a Manchu-German dictionary of words appearing in Manchu which are either loan-words from the Chinese, or have been influenced by that language. A Mongol-Japanese dictionary which also gives the Manchu equivalents was published in 1933 in Tokyo under the auspices of the Ministry of War,<sup>22</sup> and a Manchu-Japanese dictionary of 485 pages by T. Hanada appeared last year.<sup>23</sup> The latest, and perhaps most important, contribution to Manchu lexicography is scheduled to appear this year. This will be a Manchu-German dictionary by the late Erich Hauer. In a recent letter from the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens I was informed that his *Handwörterbuch der Mandschusprache* is now in press and will appear about July. It will apparently be a very complete work, for a sample of it<sup>24</sup> compared with the corresponding sections of the Manchu-French dictionary by Amiot<sup>25</sup> and the Manchu-German dictionary by Gabelentz<sup>26</sup> shows it to be much more thorough than either of these two works.

Contributions to the various phases of language study itself have been numerous and important. In 1912 Grebenshchikov did a lengthy article on Manchu language and writing,<sup>27</sup> and Rudnev contributed one on the living language and Shamanism.<sup>28</sup> Rudnev argues against the popular idea that Manchu is a dead language and gives specimens of the spoken language with translations and vocabularies. In 1924 there was published in London one of the very few aids in English for the study of Manchu. This is a reader which gives (with scattered grammatical notes) the romanized Manchu version and English translation of most of the "Hundred

<sup>21</sup> AM 7 (1932). 573-628, 8 (1933). 233-76, 353-436.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Ramstedt, "Two Mongol dictionaries of the year 1933," *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* 47 (1933/35), pt. 5, 1-10.

<sup>23</sup> This work was advertised by Brill in June of last year and was ordered at that time, but has not yet arrived.

<sup>24</sup> Hauer, "Ein Thesaurus der Mandschusprache," AM 7 (1932). 629-41.

<sup>25</sup> *Dictionnaire Tartare-Mantchou François* . . . Paris, 1789-90. 3 vols.

<sup>26</sup> *Mandschu-Deutsches Wörterbuch*, AKM 3, pt. 2, Leipzig, 1864.

<sup>27</sup> "Man'chzhury, ikh iazyk i pis'menost'," *Izvestiia Vostochnogo Instituta*, 1911/12, 72 pp.

<sup>28</sup> "Novye dannye po zhivoi man'chzhurskoï rechī i shamanstvu," *Zapiski Vostochnogo Otdeleniia Russkogo Arkheologicheskogo Obshchestva* 21 (1912). 47-82.



Chapters" (*i. e.*, the well-known "Hundred Lessons" in the *Tzū Erh Chi* of Sir Thomas Wade).<sup>29</sup> In the same year Hauer published a Manchu-Chinese-Mongol version of the Three Character Classic, with corresponding vocabularies in German.<sup>30</sup> W. Bang's "Türkisches Lehngut im Mandschurischen"<sup>31</sup> is one of the few purely phonetic studies on Manchu in recent years. In 1930 Sanzheev wrote on Manchu-Mongol linguistic parallels,<sup>32</sup> and in 1934 Shirokogoroff wrote an article on pronunciation based on notes taken among Manchu speaking peoples of the Aigun and Ili regions.<sup>33</sup> Manchu writing in its earliest form, without diacritical marks, has been treated by Li Te-ch'i 李德啓<sup>34</sup> and Vorob'ev.<sup>35</sup> Among the many works by Haenisch which are connected in some way with the Manchu language, two may be mentioned here. The first is a Manchu version of *Mêng ku yüan liu* 蒙古源流<sup>36</sup> a history of the Mongols; and the second, which appeared in 1938, is a translation of two Manchu-Tibetan edicts concerning Chinese relations with Nepal.<sup>37</sup>

Two articles by Hauer, always a strong advocate of Manchu studies, intended to show that the Manchu language is still in actual use, are interesting. One gives a facsimile of a passport issued in Manchu in 1927 to a German scientist travelling in

<sup>29</sup> M. F. A. Fraser, *Tanggu Meyen and other Manchu Reading Lessons*, London, 1924, vii, 184 pp.

<sup>30</sup> "Das San-tze-king in dreisprachigem Texte mit einem chinesischen, mandschurischen und mongolischen Wörterverzeichnis samt einer deutschen Übertragung," *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen* 26-27 (1924). 61-128.

<sup>31</sup> *Ungarische Jahrbücher* 4 (1924). 15-19.

<sup>32</sup> "Man'chzhuro mongol'skii iazykovye paralleli," *Izvestiia Akademii Nauk*, 1930, 601-708.

<sup>33</sup> "Reading and transliteration of Manchu Lit. (literary Manchu)," *RO* 10 (1934). 122-30.

<sup>34</sup> *Man chou wên tzū chih lai yüan chi ch'i yen pien* 滿州文字之來及其演變, (the origin and evolution of Manchu writing). *Kuo li pei ping t'u shu kuan kuan k'an* 國立北平圖書館館刊, V (1931), pt. 6, 34 pp.

<sup>35</sup> "Novye dannye o proiskhozhdenii i razvitií man'chzhurskoí pis'mennosti," *Zapiski Instituta Vostokovedeniia Akademii Nauk* 5 (1935). 115-32, illus.

<sup>36</sup> *Monggo han sai da sekiyen. Die Mandschufassung von Secen Sanang's mongolischer Geschichte*, Leipzig, 1933, iv, 124 pp.

<sup>37</sup> "Zwei kaiserliche Erlasse vom Ausgange der Regierung Kien-lung, die Gorkha betreffend," *HJAS* 3 (1938). 17-39.



northern Manchuria,<sup>38</sup> and in the other the author says that at Hailar he obtained a newspaper in the Manchu language which was dated November 21, 1925.<sup>39</sup> This paper, according to Hauer, was called *Ice Donjin Afaha*, and the particular issue he obtained bore the serial number 322. In 1928 it was said that the original edition of the Manchu translation of the Bible had finally been exhausted, and due to the demand a new edition would be prepared.<sup>40</sup>

It is regrettable that although there are several good Manchu collections in the United States, no scholar here except for Laufer has, to my knowledge, made significant contributions to Manchu studies. It is interesting to note, however, that the first American trade commissioner to China, Caleb Cushing, in 1844 advocated the adoption of Manchu as the diplomatic language between China and the western powers.<sup>41</sup> He himself had a good command of spoken Manchu and considered it much easier to acquire than Chinese. It is also rather surprising to learn that here in the United States we have the original, unpublished Manchu-French dictionary compiled by Stanislas Julien while he was making his Latin translation of Mencius from the Manchu. This historical document, written in the great French sinologue's own hand, is in the Cleveland Public Library.<sup>42</sup>

The title of the manuscript under examination, *Emu tanggô orin sakda-i gisun sarkiyan*, means "Record of the Words of One Hundred and Twenty Old Men." It is in the Newberry Library, Chicago, and was purchased in China for that institution in 1908 by Berthold Laufer. The text is quite long and covers a variety of subjects and the whole is bound, Chinese style, in eight stitched volumes which average 109 pages each (western pagination). There are neither chapter nor page numbers; the pages measure 9½ by 6½ inches. The work is entirely in Manchu except for an

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<sup>38</sup> "Ein Reisepass in Mandschusprache aus dem Jahre 1927," MSOS 32 (1929). 153-56.

<sup>39</sup> "Why the sinologue should study Manchu," JNCBRAS 61 (1930). 156-64.

<sup>40</sup> *Proceedings of the Seventeenth International Congress of Orientalists*, Oxford, 1928, p. 67.

<sup>41</sup> Considerations on the language of communication between the Chinese and European governments, *Chinese Repository* 13 (1844). 281-300.

<sup>42</sup> This is described by G. W. Thayer, quoting a letter of Laufer's, in JAOS 40 (1920). 140-41.



occasional Chinese note written in by some reader; in one place, for example, this person pasted in a slip of paper upon which he copied a sentence in Manchu, and below it, in Chinese, wrote "This sentence is not clear." This work was compiled by one Sungyun (Ch. Sung Yün 松筠), 1754-1835, a Mongol in the Manchu service.<sup>43</sup> After holding various official positions, Sungyun was sent to Urga or K'u-lun 庫倫 in 1785 to administer trade relations with the Russians. He was in Urga for eight years, and it was during his stay there that he compiled the "Record of the Words of One Hundred and Twenty Old Men."

The order of the volumes is first indicated by the eight words *kulun*, *urgunjen*, *eldehen*, *aššan*, *dosin*, *lifan*, *ilihen*, and *dahasun*, the Manchu terms for the *pa kua* 八卦 or Eight Diagrams of the *I Ching* 易經; these terms are then followed respectively by *ujui debtelin*, *jai debtelin*, *ilaci debtelin*, etc., first volume, second volume, third volume, etc. The title of the work, the *pa kua* term, and number of each volume are written by hand in a formal style within a decorated block-print border measuring  $5\frac{3}{8}$  by  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches which is pasted on the outside covers. There are eight vertical columns to the page, reading from left to right. Some of the columns are elevated one, two, or three degrees, as in Chinese, to show respect to the royal family or to the state when terms related to them are used. This practice, when many terms requiring respect are used, leaves some of the pages quite blank since a new and elevated column must be started whenever one of these terms occurs, even though the previous line has but one word in it. The writing is done by brush in a beautiful, flowing hand, but appears to have been done by more than one person since some sections are written much more delicately than others. The writing is clear and easily read on the whole, but occasionally, due to its cursive nature, difficulties in its interpretation arise.

There are two prefaces to this work. The first one, written by Sungyun, is dated *abkai wehiyehe-i susai duinci aniya*, i. e., Ch'ien Lung's 54th year—1789. In this modestly worded preface Sungyun says that he had always paid attention to the conversations of his elders, and during the times he was not holding public office he recorded in 120 sections the various matters he considered worthy

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<sup>43</sup> His biography is given in *Ch'ing shih kao* 清史稿, ch. 129 in the biographical section.



of preserving. Every one of these 120 sections begins with the phrase *emu sakda hendume*, "An old man said"—hence the name of the work. This phrase is followed, in the majority of cases, by the verb *donjici* (sometimes the singular pronoun of the first person, *bi* "I," precedes it), "I hear (that)"; sometimes the opening phrase is followed by *mini emu gucu . . .*, "a friend of mine . . ." The second preface, written by Furentai (Ch. Fu Lun-t'ai 富倫泰), a friend of Sungyun, is dated *abkai wehiyehe-i susai ningguci aniya*—1791. In this preface Furentai praises the author's work and describes the method whereby he himself classified and arranged the 120 chapters, in which order they now stand.

The 120 chapters are classified under eighteen different headings. Those to which most space is devoted deal with the officials of the eight banners (17 ch.), provincial officials (18 ch.), foreign tribes (8 ch.), military affairs (6 ch.), subjects for instruction (10 ch.), discourses on filial piety (6 ch.), discourses urging study (29 ch.), and ancient matters (10 ch.). The other headings, including from one to three chapters, deal with beginnings of the (Manchu) state, imperial tombs, imperial decrees, the way of the sages and the teaching of Buddha, rites, punishments, garrisons, diligence, the instruction of young women, and the home. So far I have transliterated seven chapters and translated two, but it remains to be seen whether or not the translation of sections like those on provincial officials, garrisons, foreign tribes, military matters, instruction of young women, etc. will throw new historical or anthropological light upon the Manchus.

This manuscript is interesting and important because it is one of the few extensive works originally written in Manchu. Moreover, it was, contrary to the usual practice, translated *from* the original Manchu into Chinese. This was done in 1809 by Fu Chün 富俊, another Mongol in Manchu service.<sup>44</sup> This work, either in pure Manchu or as a bilingual text, has not been published and exists only in manuscript form.

The page in the illustration is typical of the more delicate style of writing used. Its transliteration by lines from left to right follows:

(1) *tacime muteci. eiten baita yabun de teisu ubu. niyalmai giyan*

<sup>44</sup> His biography is given in *Ch'ing shih kao*, *loc. cit.* Cf. Fuchs, *Beiträge . . .*, p. 94.



be unenggileme (2) akômbure be saci ombi serengge. julgei baita i juwan hacin be. wajime debtelin de (3) kamcibuhangge. niyalma be julge te i giyan emu. ne i durun kemun baita (4) yabun gemu julgeci ebsi ulan ulan i ulanjihangge. umai encu akô be sakini (5) serengge. tuttu bime. julergi duin debtelin oci. baita yabun be gisurehebi. amargi (6) duin debtelin oci. tacire hacin be leolehebi. uttu obume faksalahangge. (7) amba tacin i jaka be hafure ci beye boo be dasara de isibufi. (8) teni dasan i baita be daci ojoro ilhi be enen i saci ombime. inu





Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a preface, arranged in seven vertical columns. The text is written in a fluid, connected style with many loops and flourishes. A faint watermark of a bird is visible in the center of the page.

A page from the second preface of  
*Emu tanggô orin sakda-i gisun sarkiyan.*



# THE CHINESE STUDIES OF ANDREAS MÜLLER<sup>1</sup>

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WITH the conclusion of the Peace of Westphalia (1648), Europe entered upon an era of commercial and colonial expansion. The wondrous stories of eastern Asia brought back by traders and missionaries were almost unbelievable to the generation which had witnessed the horrors of the Thirty Years' War. This fabled new world of Prester John appeared as a veritable El Dorado. The new Weltanschauung caused great repercussions in learned circles. Even the most bigoted of orthodox scholars became aware of a drama existing apart from the European stage.

One of the most cosmopolitan of these world-conscious Europeans was Andreas Müller (1630?-1694).<sup>2</sup> His early life was spent on the farm of his father outside Greiffenhagen, a small town south of Stettin in Pomerania. At the age of sixteen, he studied Latin, Greek, and Hebrew at the University of Rostock. After Rostock he worked further at the universities of Greifswald and Wittenberg. Like so many of the educated men of his day, Müller was trained for the church. In Brandenburg the prevalent denomination was that of the Reformed Church. In 1653 Müller received his first charge at Königsberg in the Newmark. Shortly thereafter he was elevated to the rank of Provost and was transferred to Treptow.

After a short stay at Treptow, the young clergyman left for England to aid Edmund Castell, professor of Arabic at Cambridge, and Bryan Walton, Bishop of Chester, in their joint enterprise of

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<sup>1</sup> This article does not attempt to review all of Müller's Chinese studies. The ones mentioned here are only representative. A complete bibliography of Müller's published and manuscript works yet extant may be found in August Müller, "Eröffnungsrede," ZDMG 35 (1881). III-XVI. This bibliography was compiled from the library of the Marienstiftsgymnasium at Stettin, the university library at Greifswald, the Prussian State library, and the library of the Orphanage at Halle.

<sup>2</sup> The first biography of Müller was written by Sebastian Gottfried Starke as an appendix to Starke's edition of Müller's *Alphabeta ac Notae diversarium linguarum* (1703). Although this account is not devoid of errors, it has formed the basis for all subsequent studies of Müller's life and works.



a universal dictionary.<sup>3</sup> Müller lived in Castell's home and collaborated closely with him over a period of ten years. The two men devoted the major portion of their time to a comparative study of near-eastern languages. After years of labor, the results of this enterprise had the misfortune to be almost completely wiped out in the London fire of 1666.

In the same year Müller returned to Brandenburg where he became Provost of Bernau—Bernau, a town noted in the seventeenth century for its excellent beer! Because of his sermons, Müller soon attracted the attention of Frederick William, the Great Elector. In 1667, the year in which Anathasius Kircher's *China Illustrata* was published, he became Provost at the Nicolaikirche in Berlin.

With his position in the church established, Müller was enabled to devote considerable time to other studies. Meanwhile, Frederick William had conceived the idea of organizing an East India Company to compete with the companies established by the French and the English. To gain a modicum of knowledge of China the Elector bought the Chinese library of the Dutch Admiral Giesel van Lier. Other Chinese works were also obtained through Dutch sources. In this way was formed the nucleus of what came to be a great collection at Berlin. This rapidly growing library on China was at the disposal of Müller, and formed his first really important fund of information concerning the "Middle Kingdom."

According to his own account, Müller invented in 1667 a *Key to Chinese* (*Clavis Sinica*).<sup>4</sup> While going through certain Arabic materials, he claimed to have found several hints for the solution of the Chinese-language puzzle. From these he evolved his *Key*. The first references to the existence of the *Key to Chinese* are to be found in his correspondence. He exchanged letters on the subject with such men as Kircher, Ludolf, and Christian Mentzel.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> A two volume dictionary was published in 1669 entitled, *Lexicon Heptaglotton*.

<sup>4</sup> See Müller, *Sinicae Clavis Historia Chronologica in Epitomen redacta in Tentzels Monatliche Unterredungen*, 9 (1697). p. 982. See also G. S. Bayer, *Museum Sinicum* (Petropoli, 1730), I, 35-6.

<sup>5</sup> Hiob Ludolf was a reputable scholar of near-eastern languages. Christian Mentzel, a contemporary of Müller in Brandenburg, was also greatly interested in China. Mentzel studied Chinese with the Jesuit, Father Couplet. Both Müller and Mentzel were advisers on Chinese subjects to Frederick William.



Although the *Key* was never published, its history is closely connected with Müller's other studies of China and the Chinese language. The first of these, *A Geographical and Historical Disquisition on Cathay* (*Disquisitio geographica et historica de Chataja*) (1670), was dedicated to Edmund Castell. In the light of this dedication it may be surmised that Müller had become interested in the Middle and Far East even while in London. The *Disquisition* is little more than a brief review of travel accounts and missionary works concerning Cathay—the type of thing a man might make for personal reference. It is topical in form and alphabetical in arrangement. Probably the most significant portion of the study is that which lists the Chinese “twelve branches,” the “ten stems,” the twenty-four seasonal divisions, and the sexagenary cycle. In these lists Müller followed with great exactness the scholarship of Jacob Gohl (1596-1667), an eminent Dutch orientalist who had received most of his knowledge of Chinese from Father Martini.<sup>6</sup> The Chinese characters listed by Müller are simply copies of those in Gohl's *Additional Information Concerning the Kingdom of Cathay* (*De regno Catayo Additamentum*) which was included as an appendix to Martini's *Atlas* (1655).

One year after publishing his *Disquisition* Müller edited a Latin version of Marco Polo's *Travels*.<sup>7</sup> The manuscript used was one found in the Electoral library. It was a copy of the Latin version made by Pipino and is known as the P<sup>2</sup> manuscript.<sup>8</sup> Müller's preface to his edition of the *Travels* shows a thorough acquaintance with the work of earlier editors of the various Marco Polo manuscripts.

Neither of the works already discussed holds a hint as to Müller's *Key to Chinese*. The best clue is given in his edition of the inscription on the Nestorian monument of Sianfu, the *Monument of China* (*Monumenti Sinici*) (1672). In this work he used the Nestorian

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<sup>6</sup> For a discussion of Gohl and his relations with Martini see J. J. L. Duyvendak, “Early Chinese Studies in Holland,” *TP* 32 (1936), 298-302.

<sup>7</sup> Müller called this edition, *Marci Pauli Veneti, Historici fidelissimi juxta ac praestantissimi, de Regionibus Orientalibus*. . . . As late as Oct. 12, 1813, Goethe borrowed Müller's version of Marco Polo from the Weimar library. See “Goethe und China,” in *Das Buch in China und das Buch über China* (Frankfurt am Main, 1938), p. 94.

<sup>8</sup> See L. F. Benedetto, *Marco Polo. Il Milione* (Firenze, 1928), p. xxxiii. See also A. C. Moule and P. Pelliot, *Marco Polo. The Description of the World* (London, 1938), I, 512.



inscription as presented by Father Kircher in the *China Illustrata* (1667).<sup>9</sup> Müller, however, includes no Chinese characters, only Portuguese transliterations. He placed each transliteration of a Chinese character under a note inscribed on an ordinary western musical staff.<sup>10</sup> Thus, by a process, very similar to our system of coördinating the words and music of a song, he hoped to explain away the tonal difficulties of Chinese.

Müller's contemporaries were skeptical. Father Kircher wrote to him time after time urging him to publish his materials on the *Key*. In answer, Müller published in 1674 a small pamphlet called *A Plan for a Key to Chinese* (*Propositio Clavis Sinicae*)—which is nothing more than a discourse as to his reasons for not publishing! The general tone of the pamphlet indicates that he was unwilling to reveal anything at his own expense. Perhaps the experiences of Castell in the debtor's prison at London had made a strong impression on the German scholar. In any case, his primary concern seems to have been to secure himself financially by finding someone to publish his *Key to Chinese*.

Müller realized the potential importance of the *Key* to traders and missionaries. For this reason, he felt that a work with such great possibilities should give him something more solid, if possibly less enduring, than fame. To be precise, he demanded two thousand thalers before he would agree to publication. One thousand thalers was awarded him in 1678 by Frederick William. This contribution, Müller held, was not sufficient. He steadfastly refused to reveal his secret.<sup>11</sup> Confidently he declared that his studies had resulted in a solution to the difficulties of reading and speaking Chinese. In his commentaries on the *Monument of China* he writes:

Indeed, I really wish I could be as certain of a stipend from the official or ecclesiastical lists, as I am certain that even women by studying Chinese characters for a year, or a shorter space of time, will be able to read Chinese and Japanese books . . .<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Kircher gives a reproduction of the stone and its inscription. This is followed by a table which gives the pronunciation of each character in Portuguese transliteration. A literal and a free translation of the inscription are also included. The translations are by Michael Boym.

<sup>10</sup> Müller argued that the Chinese recognized only five tones. These five tones are roughly equivalent to the European do, re, me, fa, sol. He insisted that the Annamites used a sixth tone, la.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. August Müller, *op. cit.*, p. x.

<sup>12</sup> *De Monumento Sinico Commentarius Novensilis in Opuscula nonnulla Orientalia* (Francofurti ad Oderam, 1695), p. 12.



An interesting sidelight revealed in this quotation is Müller's apparent belief that a knowledge of Chinese characters meant also the ability to read Japanese.

Gottlieb Siegfried Bayer (1694-1738), a student of Chinese born in the year of Müller's death, commenting on Müller's Chinese studies, unkindly observed that it might be easier "to teach fish to sing, than men to speak" by this method.<sup>13</sup> The Abbé Renaudot was also critical. Referring to Müller's emendations of Kircher's edition of the Nestorian monument, Renaudot was not able to comprehend how "a scholar who has never been outside of Europe, is able to correct a Chinese inscription with the aid of a few dictionaries."<sup>14</sup>

Closer home Müller's critics were not as acid in their comments. Despite the extravagances of his claims, Müller was one of the outstanding German authorities on Chinese subjects. He had read practically everything on China written in western languages. In 1682 he was even asked by the Holy Roman Emperor for advice on Chinese books in the imperial repositories. His knowledge, too, of several near eastern languages made him a respected scholar. The official position of Provost at the Nicolaikirche seemed to affirm his knowledge of religious subjects. When a man of such reputation reported that he had found a *Key to Chinese*, it is little wonder that he stirred the educated world.

No less an intellectual than Leibniz became intensely interested in the reports of the *Key*. Most of Müller's works had been sent to Leibniz through Johann Sigismund Elsholz, physician to the Great Elector.<sup>15</sup> On June 24, 1679, Leibniz directed to Müller a series of fourteen questions concerning the *Key* and its possibilities. The philosopher asked:

1. Whether such a *Key* is unfailing and certain as in reading our a, b, c's or numbers, or whether from time to time one is in need of help, as often happens in reading hieroglyphics.

2. Since Chinese writing, as is well known, is worked out not on the

<sup>13</sup> G. S. Bayer, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

<sup>14</sup> Renaudot, *Anciennes Relations des Indes et de la Chine . . .* (Paris, 1718), p. 241. The author also gives a detailed criticism of Müller's comments on the religious implications of the Nestorian monument.

<sup>15</sup> See the correspondence of Leibniz and Elsholz on this question in Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften (eds.), *G. W. Leibniz. Sämtliche Schriften und Briefe* (Darmstadt, 1927), Series I, Vol. II, pp. 419-20.



basis of words, but rather on objects, so I should like to know if the characters are always made according to the constitution of the object.

3. Whether the whole language is based on certain common elements, or a basic alphabet from which the other characters are evolved.

4. Whether inanimate objects are expressed in terms of the animate.

5. Whether the Chinese language was artificially constructed, or whether it has grown and changed by usage like other languages.

6. Whether the Chinese language was also artificially constructed on a certain *Key*.

7. Whether H. Müller therefore believed the Chinese to be unconscious of the *Key* to their own language.

8. Whether he thinks that this language can be introduced easily and beneficially into Europe.

9. Whether those who constructed this language understood the nature of things and were highly rational.

10. Whether the characters take notice of such natural objects as animals, plants, and stones, and whether thereby the characteristics of objects differentiate one object from the other.

11. Whether and to what extent is the bare nature of objects added to.

12. Whether the person having this *Key* and using it can understand everything written in the Chinese language no matter what material it comprises.

13. Whether the person having the *Key* can also write something in Chinese and whether such writing could be understood by a learned Chinese.

14. If one should ask several Chinese and several holding this *Key* to translate something word for word (like "Our Father") from our language into Chinese, whether their translations would be so similar that a person holding one up against the other could detect that for the most part they were one.<sup>16</sup>

Although Müller replied to these questions, his answers were evidently unsatisfactory to Leibniz.<sup>17</sup> A more striking evidence of his interest, however, was Leibniz's desire to have Müller translate and transliterate a certain Chinese book "in quarto, long and thin, having around eighty pages." At first Müller agreed to do the job, but demanded that he be sent the book, or its title, to decide whether it was worth translating. Upon receipt of the book, Müller stated that he would rather do a somewhat less common work, since excerpts from the title suggested by Leibniz had already been translated by Father P. Intorcetta (1626-1696).<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 491-92.

<sup>17</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 499; 508.

<sup>18</sup> This probably refers to a Latin translation of excerpts from the moral teachings of Confucius which were published in 1672 under the title *Sinarum scientia politico-moralis* in Thevenot's *Relations de divers Voyages curieux*. For further information on Intorcetta see A. Backer et al., *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jesus* (Paris, 1893), IV, 641-3.



Besides his work with the *Key to Chinese*, Müller tried to synthesize the various European studies on China. He had a peculiar custom, as was previously mentioned, of presenting his facts in topical form. The first example of this tendency has been noted in his *Disquisition on Cathay* (1670). The practice was also adopted in the format of several other treatises. In 1674 he published his *Seven Observations on China* (*Hebdomas Observationum Sinicarum*). In the first observation, Müller discusses the antiquity of China and establishes the Chinese deluge at about 3000 B. C. The second part is an historical discussion of Christian missions in China with a great deal of attention to near-eastern missions. The third observation is an attempt to collate accounts given by Martini and Mendoza<sup>19</sup> of the Chinese emperors and their reign dates. The fourth section deals with ginseng, its medicinal uses in China and its possibilities for Europe. The fifth observation concerns astronomy and the establishment of a Chinese solar calendar. In the sixth section Müller attempts to establish place-names mentioned in Marco Polo by studying contemporary near eastern accounts of geographical spots of importance. The final observation deals with astrology and attempts to collate the Chinese and western astrological systems.

In 1679 Müller published a chronological table of the Chinese emperors entitled *Chinese Royalty* (*Basilicon Sinense*). As sources he used accounts given in Martini, Mendoza, Abdalla,<sup>20</sup> and some "Chinese manuscripts." His "Chinese manuscripts" probably consisted of the Nestorian inscription plus the few translated excerpts from the Chinese Classics and the Chinese works in the Electoral library.<sup>21</sup>

Müller's work of synthesizing European accounts of China was continued in 1680 with the publication of *The Geographical Nomenclature of the Chinese Empire* (*Imperii Sinensis Nomenclatur Geographicus*). As a basis for his table, he used the map brought to western Europe by Nicolas Witsen, Bürgermeister of Amsterdam, after the journey of the latter to Russia in 1666.<sup>22</sup> The list of

<sup>19</sup> Müller used Mendoza's *Historia de las cosas mas notables ristas y costumbres, del gran Reyno dela China . . .* (1585).

<sup>20</sup> See *infra*, p. 571.

<sup>21</sup> See *infra*, p. 571.

<sup>22</sup> This map was later published in Witsen's *Noord en Oost Tartarye, ofte bondigh ontwerp van eenige dier landen en Volken, zo als voormals bekend zyn geweest . . .* (1692). For further details see P. A. Tiele's *Nederlandische Bibliographie van Land- en Volkenkunde*.



place-names is preceded by a preface which reviews the previous works on China and their significance to the study of geography. The list includes 1783 place-names with the longitude and latitude of each. Several samples taken from this list and compared with the modern figures of longitude and latitude are within a few degrees of accuracy.

Müller did not overlook near-eastern writers on China. In 1678<sup>23</sup> he translated into Latin and edited the *Chinese History* (*Historia Sinensis*) of a Persian whom he supposed to be Abdalla. In reality, the work which he translated was the eighth book of Banakati's world history, the *Rautzatuli-uli-albab* (1317).<sup>24</sup> Since this book had been printed in the period of Mongol dominion in Persia, it is not difficult to understand where Banakati got his information of China. Five of the nine sections of the Persian history are devoted to non-Moslem peoples.

Nobody was better acquainted than Müller with the Chinese collection in the Electoral library. In his studies he must have ransacked the library. In 1679 he prepared a printed *Catalogue of the Chinese Books in the Electoral Library of Brandenburg* (*Catalogus Librorum Sinicorum Bibliothecae Electoralis Brandenburgicae*).<sup>25</sup> The list includes twenty-five titles. Among the Chinese titles is Ssü-ma Kuang's history, the *Tzŭ chih t'ung chien*. This work composed in the Sung period embraces the era from the fourth century B. C. to the end of the "Five Dynasties." Another Chinese title mentioned was the *Ssü shu*, the "Four Books." Besides these the *Catalogue* listed the historical novel, *San kuo chih*, as well as a Chinese dictionary, *Tzŭ hui*, and two medical works from the *Pên ts'ao*. In addition to these essentially Chinese works, Müller enumerated nine Catholic missionary works and

<sup>23</sup> P. Pelliot in Cordier's *Bibliotheca Sinica*, col. 581, gives the date as 1677. The date on the book itself is 1679. Because of Müller's habit of publishing the parts of books as he finished them, it is likely that by 1678 most of the *Chinese History*, except the title page, had been published. Müller's *Catalogue* (cf. *infra*) gives the date as 1678. August Müller, *op. cit.*, p. xiv, has found 1678 as the date given in other sources.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. *The Catalogue of Persian Books in the British Museum*, col. 188. Also Cordier, *op. cit.*, col. 581.

<sup>25</sup> For a reproduction of the *Catalogue* see Hermann Hülle, "Die Fortschritte der Ostasiatischen Sammlung," *Fünfzehn Jahre Königliche und Staatsbibliothek*, ed. by die wissenschaftlichen Beamten der preussischen Staatsbibliothek (Berlin, 1921), p. 193.



three Chinese translations by Jesuits of European works of science.<sup>26</sup> The *Catalogue* does not include Chinese characters. Only the Portuguese transliterations are given. At the end Müller appends the note: "Number of volumes, around 300."<sup>27</sup> This list of Chinese books was the first printed catalogue possessed by the Electoral library.

In 1683 a second catalogue of Chinese books was published by Müller. It comprised fourteen folio pages and was intended for the public, whereas the first catalogue appears to have been prepared for private use. There are many copies of the second catalogue. The first is rare.

Not all of Müllers time was taken up by his work as a cataloger. In 1685 he published his *Disquisition on the Passional Eclipse* (*De Eclipsie passionali disquitio*). In this work he attempts to identify the solar eclipse of the first Good Friday with an eclipse noted in the Chinese annals.<sup>28</sup> Here was an attempt to reconcile Chinese and Christian tradition in an effort to escape condemnation at the hands of rigid theologians.

Despite his precautions, Müller's Chinese studies were the cause ultimately of his downfall. As early as 1668 he was in the center of the syncretistic controversy.<sup>29</sup> Müller sympathized with the followers of Calixtus at Helmstadt against the exponents of pure Lutheranism and pure Calvinism. In 1678, Elias Grebnitz (1627-1689), professor of Logic and Metaphysics at Frankfort on the Oder, published a treatise entitled *Instruction in the Reformed and Lutheran Churches* (*Unterricht von der Reformirten und Lutheri-*

<sup>26</sup> For further information see *ibid.*, pp. 192-4. Consult also Kurt Tautz, *Die Bibliothekare der Churfürstlichen Bibliothek zu Cölln an der Spree* (Leipzig, 1925), pp. 206-11.

<sup>27</sup> According to Müller's testimony "without preparation the author [Müller] explained to His Highness, the Elector, the contents and titles of the Chinese books which came from India . . . It was commanded that this list should be added at once to the annals of the Passional Eclipse." *Tentzels Monatliche Unterredungen*, 9 (1697). 985. This is the only place in which a copy may be found today; cf. Hülle, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

<sup>28</sup> It is not clear to what Chinese eclipse he refers, but obviously it must be one which occurred during the Later Han in the period of Kuang Wu Ti (25-58 A.D.); cf. *Tentzels Monatliche Unterredungen*, 1 (1689). 328.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. A. B. König, *Versuch einer historischen Schilderung der Hauptveränderungen der Religion, Sitten, Gewohnheiten, Künste, Wissenschaften etc. der Residenzstadt Berlin seit den ältesten Zeiten, bis zum Jahre 1786* (Berlin, 1793), II, 137.



schen Kirchen). In this study Grebnitz attacked the Chinese language as a product of the devil. He insisted that as soon as the name of God should be used in this picture-writing a sin would be committed against the second commandment. He attacked Müller as an individual who was about to release the full horror of this sinful language in the *Key to Chinese*.

Müller prepared a counter-attack which he published in 1680 under the title *Better Instruction in Chinese Writing . . . than Is Contained in Dr. Elias Grebnitz's Instruction in the Reformed and Lutheran Churches* (*Besser Unterricht von der Sineser Schrift . . . als etwa in Hrn. D. Eliae Grebnitzen Unterricht von der reformirten und lutherischen Kirchen enthalten ist.*) It happened, however, that Grebnitz acquired a copy of Müller's reply, before it was published. The Frankfurt professor at once circulated pamphlets in Müller's congregation denying the as yet unpublished allegations made by Müller.<sup>30</sup>

News of Müller's difficulties reached the ears of the Great Elector. Being a staid member of the Reformed Church, Frederick William would make no compromise with the unorthodox. Although Müller had always enjoyed Electoral favor, in 1685 he was relieved of his position and accused of heresy. Shortly thereafter, he was thrown into jail at Spandau, for his further publications against rigid Reformed orthodoxy.<sup>31</sup> After his stay in prison, he returned to Stettin and his native Pomerania where he spent his last days.

Müller's misfortune in Berlin was followed by periodic spells of illness. While undergoing one of these, he was so distracted that he threw a great portion of his manuscript material into the fire. Among the manuscripts destroyed was very probably the much discussed and ill-fated *Key to Chinese*.<sup>32</sup> Shortly before his death in 1694, Müller willed a large number of his books and manuscripts to the library of the Marienstiftsgymnasium in Stettin.<sup>33</sup> In 1685, when he left Berlin, he donated to the Electoral library, as part

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<sup>30</sup> Müller's difficulties with Grebnitz were not finished until 1685. The part of the controversy concerning Chinese ended in 1680. After this date the issues were largely of a religious nature.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. König, *op. cit.*, III, 25.

<sup>32</sup> See especially Carl Stichler, "Zwei altberlinische Chinakundige und Orientalisten zur Zeit des grossen Kurfürsten," *Der Bär, Illustrierte Wochenschrift für die Geschichte Berlins*, 22 (1896). p. 173.

<sup>33</sup> See J. C. C. Oelrichs, *Historisch-Diplomatische Beyträge zur Geschichte der Gelahrtheit, besonders im Herzogthum Pommern* (Berlin,



compensation for the Electoral stipend, his cupboard-like printing press and his wooden blocks for printing Chinese characters.<sup>34</sup> This final trace of Müller's enterprise with his *Key to Chinese* may still be seen in the Prussian State Library at Berlin.

In the last sentence to one of his defenses of the *Key to Chinese*, Müller broaches the question: "On which account will posterity judge: whether the author should be tried for his errors or for the discovery itself and the remainder [of his works]?"<sup>35</sup> The majority of writers in that posterity has judged the man by his errors. Few consider his complete record. It can hardly be denied that in his time and place he was one of the most eminent of European scholars. Since he trod a path to which his immediate successors could see no end, he was reviled as a dreamer.

Although a *Key to Chinese* is fantastic to modern scholars, Müller seemed to feel that he had uncovered the secret whereby traders and missionaries could read and speak Chinese without the aid of an interpreter. He was censured by his contemporaries for refusing to publish the *Key*. Later writers regarded it as a myth, a bid for publicity. Neither of these positions can be justly maintained.

As a figure prominent in the Church, it is unlikely that Müller would have jeopardized his position by circulating false reports of his activities. His other works are sincere and scholarly. The association with Castell and Walton in the *Lexicon Heptaglotton* attests to his abilities as a near eastern student.<sup>36</sup> In all probability,

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1767), II, 64-74 for Müller's correspondence concerning his donation of books. There is also included a list of the last fifty books which he gave the library. In all, the Müller collection numbered well over one thousand titles. For a discussion of the modern status of this collection see M. Wehrmann, "Geschichte der Bibliothek des Marienstiftgymnasiums in Stettin," *Baltische Studien*, 44.206-9.

<sup>34</sup> Müller wanted to print the characters in the *Catalogue*, but for some unascertainable reason was not able. The blocks are very large with raised margins. Cf. Hülle, *op. cit.*, p. 194. In connection with his attempts to fit out a printing press for Chinese, Müller held the theory that printing had originally come from China to Europe. Cf. *Tentzels Monatliche Unterredungen*, 9 (1697).977-8.

<sup>35</sup> "Sinicae Clavis Historia Chronologica in Epitomen redacta" in *Tentzels Monatliche Unterredungen*, 9 (1697).986.

<sup>36</sup> A. Müller, *op. cit.*, p. x, asserts that Müller's Persian translations were inaccurate. There are no indications that his ability in the other near eastern languages has been questioned.



he could not read Chinese as well as he read Hebrew or Syriac. All the Chinese he knew was acquired by comparison of characters and their translations. He was a pioneer in the wilderness of Sinology—in which there yet remains a great, unconquered frontier. Had he realized the presumptuousness of his assertions concerning the *Key to Chinese*, he probably would have exercised moderation in his claims. His belief in the *Key* appears to have been sincere. His limited resources in books and other materials were responsible for his naive conviction that he had solved the Chinese language problem.

Moreover, Müller must not be condemned for his refusal to publish the *Key*. Fellow scholars had been thrown into prison for debts incurred while trying to complete their researches or publish their books. He was aware of this fact and probably did not fancy such an end to his own career. Since traders and missionaries both would profit by the publication of the *Key to Chinese*, he seemed to feel that someone should be willing to subsidize his efforts and the publication of his results. His worst error was rashness. In this connection, Leibniz, shortly after Müller's death in 1694, wrote to Father Verjus:

Here in Germany we have lost an excellent man, named Müller, who was good in oriental languages, and even in Chinese. He hoped to make a *Key to Chinese* . . . I told Father Grimaldi of him and they had some correspondence. But this Mr. Müller was too impetuous. This trait deterred his ambitions and deprived the public of the works which it had awaited.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> *Excerptum ex Epistola Leibnitii ad Amicum, numus Bibliothecarii Caesarei ambientis in Leibnitii Scriptorum Collectio* (Leipzig, 1718), p. 6.



## BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

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### *A Pair of Lost Byzantine Doors*

Bronze doors decorated for the most part with incrustation in silver were among the distinguished achievements of the Byzantine artists.<sup>1</sup> The oldest dated doors are those in the cathedral of Hagia Sophia at Istanbul, while others are at Bethlehem and in the Dome of the Rock, miscalled the Mosque of Omar, at Jerusalem. A number were imported into Italy, the Pantaleon family particularly having made gifts of them to churches, such as those of Amalfi, Atrani, and San Paolo F. L. M. in Rome; there are still others at Venice, Salerno, Canossa, Monte Gargano, Monte Cassino, and Monte Sant' Angelo. Clavijó, the ambassador sent by Enrique III, the king of Castile, to the Tartar emperor Tamerlane in the early 15th century, saw at Samarkand a pair of such doors in silver, gold, and enamel, which he thus described: "The inner doorways here were made very high, so high indeed that a man on horseback might easily have entered through them, and those double doors were covered with plates of silver gilt ornamented with patterns in blue enamel work, having insets that were finely made in gold plate. All this was so beautifully wrought that evidently never in Tartary nor indeed in our western land of Spain could it have been come to. In the one door was figured the image of St. Peter, while in the other was St. Paul; and each saint had a book in his hands; the entire work being of silver. They afterwards told me that these doors had been brought hither from Brusa, where Timur had found them when the treasure of the Turkish sultan (Báyazid II) had come into his hands."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> On this subject see O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archeology*, Oxford, 1911, pages 616 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Clavijó, *Embassy to Tamerlane (1403-06)*, London, 1928 (The Broadway. Translation by Guy le Strange), p. 298. See also *Historia de Gran Tamorlane Itinerario y Enarracion del Viage de la Embajade que Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijó le Hizo por del . . . Rey Don Henrique El Tercero de Castillo (Coleccion de Cronistas de Castille)*. Madrid, 1782, p. 179:

"E ante estas puertas estaban otras que eran tan altas quanto un ome podria entrar por ellas à Caballo, é eran cubiertas de plata sobredorada,



Since Brusa was taken from the Byzantines by the Turks in 1326 we may conclude that the doors must have been earlier, and they may even have been made centuries before. Their having the figures of SS. Peter and Paul is quite in keeping with the motif common to the doors remaining to us, as for example those of San Marco, Venice.<sup>3</sup> As to the use of gold, the precious metal is not found on surviving doors of Byzantine origin, though we can deduce much from the fact that it is frequently encountered on Russian doors as well as silver. Much may be made of the fact that Muscovy was the eldest daughter of Byzance in things spiritual and traditional, and that "Tsargrad" or Constantinople was for centuries regarded as the destined Russian capital.

Undoubtedly the sheer value of the material accounts for the fact that no Byzantine doors with encrustation in gold now remain, since Clavijó in his account leaves no doubt that they existed. It is now impossible to ascertain when this practice started, and even whether Byzantine or Russian artists first originated it, unless we find an answer in the times they respectively rose to civilization. Clavijó also mentions patterns in blue enamel, and it is not at all surprising to find this as decoration on doors, for the Byzantines were very partial to the art. Doors with enamel would today be rare, for this brittle material would chip off with time. Dalton writes that the red and green substances on the doors of Amalfi may possibly be enamel, although they did not seem like enamel to me, and he refers to Ebers who apparently states<sup>4</sup> that those in the church of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai are enamelled. Clavijó was undoubtedly familiar with enamels at the Spanish courts, where this was a favored form of encrustation for jewelry in his day. Hence we can hardly doubt his statement, and the Amalfi and Mount Sinai cases, though only potential, lend color to his description.

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fechas à muchos lozos é esmaltes, é entretallamientos de muchas maneras bien solites, onque avia azul é oro, é la obra dellas eran tan sutil y tan bien fecha, quanto se podrá facer en aquella tierra, nin en tierra de Christianos: é en la una puerta estaba figurado Sant Pedro, é en la otra Sant Pablo con sendos libros en los manos, que eran cubiertos de plata é estas puertas decian que el Tamurbec fallára en Bursa, quando robó el tesoro del Turco."

<sup>3</sup> Lewis Einstein, "A Chinese Design in Saint Mark's at Venice," *Revue Archéologique*, 1926, page 28.

<sup>4</sup> Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archeology*, page 533.



Though these magnificent doors in which the Mongol emperor took pride appear to have long since perished, perhaps at the behest of some lesser tyrant with a taste for raw gold or the need for bronze, our knowledge of them through Clavijó is important in regard to their gold and enamel decoration, a combination known upon no gates of the present day, and surviving in the one material only in Russian doors but in the other perhaps on none still in existence.

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*A Neopunic Inscription in England*

Among the objects discovered in the years 1907-15 at Holt in Wales, on the spot where the Itinerarium Antonini marks the Roman station Bovium (later Castrum Leonis, Castle Lyons), now preserved in the National Museum of Wales at Cardiff, is a tile coarsely inscribed with six characters. The Museum Catalogue, assuming that the letters were Latin, read them AMQPOX, a reading which of course makes no meaning at all. We are indebted to professor A. Guillaume's ingenuity for the statement that they are, instead, Neopunic.<sup>1</sup> He reads the inscription  $\text{מַעַקֶר יָתָן}$  or  $\text{מַעַקֶר נָן}$  and suggests the translation: "Ma'qar (son of) Yathanbaal (or Yathanmilk)" Although Guillaume's reading is materially correct, his interpretation should be substantially modified. For the last two letters he offers the alternative  $\text{נָן}$  of  $\text{נָן}$ . As a matter of fact,  $\text{נ}$  and  $\text{נָ}$  are practically identical in the Neopunic script, but the last character of the Holt tile is undoubtedly an  $\text{נָ}$ , in which the left upper stroke has disappeared, or at least is not seen on the photograph.  $\text{נָתָן}$  or  $\text{נָנָן}$  could hardly stand for a hypocoristic form of Yathonba'al or Yathonmilk; moreover, the omission of the word "son" between the names of the son and the father could hardly be admitted. However, the reading  $\text{מַעַקְרִינָא}$ , as a single word, gives a good meaning; it is nothing else than the Latin name *Macrinus*, which is fairly common in inscriptions from North

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<sup>1</sup> See *Iraq* VII (1940). 67-68.



Africa<sup>2</sup> and is also found in Neopunic inscriptions,<sup>3</sup> either in the identical spelling of the Holt tile or in the slightly different form **מעכרנא**. Since the name is Roman, the implications which Guillaume has drawn from its supposed Semitic character should be given up. Incidentally, the very name **מעקר**, as read by Guillaume, is all but Semitic; as the present writer once pointed out,<sup>4</sup> this name, which is found in one of the oldest known Neopunic inscriptions,<sup>5</sup> represents the well known Latin name *Macer*.

Professor Guillaume is probably right in assigning the Neopunic scratching of the Holt tile to the first century A. D. In the writer's opinion, it belongs to the latter rather than to the first half of it.

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<sup>2</sup> See the index to the 8th volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.

<sup>3</sup> See Chabot, JA XI. 7 (1916). 102 and 445 (*Punica* 26 and 35).

<sup>4</sup> *Libya* 3 (1927). 93.

<sup>5</sup> See W. Gesenius, *Scripturae linguaeque Phoeniciae monumenta quotquot supersunt . . .*, Lipsiae 1937 p. 217, tabula 27 no. LXV. For more recent literature, see the writer's article referred to in the note above. The inscription, which originates from Leptis Magna, was brought into England and was in the British Museum when Gesenius published it. As the writer has been informed several years ago, it came later into the gardens of the Windsor Castle, and seems to have since disappeared.



## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

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*Nature in Chinese Art.* By ARTHUR DE CARLE SOWERBY. With two appendices on the Shang pictographs by HARRY E. GIBSON. New York: THE JOHN DAY Co., 1940. 203 pp. \$3.75.

In almost every field of our studies we need the helping hand of the specialist. The physician, the botanist, the engineer, the astronomer, the architect can (and some have already done so) correct our misconceptions and mistranslations. As this reviewer sees it, that is one of the main values of the work of Mr. Sowerby, a naturalist with a long record of activity in China, and for many years editor of the *China Journal*. Several art historians have noted the nature loving propensities of the Chinese, and have ventured to name the flora and fauna depicted in Chinese paintings, sculptures, bronzes, porcelains, and the like; too often, however, with an inadequate knowledge of the subject. So, as Sowerby points out, jackdaws and wild geese have been called magpies and swans, bulbuls simply birds, bean geese in a lotus patch "egrets and lotus flowers," tigers and lions have been confused, a chow dog has been taken for a mastiff, and the "prunus pattern" on porcelains is generally misnamed "hawthorn pattern." May this lesson sink home.

In this well illustrated and pleasingly gotten-up volume the author discourses on the whole range of his subject, with the conscientious assistance of Mr. Gibson, a business man in Shanghai who has made a study for many years of Shang graphs, and contributes drawings of them to the body of the work, together with two appendices: animals and agriculture in the Shang pictographs. The undertaking was a worthy one, and the result makes a helpful pioneer study.

There are a number of interesting assertions. For example: The horse does not feature in art until the third century B. C. though it had been known for over a millennium. (For an exception, see Yetts, "The horse: a factor in Chinese history," *Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua* IX, 237, Fig. 1, A.) The serow and goral are entirely absent although both are fairly common in



mountainous areas in various parts of China. Drawings of a number of plants and animals which appear in books on materia medica are not duplicated in any art form. The floral element is not marked until the 4th century A. D. though there are tentative beginnings in the 3rd century B. C. The suggestion is offered that the common domesticated pig of modern China has been derived from a variety introduced from some other country in the last one thousand years. This proposal, considering the abundance of the remains of domesticated pig in neolithic China, is startling.<sup>1</sup> Another suggestion is that the narcissus may not have been brought to China from the Mediterranean region but was developed from an indigenous wild form now found in Southern Chekiang and Northern Fukien. An occasional comment is made on very slight foundation. Speaking, for instance, of one of the Chou bronzes cast in the form of a double headed ram (in the Eumorfopoulos Collection), the author declares: "The identity of this animal is rendered doubtful by the presence of a goat's beard, a fact which almost suggests that the domestic sheep was not a common animal in those distant times." The bones and droppings of sheep have been discovered in several black pottery and early bronze age sites; furthermore, the knowledge of the sheep is well attested by the earliest literature, and by Gibson's material from the Shang.

A few other assertions are open to exception. Sowerby suggests that the reason why representations of the cat and water buffalo do not appear among mortuary objects fashioned during the first millennium of our era is either that they "were not considered propitious for including in a tomb set," or "more probably" that "they had not yet been introduced into China." Granting, for the sake of argument, that the remains of water-buffalo found in a Shang site are of an extinct species, and that the representations of the same period in bronze are unlike the animal of today, what of the figures in bronze dating from Han and Wei? (Cf. illustration 2, plate I in Oswald Siren's article on Chinese sculpture in the *Ency. Brit.*, 14th ed.) At what time the water-buffalo was domesticated is a real question. As to the domesticated cat, I am told<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> C. W. Bishop informs me, in a letter dated Washington, Nov. 4, 1940, that Père Teilhard de Chardin identified skulls found in a neolithic site near Wan-ch'üan, Shansi, as "coming from the same type of animal as the modern pig."

<sup>2</sup> Communication of C. Martin Wilbur, dated Chicago, Oct. 14, 1940. It



that in Berthold Laufer's unpublished notes is the following comment: "It may very well be that in the latter part of the third century A. D. the domestic cat of India was known in China." He considered the earliest authentic reference to be that of Kuo P'ao (276-324 A. D.) in his commentary on the *Erh ya*. (Cf. SPTK ed., 3/14a, under *mêng sung* 頌蒙.) D. J. Macgowan (*Jo. China Br.*, R. A. S., new ser., 26, 1891, 132-138) held to a similar opinion.

The legendary Hêng O (or Ch'ang O) was married to Hou I, not Sheng Yi. (Possibly this is meant for Shên Yi, divine archer.) The lion was not mentioned first in 87 A. D. but in the 4th century B. C., according to Paul Pelliot (*La Haute Asie*, 8), and then by an Indian, not an Iranian, name. Surely the horse was not ridden in Shang times. The first literary mention of a mounted man refers no further back than to the reign of Wu-ling of Chao (B. C. 325-299). Cf. Chavannes, *Mém. Hist.* V: 46 and 81. The statements: "no tomb containing the actual remains of sacrificial animals or humans has . . . been discovered in China," and "human sacrifice was not practiced during the Chou" leave out of account the evidence presented by H. G. Creel in *Studies in Early Chinese Culture*, 185-186, note 78 and 215-216, note 88, and in *The Birth of China*, 207-209. Both Sowerby's and Gibson's doubts about the existence of the domestic fowl in early China run counter to C. W. Bishop's categorical remark in *Antiquity* (Dec. 1933, 396): "In the Chinese bronze age . . . it was the fowl, along with the pig and dog, which provided the chief source of flesh food for the peasantry." Laufer long ago scotched the story of Chang Ch'ien's introduction of the pomegranate in 126 B. C. (Cf. *Sino-Iranica* 278). The first reference in Chinese literature, said Laufer, is in the writings of Lu Chi<sup>3</sup> (261-303 A. D.). There is a good deal to question too in the sentence: "Exactly when the Chinese first began painting landscapes it is impossible to say, for there are no extant paintings earlier than the T'ang period." The great masterpiece attributed to Ku K'ai-chih (344-406), a prize possession of the British

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may be recalled that Dr. Laufer promised a paper on "The cat in Eastern Asia," shortly before his death. See *Progress of Chinese Studies in the U. S. A.*, Bull. no. 1, May 1931, 91.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Chia Ssü-hsieh (circa 6th cent. A. D.): *Ch'i min yao shu* 齊民要術 (SPTK ed.) 4/14b. Dr. Laufer erred in making a title out of the words Yü ti yün shu 與弟雲書. This phrase simply refers to a letter by Lu Chi written to his younger brother Lu Yün (262-303).



Museum, even if a T'ang copy, reflects an earlier style (this is confirmed by contemporary wall paintings discovered in Korea and South Manchuria), and shows a primitive landscape. One may also count as paintings, or reflections of paintings, the landscapes depicted on Han and Six Dynasties pottery, and on contemporary stone and bronze. Add thereto the literary evidence such as that presented by Dr. Shio Sakanishi in her valuable little treatise: *The Spirit of the Brush*, being the outlook of Chinese painters on nature from Eastern Chin to Five Dynasties, A. D. 317-960, especially the first five chapters.

Two or three of Mr. Gibson's asseverations are likewise open to challenge. Hsü Shen's preface to the *Shuo Wen* bears a date equivalent to 100 A. D., not 200. Is it so improbable that the people of Shang grew rice? We have reports of discoveries of rice in late stone age sites in Honan and Kansu. Beer is a better term than wine for the brew made in Shang times. Gibson also stumbles into one contradiction. On page 70 we are told: "The plow is not recorded." On page 181 there is a whole paragraph on "fields ploughed by the emperor," concluding with the declaration: "this distinctly points to the fact that animals were used to draw the plough during the Shang period." Gibson must have missed the monograph by Hsü Chung-shu entitled *Lei ssü k'ao* 耒耜考 in the *Bulletin* of the Research Inst. of History and Philology of the Academia Sinica, II, pt. 1 (Peking 1930), Lionel Hopkins' "The cas-chrom v. the lei-ssü, a study of the primitive forms of plough in Scotland and ancient China," *JRAS.*, Oct. 1935 and Jan. 1936, and Bishop's "Origin and early diffusion of the traction-plough," *Antiquity*, Sept. 1936. These authorities all agree that the Shang agriculturists used a foot-plow, and that the ox drawn plow is a much later development. Peter Boodberg, in an interesting note, suggests that this advance had taken place, at least in the eastern state of Lu, by the 6th century B. C. (*HJAS*, June 1940, 131, n. 14.)

Ideally there should be, as background for a future study of this subject, as complete an assemblage as possible of photographs of dated Chinese objets d'art, followed by an indexed listing of all subjects depicted, as has been undertaken for Christian art by mediaevalists at Princeton. (See *Speculum*, April 1940, 57.) Perhaps, however, we are not yet sure enough of our dating to



undertake such a task. In the interim the volume under review serves a useful purpose, and should be corrected <sup>4</sup> in the light of the latest knowledge.

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*The Religious Periodical Press in China.* By RUDOLPH LÖWENTHAL, with the assistance of CH'EN HUNG-SHUN, KU T'ING-CH'ANG, and WILLIAM W. Y. LIANG. Sinological Series no. 57. Peiping: THE SYNODAL COMMISSION IN CHINA, 1940. Pp. vi + 294, with 7 maps and 16 charts. U. S. \$2.75.

The introduction during the past century of western technology and thought into China owes especially much to the efforts of Christian missionaries. Indeed, it may be said that their contributions in education, science, industry, and western culture generally, far transcend their achievements in the purely religious sphere. The present book describes the history of this tremendous movement, looking at it from the point of view of the religious periodical press, which has served the missionaries as one of their chief tools for the spread of the new knowledge. It does this, presenting for the reader a mass of well digested information, most of which has been hitherto widely scattered or entirely inaccessible.

The book goes still farther, however, because it also portrays the reverse of the picture: the reaction of indigenous Chinese religious groups to the impact from without, and their consequent development of a native periodical press of their own. The book should interest, therefore, not only the journalist, the missionary, or the historian of modern China, but also all persons interested in the broader problems raised by the interaction of the occident with one of the world's oldest civilizations.

The book is divided into nine chapters. In the first three the authors describe the Catholic and Protestant periodical press in China proper and in Manchuria. The next three are devoted to the periodical press of the religions long indigenous to China: Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism. The last three deal with

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<sup>4</sup> A few slips need attention: p. 109, *hsiu ts'ai* for *hsü ts'ai*; p. 189, *küo* for *ku*; *hsi* for *shi* throughout; *hou* for *ho* on pp. 192-193. Several dates in the chronology also need adjustment, especially 489<sup>c</sup> for the beginning of the Sui.



the periodical press of religious minorities, including the Moham-medan, the Jewish, and the Russian Orthodox Church. Each chapter is headed by a brief historical sketch of its particular religious group, followed by a detailed description of that group's periodical press in its development and present condition. Many tables accompany the text, giving abundant statistics as to the number of periodicals, date of founding, geographical distribution, frequency of publication, circulation, type of make-up, price, and other facts. Additional information is contained in a number of large charts folded in a special pocket at the rear of the volume. Although there is no index, the clear topical arrangement of material makes information readily available.

Minor criticism might be made on certain points, such as a few of the statements appearing in the historical introductions. On Buddhism, for example, the statement appears (p. 136) that "nothing authentic is known about its beginnings," and reference is made to Henri Maspero's article, "Le songe et l'ambassade de l'empereur Ming" (BEFEO, vol. 10, 1910). It would have been better to refer to Maspero's more recent article, "Les origines de la communauté bouddhiste de Lo-yang" (*Journal Asiatique*, 1934), in which he proves that Buddhism was already being practised in eastern China as early as A. D. 65. Again, the assertion (p. 3) that "the relations of Christianity with China date back to the third century or perhaps earlier" is based on a late and wholly unreliable tradition. Actually, our first knowledge of Christianity in China is that of the entry of the Nestorians in A. D. 635, as recorded on the Nestorian tablet.

These are incidental defects, however, in a book primarily concerned with the modern period, and generally of very high standard. Together with his collaborators, Dr. Löwenthal, who belongs to the Department of Journalism at Yenching University, Peiping, deserves high praise for successfully completing a task especially difficult because it was carried out during years of warfare under most adverse conditions. By his efforts he has preserved from oblivion a vast mass of information which otherwise these conditions would have inevitably destroyed.

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*Chinese Prose Literature*, Vol. II. By E. D. EDWARDS. London: PROBSTHAIN, 1938. 433 pages.

Volume I of Miss Edwards work on Chinese prose of the T'ang period was reviewed in JAOS 58, 687. The second volume, dealing with fiction of the same period, is fuller and better, and will take its place as a standard work on Chinese literature.

The first chapter is an essay on pre-T'ang fiction. Since western scholars have done practically nothing in this field, Miss Edwards has been obliged to rely on Chinese authorities, and she appears to be well-acquainted with them. While a considerable amount of Chinese fiction has been translated into European languages, all of it belongs to a much later period, and little has been known of the fiction of the T'ang and earlier periods. Indeed, it is only recently that Chinese scholarship considered the subject worth investigating. As far as western sinology is concerned, Miss Edwards volume stands alone. The Chinese have always had folklore, but as far as fiction is concerned, the beginnings are in the Han period, when officials were appointed to collect stories current among the people. The chief difference between T'ang and pre-T'ang fiction was that the former became a form of escape-literature for the literati, or a literary amusement, while the latter was folklore or religious propaganda, and this naturally affected the style and form. The whole essay is informative.

One criticism might be made. In her first volume, Miss Edwards included what might have been called fiction under religion, and in this volume, she has considered in the introduction material which is religious rather than fictional. Here she has relied considerably upon western scholars, and unfortunately there is no satisfactory treatment of Chinese mythology in western languages. Granet, Werner, and others have led Miss Edwards into facile theories of the development of mythology which do not appear sound. In treating the myths current in the Han period, it would have been proper for her to have mentioned the rationalistic reaction of Wang Ch'ung and others. And in a work as fine as this, it hardly seems necessary for Miss Edwards to refer to such a tertiary source as Giles' *Biographical Dictionary* as an authority.

The Chinese characters of proper names are given in the full notes. There is an appendix giving a critical discussion of the authenticity of the works contained in the *T'ang tai ts'ung shu*,



which is the anthology from which Miss Edwards has drawn, and besides a general index, indices of proper names and the names of books. There is a very short English bibliography, and a more adequate one of Chinese works.

Of the stories themselves, which are grouped by Miss Edwards as love stories, hero stories, and tales of the supernatural, it is enough to say that they are interesting and good reading, though not strikingly different from such a later collection as the *Liao chai* in matter and interest. The translation is smooth and clear.

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*The National Faith of Japan.* By D. C. HOLTOM. New York: DUTTON, 1938. xxi + 329 pages; 26 plates.

It is difficult for a student of the history of religion to avoid enthusiasm in discussing this study of modern Shintō. The author has approached his subject in a scholarly and objective manner, and while there might be debate over some of his conclusions, there can be none over his method. The standard work on Shintō in English has been Aston's *Shintō, The Way of the Gods*, published in 1905. It is still an authority, but deals mainly with classical Shintō, is very difficult to secure, and cannot be used for important developments which have taken place since its publication. Dr. Holtom has written earlier studies of Shintō, but as they were published in the *Transaction of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, they are not available to many readers, and in the earthquake of 1923, the stock of the Society was destroyed. This book therefore is very welcome, and should be studied not only by those who are interested in Shintō, but by all who desire to understand the attitude of the Japanese government and people.

The work is divided into three parts, dealing respectively with State Shintō, Sect Shintō, and "Some Problems and Conclusions." The first part is Aston brought up to date; an admirable historical and critical study dealing with early forms, the influence of Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism, and the cults of the chief state deities. The sources used are the ancient documents, and modern studies by both Japanese and western scholars. It is interesting that while the author refers many times to Taoist influence, he gives nothing concrete, and this confirms the opinion of the reviewer that adequate studies of the influence of Taoism in



Japan are yet to be made. What is the history of the mirrors which appear in Shintō shrines as "god-bodies," and particularly of the sacred mirror at Ise? It would be worthwhile to study the use of mirrors as religious objects in both China and Japan.

The second part consists of seven chapters on Shintō sects, and here the author is largely a pioneer, for no adequate studies of these sects exist, even in Japanese. The sources are almost entirely Japanese, and while only a summary of the sects is given, the material is exceedingly valuable.

The third part consists of a single chapter, and is the section most likely to arouse disagreement. The Japanese government finds it necessary to continue the ceremonies of Shintō for state purposes, yet is committed to a separation of the state from religion, and to liberty of religious belief. It has attempted to solve this inconsistency by declaring that State Shintō is not a religion, and that its ceremonies are patriotic only. On May 25, 1936, the Office of the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith at Rome ordered compliance with the official definition, and the reviewer has been informed that Cardinal Dougherty of Philadelphia, on his way home from a Eucharistic Congress in Manila, performed some ceremony at a State Shintō shrine. It is obvious that such a change in position has great practical advantages for Japanese Catholics. In this section, the author analyzes this problem in considerable detail, quoting many modern Japanese observers, and seems to the reviewer to show conclusively that Shintō, in or out of the state, is as much a religion as it ever was, and could be included under any definition of religion.

It is difficult to single any feature of this excellent volume for praise, but the attention given to ceremonies is unusual in studies of the history of religion, and should be followed by other writers. The illustrations are good, and there is an index. Japanese words are romanized.

J. K. SHRYOCK

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The number placed after the address indicates the year of election.

List corrected to December 1, 1940.

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- Miss DOROTHY BLAIR, Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo, Ohio. 1931.
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- Prof. ROBERT P. BLAKE, Ph.D., LL.D., 40 Appleton St., Cambridge, Mass. 1939.
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- Dr. ARTHUR E. CHRISTY, Ph.D., Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1939.
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- Dr. JOHN KING FAIRBANK, D.Phil. (Oxon.), (Harvard Univ.), 41 Winthrop St., Cambridge, Mass. 1938.
- Mrs. WILMA FAIRBANK, 41 Winthrop St., Cambridge, Mass. 1940.
- Dr. NABIH AMIN FARIS, Ph.D., Box 342, Princeton, N. J. 1935.
- Prof. MALCOLM F. FARLEY, 5823 Maryland Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1937.
- Dr. SAMUEL FEIGIN, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1924.
- Rabbi ADOLPH J. FEINBERG, M.H.L., Temple Beth El, Hammond, Ind. 1940.
- Mr. FENG CHIA-SHENG, M.A., Low Memorial Library, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1940.
- Miss HELEN E. FERNALD, 1128 Oxford Road, Winter Park, Fla. 1927.
- Mr. JAMES FERRELL, 421 W. 57th St., New York, N. Y. 1938.
- Rev. A. FEYER, Ph.D., 308 Broad St., Johnstown, Pa. 1939.
- Dr. FREDERICK V. FIELD, 129 E. 52d St., New York, N. Y. 1937.
- Dr. HENRY FIELD, LL.D., Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, Ill. 1929.
- Mr. JOHN E. FIELDS, Northwestern University, Lunt Administration Bldg., Evanston, Ill. 1939.
- Prof. FLOYD V. FILSON, Th.D., D.D., 857 Chalmers Place, Chicago, Ill. 1938.
- Dr. SOLOMON B. FINESINGER, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1922.
- Dr. JOSHUA FINKEL, 3505 Avenue I, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1929.



## *List of Members*

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- Pres. LOUIS FINKELSTEIN, Jewish Theological Seminary, 3080 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Dr. SYDNEY NETTLETON FISHER, 74 Prospect St., Warsaw, N. Y. 1938.
- Mr. C. P. FITZGERALD, Saville Club, 69 Brook St., London, W., England. 1933.
- Mr. CHARLES M. FLEISCHNER, 216 Bishop St., New Haven, Conn. 1937.
- Mrs. JULIE MICHELET FOGELBERG, Glen St. Mary, Fla. 1931.
- Rabbi JEROME D. FOLKMAN, 811 Giddings Ave., S. E., Grand Rapids, Mich. 1935.
- \*Mr. MAYNARD DAUCHY FOLLIN, Dunedin, Fla. 1922.
- Prof. A. HAIRE FORSTER, Ph.D., 600 Haven St., Evanston, Ill. 1939.
- Rev. WILLIAM M. FOUTS, Th.D., 3040 W. Washington Blvd., Station D, Chicago, Ill. 1929.
- Mr. GEORGE BINGHAM FOWLER, 315 Allaire Ave., Leonia, N. J. 1937.
- Prof. HENRY T. FOWLER, Ph.D., Brown University, Providence, R. I. 1926.
- Miss GRACE FOX, 1709 S Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. 1938.
- Rabbi GRESHAM GEORGE FOX, Ph.D., 7524 Essex Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1924.
- \*Prof. JAMES EVERETT FRAME, 7 Edgehill St., Princeton, N. J. 1892.
- Prof. HENRI FRANKFORT, Ph.D., Kimmeridge, near Corfe Castle, Dorset, England. 1936.
- Prof. JOSEPH P. FREE, Ph.D., Wheaton College, Wheaton, Ill. 1939.
- Rabbi SOLOMON B. FREEHOF, D.D., Hotel Ruskin, Pittsburgh, Pa. 1918.
- Prof. WILLIAM W. FREEMAN, Th. D., Commerce, Texas. 1937.
- Prof. MERTON B. FRENCH, Ph.D., Box 235, Elon College, N. C. 1937.
- Prof. ALEXANDER FREYMAN, Ph.D., Zwerinskaya 40, Leningrad, U.S.S.R. 1928.
- Mr. CHARLES T. FRITSCH, M.A., 102 Alexander Hall, Princeton, N. J. 1937.
- Dr. ALLAN HARRISON FRY, Ph.D. (Catholic Univ. of America), 102 Clermont Place, Garrett Park, Md. 1935.
- Mr. RICHARD NELSON FRYE, 1423 N. Gilbert St., Danville, Ill. 1939.
- Dr. RICHARD E. FULLER, 1642 Federal Ave., Seattle, Wash. 1937.
- Prof. KEMPER FULLERTON, Oberlin Theological Seminary, Oberlin, Ohio. 1916.
- Prof. PAUL HANLY FURFEY, Ph.D., Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. 1937.
- Mr. VICTOR J. FURST, 20 Hopkins Place, Baltimore, Md. 1939.
- \*Prof. A. B. GAJENDRAGADKAR, Elphinstone College, Bombay, India. 1921.
- Dr. ESSON M. GALE, Litt.D., Department of Political Science, 301 Harris Hall, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. 1929.
- Mr. ALBERT GALLATIN, 7 East 67th St., New York, N. Y. 1937.
- Dr. SIDNEY D. GAMBLE, LL.D., 4730 Fieldston Road, New York, N. Y. 1937.
- Dr. CHARLES S. GARDNER (Harvard Univ.), 15 Boylston Hall, Cambridge, Mass. 1930.
- Dr. FLETCHER GARDNER, M.D., 2610 Buena Vista St., San Antonio, Texas. 1939.
- Miss GUSSIE E. GASKILL, Cornell University Library, Ithaca, N. Y. 1933.



- Miss JANE GASTON, 511 Schermerhorn Hall, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1939.
- Dr. CALEB FRANK GATES, B.D., LL.D., Box 217, Princeton, N. J. 1940 (1929).
- Prof. CALEB F. GATES, Jr., M. A. (Oxon), (Princeton Univ.), Princeton-Kingston Road, Princeton, N. J. 1940.
- Miss MARY JEAN GATES, Department of Orientalia, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. 1934.
- Dr. JAMES H. GAUL, Ph.D. (Brooklyn College), 616 West 113th St., New York, N. Y. 1940.
- Mr. PAUL H. GEBHARD, Apartment 4, 72 Kirkland St., Cambridge, Mass. 1938.
- Prof. F. W. GEERS, Ph.D., Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1928.
- Prof. HENRY SNYDER GEHMAN, Ph.D., S.T.D., Princeton Seminary, Princeton, N. J. 1916.
- Prof. BERNHARD GEIGER, Ph.D., 517 W. 113th St., New York, N. Y. 1939.
- Dr. IGNACE J. GELB, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1933.
- Mr. EUGENE A. GELLOT, 149-46 117th St., Aqueduct, N. Y. 1911.
- Mr. HUGHES OLIPHANT GIBBONS, M.A. (Trinity College), 48 Fairfield Ave., Hartford, Conn. 1940.
- Dr. H. L. GINSBERG (Jewish Theol. Seminary of America), 310 W. 99th St., New York, N. Y. 1937.
- Dr. SIDNEY GLAZER, 1560 E. 18th St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1940.
- Dr. HAROLD W. GLIDDEN, 135 W. Springfield Ave., Chestnut Hill, Pa. 1936.
- Rabbi NELSON GLUECK, Ph.D. (Hebrew Union College), 162 Glenmary Ave., Clifton, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1929.
- Dr. P. S. GOERTZ, Bethel College, Kans. 1937.
- Prof. ALBRECHT GOETZE, Ph.D. (Yale Univ.), 306 Hall of Graduate Studies, Yale Station, New Haven, Conn. 1935.
- Prof. HETTY GOLDMAN, Ph.D., Inst. for Advanced Study, 20 Nassau St., Princeton, N. J. 1937.
- Rabbi SOLOMON GOLDMAN, c/o Anshe Emes Congregation, 3762 Pine Grove Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1920.
- Rabbi ALEXANDER D. GOODE, Elm Terrace Apartment, York, Pa. 1939.
- Mr. HOWARD L. GOODHART, 2 East 55th St., New York, N. Y. 1938.
- Prof. L. CARRINGTON GOODRICH, Ph.D., Dept. of Chinese, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1929.
- Rev. Dr. FRED FIELD GOODSSELL, 14 Beacon St., Boston, Mass. 1931.
- Dr. GODFREY GOOSSENS, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Parc du Cinquantenaire, Bruxelles, Belgium. 1937.
- Dr. CYRUS H. GORDON, c/o Smith College, Northampton, Mass. 1928.
- Prof. H. H. GOWEN, 5005 22d Ave., N. E., Seattle, Washington. 1936.
- Rev. DAVID C. GRAHAM, Ph.D., 125 Highland Parkway, Rochester, N. Y. 1931.
- Dean THOMAS W. GRAHAM (Oberlin Graduate School of Theol.), Bosworth Hall, Oberlin, Ohio. 1937.



- Prof. WILLIAM CREIGHTON GRAHAM, United College, Univ. of Manitoba, Manitoba, Canada. 1921.
- Mr. STEPHEN V. GRANCSAY, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 5th Ave. and 82d St., New York, N. Y. 1940.
- Prof. ELIHU GRANT, 111 W. North St., Stamford, Conn. 1907.
- Prof. FREDERICK C. GRANT, Union Theological Seminary, Broadway & 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1929.
- Mr. MORTIMER GRAVES, 907 15th St., Washington, D. C. 1929.
- Prof. LOUIS H. GRAY, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1939 (1897).
- Mr. ROGER S. GREENE, 548 Lincoln St., Worcester, Mass. 1926.
- \*Dr. LUCIA C. G. GRIEVE, 50 Heck Ave., Ocean Grove, N. J. 1894.
- Prof. ROSS J. GRIFFETH, Butler University, Indianapolis, Ind. 1937.
- \*Mr. CHAUNCEY H. GRIFFITH, 29 Ryerson St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1939.
- Rev. Prof. W. EVERETT GRIFFITHS, 112 Crestmont Terrace, Collingswood, N. J. 1939.
- Dr. GUSTAV VON GRÜNEBAUM, Apartment 1007, The Franconia, 20 W. 72d St., New York, N. Y. 1939.
- Mr. MICHAEL J. GRUENTHANER, St. Mary's College, St. Mary's, Kans. 1929.
- Prof. Dr. LÉON GRY (Université libre d'Angers), Louvigné-du-Désert, Ille-et-Vilaine, France. 1921.
- Rev. ALEX WILLIAM C. GUEBERT, 2501 Indiana Ave., Oak Glen, Ill. 1940.
- Dr. ROBERT H. VAN GÜLIK, Royal Netherlands Legation, Tokyo, Japan. 1940.
- \*Prof. GEORGE C. O. HAAS (Inst. of Hyperphysical Research), 45-60 215th Place, Bayside, N. Y. 1903.
- Miss LOUISE WALLACE HACKNEY, 10 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1932.
- Prof. E. ADELAIDE HAHN, Ph.D. (Hunter College), 640 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y. 1934.
- Miss ELLEN HALE, 36 Hawthorn St., Cambridge, Mass. 1940.
- Dr. ABRAHAM S. HALKIN, Ph.D., 949 West End Ave., New York, N. Y. 1927.
- Miss ARDELIA RIPLEY HALL, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass. 1934.
- Miss HELEN BENEDICT HALL, 715 S. Forest Ave., Ann Arbor, Mich. 1935.
- Prof. ROBERT A. HALL, JR., Litt.D., 477 Hope St., Providence, R. I. 1937.
- Prof. ROBERT B. HALL, Ph.D., The Institute of Far Eastern Studies, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1934.
- Rev. Prof. FRANK H. HALLOCK, D.D., Nashotah House, Nashotah, Wis. 1926.
- Dr. RICHARD T. HALLOCK, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1932.
- Prof. CLARENCE HERBERT HAMILTON, Ph.D., 290 Elm St., Oberlin, Ohio. 1926.
- Mr. ROBERT ALEXANDER HAMILTON, M.A. (Gest Oriental Library), 20 Nassau St., Princeton, N. J. 1940.
- Rev. E. W. HAMMER, B.D., S.T.M., 111 Cook Ave., Meriden, Conn. 1939.
- Dr. E. S. CRAIGHILL HANDY, Ph.D., Fairfax, Va. 1924.
- \*Rev. EDWARD R. HARDY, JR., Ph.D., General Theological Seminary, 175 9th Ave., New York, N. Y. 1924.



- Dr. ROBERT S. HARDY, Medical Art Building, Grand Rapids, Mich. 1934.  
 Prof. DOUGLAS G. HARING, 117 Euclid Terrace, Syracuse, N. Y. 1937.  
 Pres. FRANKLIN STEWART HARRIS, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. 1929.  
 Dr. ZELLIG S. HARRIS, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1931.  
 Rev. MAX H. HARRISON, Ph.D., United Theological College, Bangalore, S. India. 1927.  
 Mr. HENRY H. HART, J.D., Apartment 306, 1980 Washington St., San Francisco, Calif. 1926.  
 Mr. LAWTON M. HARTMAN, 3d, 69 Howe St., New Haven, Conn. 1940.  
 Rev. LOUIS HARTMAN, C.Ss.R., Mount St. Alphonsus, Esopus, N. Y. 1937.  
 Dr. GERDA HARTMANN, The Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. 1938.  
 Mr. JOHN DAVIS HATCH, JR., Albany Institute of History and Art, 125 Washington Ave., Albany, N. Y. 1933.  
 Prof. WILLIAM H. P. HATCH, Ph.D., D.D., Th.D. (Episcopal Theol. School), 6 St. John's Road, Cambridge, Mass. 1930.  
 Prof. RAYMOND S. HAUPERT, Ph.D. (Moravian Coll. and Theol. Seminary), 1841 Main St., Bethlehem, Pa. 1926.  
 Mr. WALTER HAUSER, M.S., The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 5th Ave., at 82d St., New York, N. Y. 1939.  
 Prof. CHARLES A. HAWLEY, Ph.D., Presbyterian Theological Seminary, 3303 N. 21st St., Omaha, Nebr. 1937.  
 Mr. AKIYISHI HAYASHIDA, M.A., 3012 Kahaloa Drive, Honolulu, Hawaii. 1940.  
 Dr. A. EUSTACE HAYDON, Faculty Exchange, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1937 (1922).  
 Dr. WILLIAM C. HAYES, Ph.D., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1936.  
 Mrs. JOHN B. HAYWARD, 8 E. 96th St., New York, N. Y. 1938.  
 Mr. THEODORE S. HECHT, 149 W. 77th St., New York, N. Y. 1940.  
 Mr. N. M. HEERAMANECK, 724 5th Ave., New York, N. Y. 1931.  
 Dr. ALEXANDER HEIDEL, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1938.  
 Dr. ROBERT VON HEINE-GELDERN, American Museum of Natural History, Central Park West and 79th St., New York, N. Y. 1940.  
 Rev. HENRY HERAS, Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay, India. 1934.  
 Dr. ABRAHAM J. HERTZ, D.D.S., 150 W. 82d St., New York, N. Y. 1933.  
 Office of the High Commissioner for India, India House, Aldwych, London, W. C. 2, England. 1928.  
 Prof. JOHN HARDEN HICKS, Ph.D., Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas. 1940.  
 Dr. DOROTHY KENT HILL, Ph.D., The Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md. 1940.  
 Prof. WILLIAM BANCROFT HILL, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1921.  
 Dr. HERBERT W. HINES, 1112 S. 6th St., Springfield, Ill. 1938.  
 Prof. PHILIP K. HITT (Princeton University), 106 FitzRandolph Road, Princeton, N. J. 1915.



- Mr. THEODORE Y. HOBBY, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 5th Ave., at 82d St., New York, N. Y. 1939.
- Mr. WALTER HOCHSTÄDTER, 915 West End Ave., New York, N. Y. 1940.
- Prof. WILLIAM ERNEST HOCKING, Ph.D., L.H.D., Th.D., LL.D. (Harvard Univ.), 16 Quincy St., Cambridge, Mass. 1940.
- Prof. LEWIS HODOUS (Hartford Seminary Foundation), 92 Sherman St., Hartford, Conn. 1919.
- Mr. HOWARD C. HOLLIS, Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio. 1936.
- Mr. SAMUEL S. HOLMES, 69 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill. 1940.
- Prof. S. H. HOOKE, M.A., B.D., F.S.A., 14, Queen's Crescent, Richmond, Surrey, England. 1939.
- Prof. CLARK HOPKINS, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1931.
- Dean FRANCIS H. HORN, M.A. (Junior College of Commerce), 422 Edgewood Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1940.
- Dr. SYUD HOSSAIN, Litt.D., University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Calif. 1940.
- Mrs. LYNN HAROLD HOUGH, Drew Forest, Madison, N. J. 1932.
- Prof. HARRY NICHOLAS HOWARD, Ph.D., Department of History, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio. 1938.
- Miss ELIZABETH HUFF, c/o Kobe College, Nishinomiya, Japan. 1939.
- Mr. PAUL E. HUFFMAN, 1948 W. North Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1936.
- Mr. GEORGE R. HUGHES, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1932.
- Pres. EDWARD H. HUME, 464 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y. 1909.
- Prof. ROBERT ERNEST HUME (Union Theol. Seminary), 606 West 122nd St., New York, N. Y. 1914.
- Dr. WILSON M. HUME, Ph.D., Student Secretary, Y. M. C. A., Lahore, India. 1935.
- Dr. ARTHUR W. HUMMEL, Chief, Division of Orientalia, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. 1928.
- Dr. WILLIAM F. HUMMEL, Ph.D., 802 N. Edgemont St., Los Angeles, Calif. 1932.
- \*Dr. ARCHER M. HUNTINGTON, 3 E. 89th St., New York, N. Y. 1912.
- Rt. Rev. D. T. HUNTINGTON, D.D., 11B Appleby Road, Wellesley, Mass. 1933.
- Dr. H. PAGE HURD, 43 Hecker St., Newark, N. J. 1937.
- \*Prof. MARY INDA HUSSEY, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1901.
- Prof. HAROLD HORTON HUTSON, B.D., Ph.D., Birmingham-Southern College, Birmingham, Ala. 1940.
- Prof. J. PHILIP HYATT, Ph.D., Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1936.
- \*Mr. JAMES HAZEN HYDE, 7 rue de l'Ermitage, Versailles, France. 1909.
- \*Prof. HENRY HYVERNAT (Catholic Univ. of America), 3405 Twelfth St., N. E. (Brookland), Washington, D. C. 1889.
- Prof. YAMATO ICHIHASHI, Ph.D., 523 Salvatierra, Stanford University, Calif. 1937.
- Dr. DANIEL H. H. INGALLS, 19 Longfellow Road, Cambridge, Mass. 1939.
- Miss WILHELMINA VAN INGEN, Wheaton College, Norton, Mass. 1933.



- Prof. W. A. IRWIN, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1927.
- Dr. WITOLD JABLONSKI, Instytut Orientalistyczny, Kovlewska 10, Warsaw, Poland. 1937.
- \*Mrs. A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, 606 W. 116th St., New York, N. Y. 1912.
- Mr. MAURICE JACOBS, 225 S. 15th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1937.
- Miss VIVIAN JACOBS, 50 E. Park St., East Orange, N. J. 1938.
- Dr. THORKILD JACOBSEN, Ph.D., Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1938.
- Rabbi DAVID S. JACOBSON, Ph.D., 211 Belknap Place, San Antonio, Texas. 1940.
- Mr. DOUGLAS JAMES, M.A., 203 Marlborough Road, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1940.
- Mr. HORACE H. F. JAYNE (Univ. of Pennsylvania Museum), Memorial Hall, Fairmount Park, Philadelphia, Pa. 1930.
- Rev. Prof. ARTHUR JEFFERY, Union Theological Seminary, Broadway at 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1923.
- Dr. DOROTHY CROSS JENSEN, Box 121, Hunter College, New York, N. Y. 1935.
- \*Prof. JAMES RICHARD JEWETT, 44 Francis Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1887.
- \*Miss HELEN M. JOHNSON, Osceola, Missouri. 1921.
- Prof. JOTHAM JOHNSON, Ph.D., University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa. 1935.
- Dr. OBED S. JOHNSON, Ph.D., 105 Vernon Court, Crawfordsville, Ind. 1930.
- Rev. SHERMAN E. JOHNSON, Ph.D., c/o Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass. 1938. (1935).
- Mrs. SHERMAN E. JOHNSON, c/o Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass. 1928.
- Prof. S. L. JOSHI, Carleton College, Northfield, Minn. 1927.
- Dr. EDWARD J. JURJI (Princeton Theol. Seminary), 95 Mercer St., Princeton, N. J. 1936.
- Dr. ALBERT E. KANE, 630 5th Ave., New York, N. Y. 1934.
- Prof. YOUNGHILL KANG, Far Eastern Department, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1940.
- Mr. ERVAD M. F. KANGA, F.C.I., Cusrov Bang. D.-10, Colaba Causeway, Fort Bombay, India. 1938.
- Miss HELENE J. KANTOR, Hillside Drive, Bloomington, Ind. 1940.
- Mr. KARL KAPP, 16000 Aldersyde Drive, Cleveland, Ohio. 1940.
- Rev. Dr. CLARENCE E. KEISER, Lyon Station, Pa. 1913.
- Mr. CARL T. KELLER, 80 Federal St., Boston, Mass. 1928.
- Rev. PAUL J. KELLER, B.D., North St., Mattapoisett, Mass. 1940.
- Mr. ROBERT J. KELLOGG, 415 South Cedar St., Ottawa, Kans. 1926.
- Mr. EASTON T. KELSEY, Department of State, Washington, D. C. 1930.
- Pres. JAMES A. KELSO, Western Theological Seminary, 731 Ridge Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 1915.
- Prof. JAMES L. KELSO, D.D. (Pittsburgh Xenia Theol. Seminary), 616 W. North Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 1921.
- Rev. JOHN M. KELSO, A.M., B.D., Methodist Episcopal Church, Marshallton, Del. 1938.



- Prof. GEORGE A. KENNEDY, 318 Hall of Graduate Studies, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1935.
- \*Prof. ROLAND G. KENT, Ph.D., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1910.
- Mr. J. A. KERNS, New York University, Washington Square, New York, N. Y. 1936.
- Mr. H. KEVORKIAN, 24 East 81st St., New York, N. Y. 1927.
- Mr. EUGENE KLEIN, 212 S. 13th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.
- Rev. WALTER C. KLEIN, Th.D., 4205 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1932.
- Prof. CARL S. KNOPF (Univ. of Southern California), Box 33, 3551 University Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 1929.
- Rev. Dr. RAYMOND C. KNOX, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1928.
- Dr. HANS N. VON KOERBER, Oriental Studies and Oriental Art, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Calif. 1931.
- Prof. PAUL KOSOK (Long Island Univ.), Apartment 3D, 215 W. 13th St., New York, N. Y. 1939.
- Mr. E. A. KRACKE, JR., 83 Plymouth St., Montclair, N. J. 1937.
- Prof. CARL H. KRAELING (Yale Univ.), 409 Prospect St., New Haven, Conn. 1925.
- Prof. EMIL G. H. KRAELING (Union Theol. Seminary), 531 East 18th St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1920.
- Prof. CHARLES F. KRAFT, Ph.D., Albion College, Albion, Mich. 1934.
- Rabbi MARCUS KRAMER, LL.D., M.H.L., 343 High St., Pottstown, Pa. 1937.
- Dr. SAMUEL NOAH KRAMER, c/o University Museum, 33rd and Spruce Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 1940 (1936).
- Mr. BERTRAM S. KRAUS, Doanbrook Hotel, 1924 E. 105th St., Cleveland, Ohio. 1937.
- Prof. Dr. JOHN B. KRAUS, Sophia University Jochi Daigaku, 7 Kioi-cho Kojimachi-ku, Tokyo, Japan. 1940.
- Rev. Prof. T. W. KRETSCHMANN, Ph.D., Selinsgrove, Pa. 1937.
- Mr. HAROUTIUN KURDIAN, 1321 E. Douglas, Wichita, Kan. 1934.
- Mr. H. M. G. LABATT-SIMON, 164 W. 79th St., New York, N. Y. 1938.
- Dr. ERNEST R. LACHEMAN, 131 Grove St., Torrington, Conn. 1937.
- Mr. THOMAS E. LAFARGUE, Department of Chinese and Japanese, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1937.
- Mr. LOUIS ELLSWORTH LAFLIN, JR., M.A., 1007 Hawthorne Place, Lake Forest, Ill. 1940.
- Mrs. SILVA LAKE, 522 Oakley Road, Haverford, Pa. 1937.
- Prof. JOHN L. LAMONTE, Ph.D., Department of History, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1938.
- Dr. KENNETH PERRY LANDON, Department of Philosophy, Earlham College, Richmond, Ind. 1932.
- \*Prof. CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN (Harvard Univ.), 9 Farrar St., Cambridge, Mass. 1876.
- Mr. AMBROSE LANSING, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Prof. KENNETH S. LATOURETTE, Yale Divinity School, 409 Prospect St., New Haven, Conn. 1917.



- Mr. OWEN LATTIMORE, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1939.  
Mrs. ANTON S. LAU, The Wentworth, 59 W. 46th St., New York, N. Y. 1937.  
Dr. BIMALA C. LAW, Ph.D., 43 Kailas Bose St., Calcutta, India. 1927.  
Mr. SIMON LAZARUS, High and Town Sts., Columbus, Ohio. 1921.  
Prof. SHAO CHANG LEE, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawaii. 1928.  
Mr. WILLIAM ROCKWELL LEETE, 85 Sherman St., Hartford, Conn. 1937.  
Dr. N. D. VAN LEEUWEN, Holysloot, 43. Amsterdam-Noord, Holland. 1928.  
Dr. KURT F. LEIDECKER, Ph.D., Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Troy, N. Y. 1928.  
Dr. FREDERICK LENT, Ph.D., D.D., LL.D., 64 S. Munn Ave., East Orange, N. J. 1935.  
Baron DIETRICH VON LENTZ, Apartment 1209, 320 E. 42d St., New York, N. Y. 1939.  
Prof. FERDINAND D. LESSING, Ph.D., 417 University Library, Berkeley, Calif. 1937.  
Miss IRENE LEWISOHN, 133 W. 11th St., New York, N. Y. 1936.  
Prof. JULIUS LEWY (Hebrew Union College), 420 Kasota St., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1935.  
Prof. FANG-KUEI LI, Ph.D., Academia Sinica, Kunming, Yunnan, China. 1937.  
Dr. ILSE LICHTENSTÄDTER, D. Phil. (Oxon.), The Jewish Theological Seminary, Broadway and 122d St., New York, N. Y. 1938.  
Rabbi MORRIS LIEBERMAN, 1914 Madison Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1939.  
Miss EDNA W. LINDQUIST, Hotel Moody, Claremont, N. H. 1936.  
Prof. HOLGER LINDSJO, Ph.D., Walla Walla College, College Place, Wash. 1940.  
Prof. PAUL M. A. LINEBARGER, Department of Political Science, Duke University, Durham, N. C. 1937.  
Prof. ENNO LITTMANN, Ph.D., D.D. (Univ. of Tübingen), 50 Waldhauserstrasse, Tübingen, Germany. 1927 (1902).  
Capt. MORRIS U. LIVELY, 816½ S. Flood St., Norman, Okla. 1931.  
Mr. JOHN ELLERTON LODGE, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C. 1922.  
Dr. FERN LONG, Ph.D., 1939 E. 70th St., Cleveland, Ohio. 1938.  
Prof. LINDSAY B. LONGACRE, 2273 S. Fillmore St., Denver, Colo. 1937 (1918).  
Dr. ALBERT P. LUDWIG, Ph.D., Eastern Washington College of Education, Cheney, Wash. 1937.  
Prof. HENRY LUDWIG F. LUTZ, Ph.D., D.D. (Univ. of California), 1147 Spruce St., Berkeley, Calif. 1916.  
Prof. ALBERT HOWE LYBYER, Ph.D. (Univ. of Illinois), 808 S. Lincoln Ave., Urbana, Ill. 1917 (1909).  
Dr. DAVID WILLARD LYON, D.D., 220 W. 12th St., Claremont, Calif. 1937.  
Miss HANNAH E. MCALLISTER, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 5th Ave. and 82d St., New York, N. Y. 1940.  
Mr. JOHN E. MCCALL, M.A., 82 VanHouten Place, Belleville, N. J. 1940.  
Prof. S. VERNON MCCASLAND, Ph.D., University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va. 1939.



- Prof. WILLIAM H. McCLELLAN, S.J., Woodstock College, Woodstock, Md. 1922.
- Prof. CHESTER CHARLTON McCOWN, Ph.D., Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, Calif. 1920.
- Mr. DONALD E. McCOWN, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1934.
- \*Prof. DUNCAN B. MACDONALD, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1893.
- Mr. ROBERT B. MACDONALD, 352 Roumfort Road, Mt. Airy, Philadelphia, Pa. 1940.
- Prof. WILLIAM FRANCIS McDONALD, Ph.D., Department of History, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio. 1940.
- Prof. WILLIAM M. MCGOVERN, Ph.D., Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. 1928.
- Mr. LAURANCE L. MACKALLOR, International House, 1414 E. 59th St., Chicago, Ill. 1939.
- Rev. WALLACE H. McLAUGHLIN, 4226 Saline St., (17) Pittsburgh, Pa. 1936.
- Dr. HUGH BAILLIE MACLEAN, Th. D., Strathyre, 10 Coniston Springs Ave., Edinburgh, Scotland. 1937.
- Mr. J. ARTHUR MACLEAN, 2310 Glenwood Ave., Toledo, Ohio. 1922.
- Prof. HARLEY FARNSWORTH MACNAIR, Ph.D., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1929.
- Prof. ALLAN A. MACRAE, Ph.D., 1205 Delaware Ave., Wilmington, Del. 1931.
- Dr. DAVID I. MACHT, M.D., Litt.D., 3420 Auchentoroly Terrace, Baltimore, Md. 1937.
- Mrs. W. M. MACKENSEN, B.D., 5755 Drexel Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1938.
- Miss ALICE M. MAGINNIS, 219 Dean Road, Brookline, Mass. 1939.
- \*Prof. HERBERT W. MAGOUN, 89 Hillcrest Road, Belmont, Mass. 1887.
- Prof. WALTER ARTHUR MAIER, Ph.D., Litt.D. (Lutheran Theol. Seminary), 801 Demun Ave., St. Louis, Mo. 1917.
- Mr. WALTER H. MALLORY, 45 E. 65th St., New York, N. Y. 1937.
- Dr. DAVID G. MANDELBAUM, Department of Anthropology, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn. 1938.
- \*Rev. Prof. JAMES CAMPBELL MANRY, Forman Christian College, Lahore, India. 1921.
- Prof. RALPH MARCUS, Ph.D., Philosophy Hall, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1920.
- Mr. GORDON H. MARSH, 103 Overlook Terrace, Leonia, N. J. 1940.
- Dr. JAMES P. MARSH, M.D., 12 Whitman Court, Troy, N. Y. 1919.
- Mr. THOMAS E. MARSTON, Etterby Farm, Cornwall, Conn. 1931.
- Mr. RICHARD A. MARTIN, Field Museum, Chicago, Ill. 1936.
- Prof. ALEXANDER MARX, Jewish Theological Seminary, Cor. Broadway and 122d St., New York, N. Y. 1926.
- Rev. WILLIAM ARNOT MATHER, D.D., Presbyterian Mission, Paoting, Hopei, China. 1938.



- Prof. CHARLES D. MATTHEWS, Ph.D., Birmingham-Southern College, Birmingham, Ala. 1934 (1928).
- Prof. ISAAC G. MATTHEWS, Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa. 1921 (1906).
- Mr. HAROLD A. MATTICE, New York Public Library, 476 5th Ave., New York, N. Y. 1939.
- Dr. LEWIS ADAMS MAVERICK, Univ. of California at Los Angeles, 405 Hilgard Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 1937.
- Prof. HEBBERT G. MAY, Ph.D., Graduate School of Theology, Oberlin, Ohio. 1935.
- Mr. TAMON MAYEDA, Japan Institute, Inc., 630 5th Ave., New York, N. Y. 1940.
- Rabbi HARRY H. MAYER, 3512 Kenwood Ave., Kansas City, Mo. 1921.
- Prof. THEOPHILE J. MEEK, Ph.D., F.R.S.A., University of Toronto, Toronto, Ont., Canada. 1917.
- Mrs. W. S. MEEK, 2424 N. Marshall St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1937.
- Dr. I. MENDELSON, Ph.D., Columbia University Library, Box 1, New York, N. Y. 1935.
- Rev. GEORGE E. MENDENHALL, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1940.
- Mr. CHIH MENG, 119 W. 57th St., New York, N. Y. 1940.
- Rev. JAMES M. MENZIES, Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, 100 Queen's Park, Toronto, Canada. 1930.
- Prof. SAMUEL A. B. MERCER, Grafton, Mass. 1912.
- Mr. CARL A. MEREY, Denver Art Museum, 473 City and County Bldg., Denver, Colo. 1937.
- Mrs. BESSIE C. MERRILL, 4 Bryant St., Cambridge, Mass. 1932.
- Mrs. EUGENE MEYER, 1624 Crescent Place, N. W., Washington, D. C. 1916.
- Miss LESLA MICHEL, 1521 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1936.
- Mrs. TRUMAN MICHELSON, 1710 Q St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1940.
- Mr. JOSEPH LUDWIG MIHELIC, 817 E 58th St., Chicago, Ill. 1936.
- Dr. GEORGE C. MILES, Heathcote Farm, Kingston, N. J. 1938.
- Mr. GANTT W. MILLER, JR., 78 Manhattan Ave., New York, N. Y. 1938.
- Mr. MERTON L. MILLER, 440 Toyopa Drive, Pacific Palisades, Calif. 1921.
- Miss EMMA DE LONG MILLS, 324 W. 89th St., New York, N. Y. 1940.
- Mr. YUTAKA MINAKUCHI, Glover, Vt. 1937.
- Mr. KIRKOR MINASSIAN, 345 E. 57th St., New York, N. Y. 1940.
- Prof. JAMES A. MONTGOMERY, Ph.D., S.T.D. (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 6806 Greene St., Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa. 1903.
- Dr. ROBERT N. MONTGOMERY, D.D., Muskingum College, New Concord, Ohio. 1936.
- Prof. CHARLES A. MOORE, Ph. D., University of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawaii. 1937.
- Mrs. WILLIAM H. MOORE, 4 E. 54th St., New York, N. Y. 1933.
- Prof. WILLIAM J. MOORE, 5775 N. Tacoma Ave., R. R. 14, Indianapolis, Ind. 1938.
- Dr. HUGH ANDERSON MORAN, Barnes Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1937 (1920).



## *List of Members*

- Pres. JULIAN MORGENSTERN (Hebrew Union College), 8 Burton Woods Lane, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1915.
- Mr. EDGAR M. MORSMAN, JR., 518 S. 38th St., Omaha, Nebr. 1937.
- Rev. RALPH MORTENSEN, Ph.D., Lutheran Board of Publication, 23 Liang Yi St., Hankow, China. 1928.
- Prof. VALENTINE K. MÜLLER, Ph.D., Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1931.
- Prof. JAMES MUILENBURG, Ph.D., Pacific School of Religion, 1798 Scenic Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 1938.
- Mr. JOHN KNOX MUSGRAVE, JR., 350 Parkway Drive, Pittsburgh 16, Pa. 1937.
- Prof. EDWARD DELOS MYERS, Ph.D., Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1938.
- Prof. TOYOZO W. NAKARAI, Ph.D., College of Religion, Butler University, Indianapolis, Ind. 1926.
- Mr. EDWARD J. NATHAN, Roma y Bruselas, Monterrey, Mexico. 1928.
- Prof. O. NEUGEBAUER, Ph.D., Brown University, Providence, R. I. 1939.
- Mr. EDWARD THEODORE NEWELL, American Numismatic Society, 156th St. and Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1914.
- Prof. ABRAHAM A. NEWMAN, D.H.L., 2319 N. Park Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1937.
- Dr. WILLIAM L. NEWTON, S.S.D., 1227 Ansel Road, Cleveland, Ohio. 1937.
- Mr. HORACE J. NICKELS (George Williams College), 1156 E. 56th St., Chicago, Ill. 1932.
- Rev. CHARLES FRANCIS NIMS, Ph.D., Presbyterian Manse, Eldorado, Ill. 1931.
- Mr. HALVERN LAMAR NORRIS, c/o Dept. of State, Washington, D. C. 1935.
- Prof. JULIAN J. OBERMANN, Ph.D., 215 Hall of Graduate Studies, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1923.
- \*Dr. CHARLES J. OGDEN, 435 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y. 1906.
- Dr. MASON OLCOTT, M.A., Ph.D., 11 Seminary Place, New Brunswick, N. J. 1940.
- Prof. ALBERT TEN EYCK OLMSTEAD, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1909.
- Rev. RAYMOND M. O'PRAY, S.J., Woodstock College, Woodstock, Md. 1936.
- Prof. JOHN E. ORCHARD, Ph.D., School of Business, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1938.
- Dr. HARRY MEYER ORLINSKY, Ph.D., 2518 Brookfield Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1934.
- Prof. CHARLES A. OWEN, 330 N. 5th St., Monmouth, Ill. 1921.
- Mr. ROBERT TREAT PAINE, JR., 16 Ash St., Cambridge, Mass. 1935.
- Dr. RICHARD A. PARKER, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1937.
- Dr. ELEANOR PARRY, M.D., 36 Central Ave., Huntington, N. Y. 1931.
- Mr. ROBERT LEET PATTERSON, c/o John G. Volhuer, 2009 Clark Bldg., Liberty Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 1920.
- Mr. WALLACE CRAWFORD PAUL, 46 Grove Place, East Orange, N. J. 1937.
- Mr. ANTHONY F. PAURA, 302 W. 46th St., New York, N. Y. 1929.



## *List of Members*

- Miss ANNABELLE PAWLEY, 1933 Daly Ave., New York, N. Y. 1939.
- Prof. CYRUS H. PEAKE, Ph.D., Dept. of Chinese, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1930.
- Miss KATHERINE S. PEARCE, M.S. (Princeton Univ. Library), 7 Chambers Terrace, Princeton, N. J. 1940.
- Rabbi MAURICE B. PEKARSKY, 1802 Chicago Ave., Evanston, Ill. 1937.
- Mr. FREELAND F. PENNEY, 22 W. 77th St., New York, N. Y. 1931.
- Dr. STEPHEN B. L. PENROSE, JR., 118 Luquer Road, Port Washington, N. Y. 1940.
- Miss ANN LOUISE PERKINS, 195 Akenside Road, Riverside, Ill. 1936.
- Mr. P. D. PERKINS, 1620 Mission St., South Pasadena, Calif. 1934.
- Dr. ARNOLD PESKIND, 2409 East 55th St., Cleveland, Ohio. 1920.
- Rev. THEODORE C. PETERSEN, St. Paul's College, 4th and Hamlin Sts., N. E., Washington, D. C. 1924.
- Pres. WILLIAM B. PETTUS, D.Ped., College of Chinese Studies, Peiping, China. 1937.
- Prof. ROBERT HENRY PREIFFER (Harvard Univ.), 57 Francis Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1920.
- Prof. DRYDEN L. PHELPS, West China Union University, Chengtu, Szechuan Province, West China. 1929.
- Mr. JOHN PHELPS, LL.B., 11 E. Lexington St., Baltimore, Md. 1939.
- \*Rev. Prof. DAVID PHILIPSON, 270 McGregor Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1889.
- Rev. Dr. Z. B. T. PHILLIPS, Church of the Epiphany, Washington, D. C. 1923.
- Prof. MALCOLM PITT, 85 Sherman St., Hartford, Conn. 1937.
- \*Mr. JAMES MARSHALL PLUMER, 4016 Museums Bldg., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1937.
- Prof. ARNO POEBEL, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1931.
- Dr. HORACE I. POLEMAN, Indic Studies, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. 1931.
- Mr. ARTHUR UPHAM POPE, 277 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1940.
- Mr. JOHN A. POPE, 9 Wyman Road, Cambridge, Mass. 1936.
- \*Prof. WILLIAM POPPER (Univ. of California), 529 The Alameda, Berkeley, Calif. 1897.
- Dr. EDITH VON PORADA, Ph.D., 149 E. 40th St., New York, N. Y. 1939.
- Prof. LUCIUS C. PORTER, L.H.D., D.D., Yenching University, Peiping, China. 1923.
- Pres. F. L. HAWKS POTT, D.D., St. John's University, Shanghai, China. 1937.
- Mr. ALAN PRIEST, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1934.
- \*Hon. JOHN DYNELEY PRINCE, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1888.
- Prof. EARL H. PRITCHARD, D.Phil. (Oxon.), Department of History, Wayne University, Detroit, Mich. 1937.
- Rev. JAMES BENNETT PRITCHARD, D.D., 22 W. Cheltenham Road, Parkside, Chester, Pa. 1938.



- Dr. J. PRUSEK, Oriental Institute, Prague III, 347, Czechoslovakia. 1937.  
Rev. Dr. A. H. PRUSSNER, c/o Methodist Mission, Medan, Sumatra. 1920.  
Dr. PIERRE M. PURVES, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1935.  
Miss ANN PUTCAMP, M.A., International House, 1414 E. 59th St., Chicago, Ill. 1940.  
Dr. J. DYKE VAN PUTTEN (Blackburn College), 405 E. Main St., Carlinville, Ill. 1938.  
Rev. Prof. CHARLES LYNN PYATT, The College of the Bible, Lexington, Ky. 1921 (1917).  
Dr. ISAAC RABINOWITZ, Ph.D., 2901 Ave. N., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1937.  
Prof. HERMANN RANKE, Ph.D., 315 Bennett Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1938.  
Prof. NATHANIEL JULIUS REICH, Ph.D., P. O. Box 337, Philadelphia, Pa. 1923.  
Dr. JOHN GILBERT REID, Ph.D., George Washington Inn, New Jersey Ave. and C St., S. E., Washington, D. C. 1938.  
Mr. RALPH W. E. REID, Perkins Hall, Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass. 1937.  
Dr. JOSEPH REIDER, Ph.D., Dropsie College, Broad and York Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 1913.  
Prof. AUGUST KARL REISCHAUER, Tokyo Joshi Daigaku, Iogi Machi, 2 Chome, Sugunami Ku, Tokyo, Japan, 1920.  
Dr. EDWIN O. REISCHAUER (Harvard Univ.), 17 Boylston Hall, Cambridge, bridge, Mass. 1939.  
Mrs. JEAN REISCHAUER, Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai, Marunouchi, Tokyo, Japan. 1938.  
Mrs. DIANA J. REISMAN, Ph.D., 3425 Powelton Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1935.  
Mr. GEORGE S. RENTZ, JR., M.A. (Univ. of California), 2037-A Lincoln St., Berkeley, Calif. 1940.  
Dr. KARL REUNING, 47 Amherst Ave., Swarthmore, Pa. 1937.  
Mr. STEPHEN M. REYNOLDS, Lincoln University, Chester County, Pa. 1939.  
Prof. V. A. RIASANOVSKY, 1599 Columbia St., Eugene, Ore. 1938.  
Rev. HILARY GOODE RICHARDSON, 147 N. Broadway, Yonkers, N. Y. 1926.  
Mrs. RUDOLF M. RIEFSTAHL (Brooklyn Museum), 25 Garden Place, Brooklyn, N. Y. 1940.  
Prof. HORACE ABRAM RIGG, JR., Ph.D., 2597 Derbyshire Road, Cleveland Heights, Ohio. 1937.  
Mr. HELMUT RIPPERGER, Japan Reference Library, 500 5th Ave., New York, N. Y. 1939.  
Prof. CORWIN C. ROACH, Gambier, Ohio. 1935.  
Mrs. DAVID ROBBINS, 5459 Everett Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1936.  
Miss CORNELIA M. ROBERTS, Moulton College, Toronto, Ont., Canada. 1940.  
Mr. LAURENCE P. ROBERTS, 1192 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1936.  
Prof. EDWARD ROBERTSON, The University, Manchester, England. 1921.  
Prof. DAVID M. ROBINSON, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1921.



- \*Prof. GEORGE LIVINGSTON ROBINSON (Presbyterian Theol. Seminary),  
2312 N. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill. 1892.
- Rev. Dr. THEODORE HENRY ROBINSON, University College, Cardiff, Wales.  
1922.
- Mr. GEORGE N. ROERICH, Urusvati Himalayan Research Institute, Naggar,  
Kulu, Punjab, India. 1922.
- Mr. QUENTIN ROOSEVELT, Oyster Bay, N. Y. 1940.
- \*Prof. WILLIAM ROSENAU, Esplanade Apartments, Lake Drive, Baltimore,  
Md. 1897.
- Dr. SAMUEL ROSENBLATT, Ph.D., 3605 Springdale Ave., Baltimore, Md.  
1939.
- Mr. LESSING J. ROSENWALD, "Alverthorpe," Jenkintown, Pa. 1924.
- Dr. TRUDE WEISS ROSMARIN, Ph.D., 609 W. 114th St., New York, N. Y.  
1933.
- Mr. MARVIN CHAUNCEY ROSS, A.M., Assist. Curator of Mediaeval Art,  
Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md. 1939.
- Prof. MICHAEL I. ROSTOVTZEFF (Yale Univ.), 1916 Yale Station, New  
Haven, Conn. 1926.
- Rev. JOHN F. ROWAN, D.D., S.S.L., St. Charles' Seminary, Overbrook,  
Philadelphia, Pa. 1938.
- Dr. DAVID NELSON ROWE, School of Public and International Affairs,  
Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1936.
- Miss TERESINA ROWELL, Pierce Hall, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.  
1940 (1931).
- Dr. BENJAMIN ROWLAND, JR., Ph.D. (Fogg Art Museum), 986 Memorial  
Drive, Cambridge, Mass. 1937.
- Rev. Prof. H. H. ROWLEY, D.D., Dol Menai, Bangor, North Wales. 1935.
- \*Miss ADELAIDE RUDOLPH, c/o White Collection, Public Library, Cleveland,  
Ohio. 1894.
- Mr. RICHARD C. RUDOLPH, M.A., 2630 Channing Way, Berkeley, Calif.  
1937.
- Dr. OTTO B. RUPP, LL. D., 660 Colman Bldg., Seattle, Wash. 1931.
- Prof. ELBERT RUSSELL, Duke University, Durham, N. C. 1916.
- Mr. PETER RUTHVEN, 815 South University, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1933.
- Dr. A. J. SACHS, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.  
1936.
- Mr. FUAD SAFAR, c/o Director General of Education and Instruction,  
Ministry of Education, Bagdad, Iraq. 1936.
- Mr. ROBERT L. SAGE, 247 Lothrop St., Pittsburgh, Pa. 1934.
- Mr. SHUNZO SAKAMAKI, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawaii. 1937.
- Dr. SHIO SAKANISHI, Division of Orientalia, Library of Congress, Wash-  
ington, D. C. 1933.
- Dr. ALFRED SALMONY (New York Univ.), 17 E. 80th St., New York, N. Y.  
1934.
- Prof. HENRY A. SANDERS, Ph.D., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.  
1924.
- Dr. EVA M. SANFORD, Sweet Briar College, Sweet Briar, Va. 1940.



- Mr. CLYDE B. SARGENT, 3756 McKinley St., Chevy Chase, Washington, D. C. 1938.
- Mr. H. MEDILL SARKISIAN, 615 E. 12th Ave., Denver, Colo. 1939.
- Dr. A. O. SARKISSIAN, 186 Woodland Ave., Verona, N. J. 1938.
- Dr. GEORGE SARTON, Sc.D., L.H.D., LL.D., Harvard Library 185, Cambridge, Mass. 1934.
- Prof. LAKSHMAN SARUP, D.Phil. (Oxon.), Sanskrit Department, University of the Punjab, Lahore, India. 1937.
- Miss FUKAMI SATO, 395 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y. 1940.
- Rev. LAURISTON L. SCAIFE, 1 West 53rd St., New York, N. Y. 1936.
- Dr. HENRY SCHAEFFER, Ph.D., D.D., 1606 S. 11th Ave., Maywood, Ill. 1939 (1916).
- Dr. ISRAEL SCHAPIRO, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. 1914.
- Mr. EDGAR C. SCHENCK, 3274 Kaohinani Drive, Honolulu, Hawaii. 1940.
- Prof. Dr. LUCIAN SCHERMAN, South Hanson, Mass. 1939.
- Prof. A. ARTHUR SCHILLER, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1927.
- Dr. MAX SCHLOESSINGER, Hotel Brewster, 21 W. 86th St., New York, N. Y. 1940.
- Dr. ERICH F. SCHMIDT, Ph.D., Oriental Institute, 1155 E. 58th St., Chicago, Ill. 1930.
- Mr. OLAF SCHMIDT, Brown University, Providence, R. I. 1940.
- Prof. HERBERT W. SCHNEIDER, Philosophy Hall, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1936.
- Mr. HENRY K. SCHOCH, 10th Floor, Union Guardian Bldg., Detroit, Mich. 1934.
- Mr. ERIC SCHROEDER (Fogg Art Museum), 14 Ash St., Cambridge, Mass. 1937.
- Rev. Dr. SAMUEL SCHULMAN, D.D., 1 E. 65th St., New York, N. Y. 1928.
- Prof. F. D. SCHULTHEIS, M.A., University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. 1940 (1930).
- Mr. BENJAMIN SCHWARTZ, Oriental Division, New York Public Library, New York, N. Y. 1937.
- Dr. JOSEPH J. SCHWARTZ, Ph.D., 71 W. 47th St., New York, N. Y. 1939.
- Prof. GILBERT CAMPBELL SCOGGIN, 11 Story St., Cambridge, Mass. 1906.
- \*Mrs. SAMUEL BRYAN SCOTT, 1 Norman Lane, Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pa. 1903.
- Dr. KEITH C. SEELE, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1926.
- Mr. KENNETH SEIFERT, Box 393A, R. R. 5, Evansville, Ind. 1940.
- Rev. Dr. WILLIAM G. SEIPLE, 3 Ichigaya Daimachi, Ushigome Ku, Tokyo, Japan. 1902.
- Rev. RALPH SELL, American Lutheran Mission, Tsimo, Shantung, China. 1940.
- Prof. O. R. SELLERS (Presbyterian Theol. Seminary), 835 Chalmers Place, Chicago, Ill. 1917.
- Prof. W. T. SEMPLE (Univ. of Cincinnati), 315 Pike St., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1928.



- Rev. E. W. SERAPHIN, St. Stephen's Monastery, Croghan, N. Y. 1935.  
 Mr. ROBERT SHAFER, 1921 Walnut St., Berkeley, Calif. 1940.  
 Prof. SRI RAM SHARMA, Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College, Lahore, India. 1926.  
 Dr. ABBIE LYON SHARMAN, Ph.D., Pebble Beach, Calif. 1937.  
 Mr. G. HOWLAND SHAW, Department of State, Washington, D. C. 1921.  
 \*Prof. T. LESLIE SHEAR, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1923.  
 Mr. EPHRAIM C. SHEDD, 6042 Dorchester Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1936.  
 Prof. LYLE S. SHELMIDINE, College of Puget Sound, Tacoma, Wash. 1940.  
 Prof. CHARLES N. SHEPARD (General Theol. Seminary), 9 Chelsea Square, New York, N. Y. 1907.  
 Miss LOUISE ADELE SHIER, 1320 Olivia Ave., Ann Arbor, Mich. 1930.  
 Miss MARY HENRY SHIMER, M.A., Radner Hall, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1940.  
 Mr. OSAMU SHIMIZU, 541 W. 113th St., New York, N. Y. 1939.  
 Dr. JOHN KNIGHT SHRYOCK, 4509 Regent St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1922.  
 Mr. LAURENCE C. S. SICKMAN, Curator of Oriental Art, William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City, Mo. 1937.  
 Rabbi ABBA HILLEL SILVER, D.D., The Temple, East 105th St. at Ansel Road, Cleveland, Ohio. 1920.  
 Rev. CARROLL E. SIMCOX, Seabury-Western Theological Seminary, Evanston, Ill. 1935.  
 Miss PAULINE SIMMONS, 210 E. 73d St., New York, N. Y. 1940.  
 Dr. MUHAMMED A. SIMSAR, D.C.S., 3242 North 17th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1934.  
 Mr. GREGG M. SINCLAIR, Oriental Institute, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawaii, 1936.  
 Rev. PATRICK W. SKEHAN, S.T.D., Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. 1939.  
 Prof. SOLOMON L. SKOSS, Ph.D., The Dropsie College, Broad and York Sts., Philadelphia, Pa. 1926.  
 Mr. HENRY LEE SMITH, JR., Apartment 8D, 434 W. 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1937.  
 Prof. LOUISE PETTIBONE SMITH, Ph.D., Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1918.  
 Mr. MYRON BEMENT SMITH, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. 1930.  
 Mr. MIRZA AHMAD SOHRAB, 132 E. 65th St., New York, N. Y. 1940.  
 Rabbi ELIAS L. SOLOMON, D.H.L., 875 West End Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.  
 Mr. F. E. SOMMER, c/o Cleveland Public Library, Cleveland, Ohio. 1937.  
 Mr. ALEXANDER C. SOPER, 3d, M.F.A., Longmaid Cottage, N. Merion Ave., Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1939.  
 Prof. IVAR SPECTOR, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash. 1940.  
 Prof. E. A. SPEISER, Ph.D., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1925.  
 Prof. ALEXANDER SPERBER, Ph.D., Jewish Theological Seminary of America, Broadway at 122d St., New York, N. Y. 1935.



- Dr. JEROME SPERLING, Ph.D., 592 Yale Station, New Haven, Conn. 1940.  
Prof. SHALOM SPIEGEL, Ph.D., Jewish Institute of Religion, 40 W. 68th St., New York, N. Y. 1936.  
Dr. FRIEDERICH SPIEGELBERG, Ph.D., B.D., 59 Summit Drive, Rochester, N. Y. 1939.  
Miss HORTENSE SPOEHR, 464 Coleridge Ave., Palo Alto, Calif. 1937.  
Rev. H. HENRY SPOER, Ph.D., 21 E. 14th St., New York, N. Y. 1926 (1899).  
Prof. MARTIN SPRENGLING, Ph.D., Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1929 (1912).  
Mrs. FRANCES H. STANWOOD, Westwood Bldg., Sandpoint, Idaho. 1932.  
Dr. W. E. STAPLES, Ph.D., Victoria University, Toronto, Ont., Canada. 1927.  
Mr. FRANCIS RUE STEELE, 8212 St. Martins Lane, Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pa. 1938.  
Miss ELIZABETH STEFANSKI, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1932.  
Miss DOROTHY STEHLE, 1805 St. Luke St., Montreal, Que., Canada. 1938.  
Prof. G. NYE STEIGER, 9 Washington Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1930.  
Dr. DIETHER VON DEN STEINEN, Ph.D., Department of Oriental Languages, University of California, Berkeley, Calif. 1939.  
Rev. JOHN E. STEINMUELLER, D.D., S.S.L., Seminary of the Immaculate Conception, Huntington, L. I., N. Y. 1937.  
Mr. CHARLES CLARKSON STELLE, College of Chinese Studies, Peking, China. 1938.  
Prof. FERRIS J. STEPHENS, Babylonian Collection, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1925.  
Mr. J. FRANK STIMSON (Bernice P. Bishop Museum), Papeete, Tahiti, French Oceania. 1928.  
Prof. WILLIAM F. STINESPRING, Ph.D. (Duke Univ.), 1107 Watts St., Durham, N. C. 1937.  
\*Rev. ANSON PHELPS STOKES, D.D., LL.D., "Brook Farm," Lenox, Mass. 1900.  
Mr. J. G. PHELPS STOKES, 33 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 1940.  
\*Prof. EDGAR H. STURTEVANT, Hall of Graduate Studies, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1924.  
Prof. JOSEPH WARD SWAIN, 309 Lincoln Hall, Urbana, Ill. 1937.  
Dr. NANCY LEE SWANN, Curator, The Gest Oriental Library, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, N. J. 1932.  
Mr. DONALD C. E. SWANSON, 33 Graduate College, Princeton, N. J. 1940.  
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